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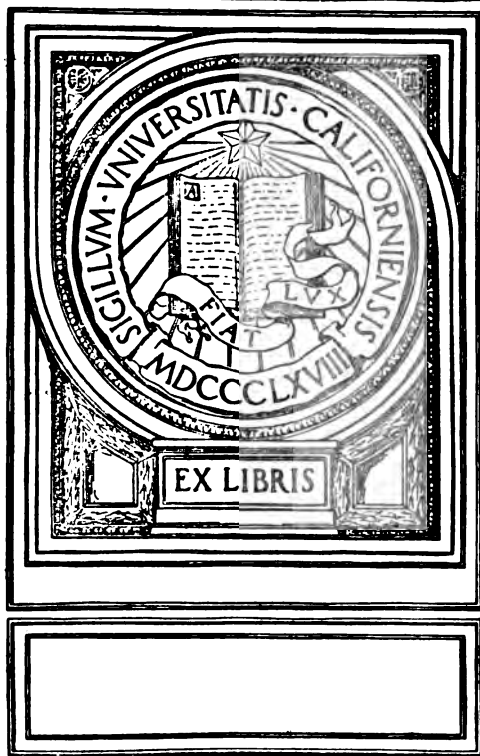
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T. Smart

GIFT OF

Mrs. Dorothy Sheldon Scott



Memoirs of
Naparte;
And History of all the
CAMPAIGNS
from the French
Revolution,
in 1789.



MONAPARTE SIGNING HIS ABDICATION.

Published as the Act directs, May 14 1814.
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Rise, Progress, and Overthrow
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
(LATE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.)
WITH A SUMMARY ACCOUNT
Of the Circumstances which paved the Way
TO THE
French Revolution,
AND CAUSED THE ELEVATION OF
Napoleon to the Imperial Dignity;
TOGETHER WITH A
HISTORY OF THE WARS
Which have been carried on since his Exaltation,
TO THE ENTRANCE OF
THE ALLIES INTO PARIS,
AND THE
CONSEQUENT RESTORATION
OF
LOUIS XVIII.

By THEOPHILUS CAMDEN, Esq.

Author of the Imperial History of England, and the History of the War in Spain
and Portugal, with the Life of Lord Wellington.

EMBELLISHED WITH ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS.

LONDON:

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1814.

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TO
ALEXANDER,
EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS;
SOVEREIGN PRINCE OF MUSCOVY,
KIOVIA, WOLODOMIR, AND NOVOGOROD;
CZAR OF SIBERIA, CAZAN, AND ASTRACAN;
GREAT DUCHY OF SMOLENSKO;
DUKE OF ESTHONIA, LETONIA, CARELIA,
INGERMANIA, AND KEXHOLME;
CHIEF AND PROTECTOR OF THE GREEK CHURCH;
THE DESTROYER OF TYRANNY,
THE DELIVERER OF EUROPE,
And, in Conjunction with his Allies, the
RESTORER OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.

THE FOLLOWING HISTORY
OF THE
Rise, Progress, and Overthrow
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

AS
WITH ALL DUE DEFERENCE,
HUMILITY, AND RESPECT,
MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED,
BY HIS SINCERE ADMIRER,
THEOPHILUS CAMDEN.

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PREFACE.

IT is naturally expected, that the Author of every Work that issues from the Press, should acquaint the Public with an outline of the Plan he means to pursue, and also with a brief View of the nature of the Work he wishes to lay before them.

The Calamities of War have, from the year 1789, till the present Period, with very little Interruption, scourged and desolated Europe. During twenty-five years, various States have been overturned; Kings dethroned; new ones made; and, in fact, all the European Nations; from the Confines of Portugal in the South-west, to the Environs of Moscow in Russia in the North-east, have been the Victims of all the Miseries attendant on the Conflicts of contending Armies.

But nothing can record the Vicissitudes of Fortune except the Page of History; and while the Editor professes to lay before the Reader a succinct Relation of the Circumstances which led to the Revolution in France; a brief View of the Progress and Success of that Revolution against all the united Power of European Kingdoms, the Employment and successful Enterprizes of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Biographical History of the Exploits of that extraordinary Personage, whose unparalleled Career astonished all the World; must form a valuable Desideratum for the Reflection of the Politician, the Statesman, the Philosopher, and the Historian.

Napoleon

Napoleon Bonaparte, it is well known was a Native of Corsica, and was brought up in the Military School in that Island: in the Course of the warlike Operations during the Progress of the Republican Arms, this enterprizing Officer was taking into the Service, and behaving with the greatest Intrepidity, aided by the most consummate Skill in Military Tactics, was amazingly successful. This naturally paved the Way for his Advancement, and after his Return from his achievements in Egypt, he was elected First Consul of the French Republic; a Title too insignificant for his Ambition; and after a short time he was created Emperor of the French.

The following Sheets, then, after containing a summary Account of the Transactions during Republican France, which led to the Elevation of Napoleon Bonaparte, will contain a regular Narrative of the Wars and Campaigns in which he has been engaged. His Successes will be noticed, and his Defeats will be enumerated; more particularly those which he suffered in the frozen Regions of Russia during the Campaign of the Year 1812; and his subsequent Disasters in the Campaign of the present Year 1814, till his final Renunciation of the Imperial Diadem, and the consequent Re-establishment of the Bourbon Dynasty on the Throne of their Ancestors.

This Work, however, will not be the Vehicle of Party, but its professed Principle is to enumerate the Facts as they occurred without Bias.



LOUIS XVI.

Beheaded at Paris January
21st 1793.

MEMOIRS
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
AND
HISTORY OF THE WARS
FROM THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION, in 1789.

CHAPTER I.

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION
IN FRANCE.

THE utility of history depends upon the accuracy with which causes and motives are investigated, and the springs of action laid open to the inspection of the reader. By these means posterity are guarded against error; and, as all human knowledge is gained by experience, the speculative politician is furnished with materials for the establishment of systems, and the improvement of the science of government. It will therefore be our aim, not merely to detail facts, but to distinguish their causes, and explain the principles upon which those amazing events arising out of the French Revolution have depended.

In the years 1787 and 1788, the government of France was greatly disturbed by the discontents of the people from the derangement of the finances, and the scarcity of corn, which threatened a famine. The king had dismissed M. Calonne from his counsels, and France was left without a minister, and almost without a system. In this dilemma, the king, with a view to the relief of his most urgent necessities, had convened a meeting of the *Notables*, for the purpose of obtaining a general land-tax. They conducted themselves with respect and moderation, but they

they were not deficient in firmness. Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, was appointed to the office of comptroller-general; but the proposed impost of a general land-tax was rejected; and on this occasion the attorney-general of Provence boldly declared, that neither that assembly, the parliaments, nor the king himself, could assess any such impost on the country which he represented, since it was directly contrary to the specific and indefeasible rights of the people.

Louis, thus disappointed, was compelled to have recourse to his usual mode of raising money by the royal edicts. He proposed to double the poll-tax to re-establish the third-twentieth, and a stamp-duty. The whole of this was highly disapproved by the parliament of Paris, but the last in particular was the immediate object of contention; and that assembly, in the most positive terms, refused to register the edict. The king then applied, as the last resort, to his absolute authority, and holding what is called "A BED OF JUSTICE," compelled them to enrol the impost.

But the parliament, although they were defeated, were very far from being subdued; for, on the very day after the king had held his Bed of Justice, they entered a formal protest against the concession that had been extorted from them. They declared, "that the edict had been registered against their approbation and consent, by the king's express command; that it neither *ought*, nor *should* have any force; and that the first person who should presume to carry it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and be condemned to the galleys." This declaration left the crown no other alternative than either proceeding to extremities in support of its authority, or giving up for ever the power of raising money upon all occasions without the consent of the parliament.

Since the commencement of the present discontents, the capital had been gradually filled with troops; and about a week after the parliament had entered their protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of soldiers, went at break of day

day to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command, that he should immediately get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house before his departure. These orders were served at the same instant; and before the Parisians were acquainted with the transaction, the parliament were already on the road to the place of their exile.

The ministerial cabinet of Louis was now extremely divided, and changes and contentions took place in every department of the state. The king wished to allay the growing discontents; but it was generally believed that his royal consort (Marie Antoinette) strongly dissuaded him from any step which might tend to the diminution of his absolute authority. The influence of that princess in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which she once possessed was no more: and some imputations of private levity, which had been rumoured through the capital, were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people; while the count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expressed himself in the most unguarded terms against the perseverance of the parliament, stood exposed to all the hatred of an oppressed, injured, and insulted people. It was not only in Paris that the flame of liberty burst forth; for the provincial parliaments imitated the example of the capital. Among various instances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble passed a decree against *Lettres de Cachet*, the most odious and despicable engine of arbitrary power, and declared, that the execution of them, within their jurisdiction, by any person, and under any authority, to be a capital crime.

Louis sought to soothe the discontented minds of the Parisians by new regulations of œconomy, and by continual retrenchments in his household; but these efforts, which would at one time have been received with the loudest acclamations, were now lost in

in their open affliction for the absence of their parliament; and the monarch, to regain the affections of his subjects, after an exile of a month, consented to restore that assembly. The sources of dispute in the territorial impost, and a stamp duty, were abandoned by Louis; and the parliament, on their part, consented to register an edict, by which Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, was continued first minister of state.

But this harmony was of short duration; for the necessities of the state still continued, nor could the deficiency of the revenue be supplied but by extraordinary resources. About the middle of November, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood, and the peers of France, the king entered the assembly, and proposed two edicts for their approbation: the first was for a new loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, (nearly nineteen millions sterling;) the second was for the re-establishment of the Protestants in all their ancient civil rights, a measure which had long been warmly recommended by the parliament, and which the king now artfully introduced to procure a better reception to the loan. In ushering in these edicts, the king delivered himself in a speech replete with every sentiment of regard for the people, but at the same time full of intimations to the parliament of the obedience he expected. An animated debate was continued for nine hours, when the king, wearied by incessant opposition, suddenly rose, and *commanded* the edict to be registered without further delay. This measure was most unexpectedly opposed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, considering it as an infringement of the rights of parliament, protested against the whole proceedings of the day, as being thereby null and void. Though Louis could not conceal his chagrin at this decisive step, he contented himself with repeating his orders, and immediately quitting the assembly, retired to Versailles.

On the departure of Louis, the parliament confirmed the protest of the duke of Orleans; but it was
not

not to be supposed that the king would silently pass over so bold an attack on the authority of the crown. The next day the baron de Breteuil delivered a letter to the duke of Orleans, in which he was commanded to retire to Villars Cotterel, one of his seats about fifteen leagues from Paris, and to receive no company there, except his own family; and at the same time the abbé Sabatier, and M. Freteau, who distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized under the authority of lettres de cachet, and conveyed, the first to the castle of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, the latter to a prison in Picardy.

The parliament were not backward in proclaiming their feelings at this act of oppression; for, on the day following, they waited on the king, and expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood royal had been exiled, and two of their members imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what was dictated by their duty and their consciences. The answer of the king was reserved and forbidding; "When I put away from my presence a prince of my blood, my parliament ought to believe that I have strong reasons for so doing: I have punished two magistrates, with whose conduct I ought to be dissatisfied." This repulse did not discourage a most spirited answer: "If exile (said they) is the recompence of fidelity to the princes of your blood; if outrage and captivity threaten the ingenuousness of the chief magistrates of the kingdom; we may ask ourselves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, of the public liberty, of the honour, and of the manners of the nation?"

The parliament, however, convinced of the emergency, registered the loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, (about nineteen millions, six hundred and eighty-seven thousand, five hundred pounds sterling,) which had been the source of this unfortunate difference. It is probable that this concession concurred to act upon the mind of the king; and the sentence of the two magistrates was changed from

imprisonment to exile: Freteau being sent to one of his country seats, and Sabatiere to a convent of Benedictines. But the parliament was unwilling to give up the points against which they had originally remonstrated; and in a petition conceived with freedom, and couched in the most animated language, they reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence: "We do not come," they declare, "so much to claim your compassion, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone that we address ourselves; it is not a favour which your parliament solicits: it comes, sire, to DEMAND JUSTICE. That justice which is subject to regulations, independent of the will of man; even kings themselves are subservient to them: that glorious prince Henry the Fourth acknowledged that he had two sovereigns, God, and the laws. One of these regulations is to condemn no one without a hearing; it is a duty in all times, and in all places: it is the duty of all men; and your majesty will allow us to represent to you, that it is as obligatory on you, as on your subjects. It is, therefore, in the name of those laws which preserve empires; in the name of that liberty for which we are the respectful interpreters and the lawful mediators; in the name of your authority, of which we are the first and most confidential ministers, that we dare to demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of Orleans, and of the two exiled magistrates who are imprisoned by a sudden order, as contrary to the sentiments as to the interests of your majesty."

In the beginning of 1788, the king recalled the duke of Orleans to court, and permitted the return of the abbé Sabatiere and M. Freteau. But unanimity and reconciliation prevailed not long at court, and it was asserted, that from some base suggestions of the queen, Louis was again prevailed on to recur to severity. Monsieur de Lamoignon, on the dismissal of Miromesnil, had, on the recommendation of the ex-minister Calonne, been entrusted with the seals, and he still continued to hold them under the administration

tion of the archbishop of Thoulouse. The chancellor was summoned by M. de Brienne to the arduous task of composing a new court of jurisprudence; the *Cour Pleniere* was to be the result of their joint counsels; each measured for the establishment of that court was taken with the greatest secrecy; a press was erected at Versailles; printers were employed night and day; and the avenues were strictly guarded from the approach of curiosity by a triple row of bayonets. These mysterious appearances excited fresh alarms; and the parliament of Paris conceived themselves too deeply interested in the event to be deterred by any obstacles. M. d'Espremenil, a member of that assembly, possessed himself of the important secret; he divulged it to his associates; and animated them to oppose with their combined strength a project which appeared to aim at their final extinction.

The court of Versailles, offended with the officiousness of M. d'Espremenil, was inflamed by the boldness with which he harangued against its designs; the king was persuaded that examples of punishment were become necessary to the support of his power, and d'Espremenil and Monsambert, whose pointed language had pressed most closely on the royal authority, were doomed to experience its immediate resentment. A body of armed troops, provided with axes to force the doors in case of resistance, surrounded the hotel in which the parliament was convened; colonel d'Agoust, who commanded them, entered the assembly and secured the persons of the noxious members, who were conducted to different prisons. This instance of despotism was followed by a remonstrance of the parliament, which exceeded in boldness all the former representations of that assembly. They declared they were now more strongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at in the constitution: "But, sire, (said they,) the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised; the effects of which

alarm the most faithful of your magistrates; we shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances which afflict us; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom *must* not be trampled upon; and that *your authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice.*"

Such bold and decisive language, which asserted the controlling power of the laws above the authority of the sovereign, could not fail to alarm the bosom of the king. To diminish the influence of parliament, it was determined again to convene the notables; and about the beginning of May, Louis appeared in that assembly; and after complaining of the excesses in which the parliament of Paris had indulged themselves, and which had drawn down his indignation on a few of the members, he declared his resolution, instead of annihilating them as a body, to bring them back to their duty and obedience by a salutary reform. M. de Lamoignon, as keeper of the seals, explained his majesty's pleasure to establish a *cour pleniére*, or supreme assembly, to be composed of princes of the blood, peers of the realm, great officers of the crown, the clergy, mareschals of France, governors of provinces, knights of different orders, a deputation of one member from every parliament, and two members from the chambers of councils, and to be summoned as often as the public emergency should render it necessary.

Now if the assembly of the notables listened in silent deference to the project of their sovereign, the parliament of Paris, who saw through the hypocrisy of Louis, received it with every symptom of rooted aversion. They strongly protested against the establishment of any other tribunal, and declared their final resolution not to assist at any deliberations in the supreme assembly which his majesty had declared his intension to institute. But more unexpected mortification occurred to the king in the opposition of several peers of the realm; these expressed their regret at be-

beholding the fundamental principles of the nation violated; and, while they were lavish in their professions of attachment to the person of their king, concluded with apologizing for not entering on those functions assigned them in the *cour plénière*, as inconsistent with the true interests of his majesty, which were inseparable from those of the state. The new chancellor was startled by these appearances of general discontent; and his advice to his sovereign, was to recal once more M. Necker to the administration of the finances. This counsel, which, had it been urged and adopted sooner, might have been productive of the most salutary effects, was now only agreed to as the last resource; even in the very moment of giving it, the minister hesitated. He had flattered himself with the idea of still retaining the nominal direction of affairs; but his rival suffered him not long to deceive himself with that vain hope; and the first stipulation of M. Necker was the immediate dismissal of cardinal de Brienne, who, despoiled of power, was left to console himself with the dignity of cardinal, and an immense revenue, the fruits of his ministerial influence. M. de Lamoignon, whose elevation had a short time preceded that of the archbishop, was included in his disgrace, and dismissed from the court and counsels of Louis.

Serious disturbances followed the dismissal of the archbishop of Sens, and the recal of M. Necker. The populace, in the excess of their transports, assembled at the place Dauphine, and carried about in triumph a figure clothed in episcopal robes, of which three-fifths were satin and two of paper, a satirical allusion to a late decree, which authorised the different banks to make two-fifths of their payments in paper. The figure underwent a formal trial with ludicrous solemnity, and was condemned to the flames. An ecclesiastic, who happened to pass by at that moment, was arrested by the crowd; they bestowed on him the name of the abbé Vermont, who was supposed to enjoy the confidence and direct the counsels of

of the late minister; under this fictitious title they compelled him to confess the image, which was immediately after burnt with much ceremony.

At length Dubois, who commanded the *marechaussée* at Paris, zealous in the discharge of his duty, endeavoured to disperse this tumultuary meeting. His slender troop consisted only of twenty *marechaussée* mounted on horseback, and fifty on foot. His appearance was by no means productive of the terror that he flattered himself he should inspire: the people, deaf to his threats, kept their ground; and Dubois, tired with remonstrances, at length commanded his men to charge. The crowd were trampled down by the horses of the cavalry, several were wounded by swords and bayonets, and not a few lost their lives in the affray. But no sooner were the first moments of surprize over, than shame and indignation triumphed over their transient fears; the spirits of the citizens were restored by the small number of their adversaries; in a moment they were assailed on every side by those arms which the immediate fury of the people supplied; the soldiers betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and Dubois was the foremost of the fugitives.

The people, elated by this essay, proceeded to force the guard near the statue of Henry IV.; all resistance was swept away by the torrent of the assailants; the vanquished were despoiled by their conquerors; their arms were seized; their uniforms were burnt. But some praise is due to the moderation of the multitude, who, in the midst of the popular insurrection, respected the lives of these unfortunate men, and dismissed them, after a severe humiliation, to join their companions. Hundreds of the lower class of the people dispersed themselves through the city; several guard-houses, which stood separate from other buildings, were set on fire by the enraged multitude; but on attempting to possess themselves of the *Grève*, the place of execution in Paris, they were

were repulsed by a body of regular troops, and many were sacrificed by the ferocity of the soldiers.

This insurrection was soon followed by another, which manifested its indignation against the conduct of the late minister Lamoignon: on that occasion the same scenes were recommenced, and the figure of that minister was burnt in effigy without any interruption from the police. But from burning in effigy, the people rushed with torches in their hands to communicate the flames to the houses of the late ministers, and to that of the chevalier Dubois. It was at that instant that de Brienne, the brother of the archbishop, and secretary of war, arrived from Versailles. His own hotel was threatened by the insurgents, and his concern for the public safety was stimulated by personal interest: immediate orders were given for the French guards to march; two different detachments entered at each end of the street of St. Dominique, where the greatest number of the populace had assembled. These were instantly charged by the regulars; a great number perished on the spot, and the rest fled in confusion, and concealed themselves in the adjacent houses. At the same time the street *Melée*, where Dubois resided, presented a scene equally fatal and sanguinary.

But the parliament, so lately restored, beheld not in silence the commotions which shook the capital: the chevalier Dubois was commanded to appear before them. The orders which he produced removed every idea of judicial proceedings against him, (for they contained the king's authority for what he did,) but could not extinguish the resentment of his fellow-citizens; the public tranquillity seemed to require his absence, and the court reluctantly consented to the sacrifice, and removed him to a distance from Paris. The duc de Biron, who had been appointed to the command, was also summoned before the parliament. He pleaded his age and infirmities, which no longer allowed him to exert the active duties of life; and this excuse was deemed sufficient. But the

po-

popular indignation was directed against him, and in less than a month he was sacrificed to their fury.

The unhappy disturbances which had pervaded the metropolis were succeeded by the joy of the Parisians on the recal of M. Necker to the administration. But the acclamations which welcomed M. Necker to the capital, could not banish from his mind the difficulties he had to struggle with. He was sensible that M. Calonne and the archbishop of Sens had both sunk under the public distress, and the impracticability of raising the necessary supplies: that distress was not diminished, and unless some expedient could be adopted to re-establish public credit, he foresaw his own fate in those of his predecessors. The only expedient that appeared likely to produce the desired effect was the assembly of the *states-general*: that assembly had been demanded by the unanimous voice of the people. But it was with great reluctance that the sovereign gave his consent to convene a body of men whose powers and popularity must overshadow his own authority, and whose jurisdiction would confine within narrow limits the high prerogatives he had inherited from his predecessors. Even Necker himself was not a little embarrassed by the choice of difficulties which presented themselves in assembling the *states-general*. The parliament also, recovering from its enthusiasm, beheld, in the re-establishment of the *states-general*, the extinction of their own power; they therefore endeavoured to augment the perplexity of the minister, by supporting the pretensions of the nobles and clergy against the commons; pretensions which they had themselves but lately protested against as impolitic and unconstitutional.

From the reign of Philip the Fair, the period in which the *tiers états*, *third estate*, or *representatives of the commons*, had first been admitted into the assembly of the *states-general*, to the year 1614, the influence of that estate had undergone a considerable fluctuation; its numbers had been occasionally varied;

ried; it had always possessed a greater number of voices than either of the other orders separated, but had never been equal to the clergy and nobility united. The interesting question was now proposed, whether the representatives of the commons ought to be confined to a third in number of the states-general; or, whether they ought to be allowed a number equal to the other two orders united? So important an object as this could not fail of being discussed with warmth and ability; the partizans of the different orders were numerous and active; the press groaned incessantly with publications; even the sentiments of the princes of the blood were divided; and while the count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke of Bourbon, supported the ancient claims of the nobility, the duke of Orleans ranged himself on the side of the people, and declared openly for the commons. His sentiments were received with the loudest applause, and the people looked with gratitude towards a leader, who, in defending their rights, appeared to be deaf to personal interest, and the claims of the nobility.

The declaration of the duke of Orleans was followed by the decision of M. Necker, and his proposal was, after great deliberation, approved by the king, and registered by the parliament. It fixed the number of deputies to the states-general at one thousand and upwards; it obtained, that the representatives of the third estate, or commons, should equal in number those of the nobility and clergy united; and it decreed that the different bailiwicks, in returning their members, should be guided by the standard of population. The acclamations of the people on thus being admitted to an equal share in the legislative body of their country, was perfectly decorous, though unbounded; yet it appeared that this concession, important as it was, might yet be easily evaded; and it was early foreseen, that the nobility and clergy, to preserve their influence, would urge their claim to vote by order; while the representatives of the com-

mons would be equally strenuous that every question should be decided by a plurality of voices; that this difference of opinion would soon increase into an open schism; and would in the end destroy that unanimity so necessary to the public tranquillity, and so essential to the deliberations of the states-general.

And those persons who ventured to predict these consequences were not disappointed. On the 5th of May, 1789, the king opened at Versailles this long-expected assembly of the states-general. His speech on this occasion was such, in appearance, as became the sovereign and the friend of the people. He declared, "that the day which his heart had so long panted after was at length arrived, in which he beheld himself surrounded by the representatives of a nation which it was his glory to reign over. That although a long interval had elapsed since the states-general had been assembled, and though those assemblies had appeared to have sunk into disuse, yet he had not hesitated to re-establish them again, as a source from whence the kingdom might derive additional strength, and which might open to the nation a new prospect of happiness. The national debt, (he added,) so considerable at his accession to the throne, had been augmented during his reign *: this was to be attributed to the American war; a war expensive indeed, but honourable; the increase of taxes had been the necessary consequence, and had rendered still more apparent the inequality with which they were levied. A general discontent, an eager thirst for innovation, had (he observed) pervaded the minds of the people, and might finally tend to delude them from their duty, if their opinions were not recalled by counsels at once wise, moderate, and united. It was in that confidence, that he had assembled the states-general; and he beheld with pleasure his expectations justified by the disposition

* France groaned at this period under a debt of nearly five thousand millions of livres, or 208,000,000l. sterling.

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which the nobility and clergy had already shewn to renounce all high and lofty advantages; and he flattered himself that the hope he had conceived of beholding all the orders unanimously concur with himself in pursuing the public good, would not be disappointed. I know (said he) the authority and power of a just king in the midst of a people, faithful, and ever devoted to the principles of the monarchy; that authority and power have constituted the glory and grandeur of France; and it is my duty, and I ever will firmly maintain them. But whatever can be expected for the public welfare, whatever can be demanded of a sovereign, the friend of his people, you may, you ought, to hope from my sentiments. That a perfect unanimity may reign through this assembly; that this period may become for ever memorable for the happiness and the prosperity of the kingdom, is the wish of my heart, is the most fervent of my prayers; it is the reward that I expect for the uprightness of my intentions, and my love for my people."

Such was the elevated language delivered from the throne on the first meeting of the states-general. The patriotic sentiments of the sovereign were followed by an insipid harangue from the keeper of the seals, which was received without attention, and immediately consigned to oblivion. But far different was the reception of the speech of M. Necker; every word was strongly imprinted on the minds of the auditors, and every sentiment exposed to the severest scrutiny. He stated, That the same power which had thought proper to summon, might also have prevented, the meeting of the states-general; that though, in respect to the finances, the public deficit was considerable, that various resources remained, without having recourse to this extraordinary expedient. He then touched upon the difficulties that had occurred in convening the assembly; he represented the facility with which a king of France could always render himself master of their determinations, should these

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depend upon a plurality of voices; and he finished by strongly insinuating the propriety of deciding every question by a majority of the *orders taken separately*.

It was, however, the misfortune of M. Necker, on this occasion, to be desirous of pleasing both parties, and therefore he obtained the confidence of neither; the acclamations of the giddy multitude indeed attended him, but several deputies of the *third estate* regarded already with suspicion the minister who represented the meeting of the states-general merely as the effect of royal compliange, instead of a constitutional right. They were still less satisfied with the system he recommended, of deciding every question by a majority of *orders*, instead of *voices*: while the clergy and nobility recollected with indignation, that his counsels had shaken their former superiority, and had swelled the commons to equal in number the other two estates. Yet neither the unanimity recommended by the king, nor the system of policy inculcated by his minister, had a momentary effect on the states-general. Scarcely had the king left the hall, before the clergy and the nobility retired to their different chambers to verify their powers. The *third estate* regarded this separation with evident marks of jealousy; they considered it as an open attempt in the other two estates to establish the system which had been alluded to by the minister of finance. Composing in number one half of that assembly, the commons were determined not to submit to the claims of the nobility and clergy to vote by orders, and thus to reduce themselves to a third part of the assembly; a concession which they asserted would have rendered illusory the rights which had been acknowledged in the *third estate*; and why, added they, have we been granted a moiety of voices, if those voices are to be considered as only composing a third?

Therefore the *third estate*, which had remained in the hall appointed for their deliberations, pressed the other two orders to continue with them, and to verify their

their powers in unison. They urged, that at present the important question was by no means concerned whether they should deliberate by orders, or by numbers; and that the only matter in dispute at present was a simple verification of powers. Several days passed in fruitless invitations and vain negotiations. The patience of the third estate was at length exhausted; they determined to proceed to business, and they assumed the title of COMMONS. On the 11th of May, the nobility also, after having verified their powers, declared themselves a legal assembly: but the clergy were directed by more cautious steps. They deferred the verification of their powers; and, regarding themselves as yet composing no constitutional body, offered their mediation between the other two. The minds of each party, however, grew daily more hostile; the schism became wider; and at length the royal interposition was deemed necessary to compose those differences which threatened the happy fruits that had been expected from the meeting of the states-general with disorder and confusion. But in vain did Louis recommend that unanimity which alone could give weight to the proceedings of the assembly; his plan of conciliation produced only debates, assemblies of commissaries, addresses, and deputations, eloquent but indecisive. Several weeks were consumed in ineffectual motions on the scarcity of corn, the distresses of the people, the regulation of the police, and the legality of elections.

But at length the bold notions of liberty that were daily advanced by the leaders of the *tiers état* were echoed with acclamation by their hearers. The metropolis became interested in the issue of every debate; and the political fervour was eagerly imbibed by the nation with that vivacity which is so peculiar to the genius of the French people. The commons accused the nobles of obstinately impeding the business of the state, by refusing to verify their powers in one common assembly; and the accusation was assented to by the multitude, and the nobles became rapidly

rapidly more and more unpopular. Their persons were insulted; new publications daily reviled their whole order, and represented them as an useless or pernicious body of men, whose existence ought not to be tolerated in a free state. The clergy, from the influence of the parish *curés* or parsons, seemed ready to desert their cause. Still, however, the majority of the nobles remained firm; well aware, that if they once consented to sit in the same assembly, and to vote promiscuously with the more numerous body of the commons, their whole order, and all its splendid privileges, must be speedily overturned.

The leading men of the commons saw the change that was taking place in the minds of men; and they at length regarded the period as arrived when they ought to emerge from their inactivity, and execute the daring project of seizing the legislative authority by force. They declared that the representatives of the nobles and the clergy were only the deputies of particular incorporations, whom they would allow to sit and vote along with themselves, but who had no title in a collective capacity to act as distinct legislators of France. For conducting business with more facility, they appointed twenty committees.

In consequence of a proposal by the abbé Sieyès, a final message was sent to the privileged orders, requiring their attendance as individuals, and intimating that the commons, as the deputies of ninety-six out of every hundred of their countrymen, were about to assume the exclusive power of legislation. None of the nobles obeyed this summons; but three *curés*, Messrs. Cesve, Ballard, and Jalot, presented their commissions, and were received with loud acclamations. They were next day followed by five more, among whom were Messrs. Gregoire, Dillon, and Boudineau. After some debate concerning the appellation which they ought to assume as the representatives of the great body of the people, the commons, with such of the clergy as had joined them, on the 16th of June, 1789, *solemnly voted themselves the sovereign*

sovereign legislators of their country, under the ancient name of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The result of the vote was no sooner declared, than the hall resounded with reiterated shouts from the immense concourse of spectators, of *Vive le roi et vive l'assemblée nationale*; "Long live the king and the national assembly." M. Bailly was chosen president for four days only; Messrs. Camus and Pison de Galand, the secretaries.

This new assembly immediately took the necessary oaths; and, as the first act of authority, they declared that the different taxes collected throughout the kingdom, as never having received the consent of the nation, were illegal and null; but at the same time that the preservation and safety of the state demanded the continuation of them; and they therefore decreed, that they should be levied, in the usual way, until the time that the national assembly should be prorogued; but from the moment that event should take place, then all imposts and contributions which had not been formally and freely granted by the assembly, should entirely cease in every province of the kingdom. At the same time the assembly declared, that so soon as they had ascertained the principles of the constitution, they would seriously direct their attention to the national debt, placing from that moment the creditors of the state under the safeguard of the honour and faith of the French nation. And, to alleviate the fears of the people, a committee of subsistence was immediately established, to enquire into the causes of the melancholy dearth which at that time afflicted the whole kingdom.

It is scarcely possible to describe the different sensations which this memorable day produced. The people, in the moment of triumph, abandoned themselves to all the intoxications of joy. "One hour (said they) has destroyed the prejudices and slavery of eight centuries; the nation has once more resumed its rights, and reason has again asserted her sway. The clergy and the nobles, beneath whose usurpations

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we have so long groaned, have vanished from our sight; the charm is broken; the voice of the representatives of the people is become the voice of the nation, and the vital organ of the state."

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION.

PREVIOUS to our entering upon the sanguinary annals of this eventful period, it may be proper to take a retrospective view of the early jurisprudence of France, the struggles of its parliaments, the abject condition of its people, and the bold exertions of individuals to restore the latent spark of liberty which at first animated the courageous Franks to plant their empire in the bosom of the finest climate on earth, and in the sacred lap of freedom.

It is well-known, that the power of the early monarchs of France had been usually restrained by national assemblies of the people, which afterwards received the appellation of parliaments. But when the feeble successors of Charlemagne suffered the reins to drop from their hands, the barons assumed many privileges which had been formerly annexed to the crown, and extended to a considerable degree the vassalage by feudal tenure. The vigour of Philip surnamed Augustus, restored much of the regal authority; while the justice and wisdom which his edicts displayed commanded the obedience of his subjects, and gave vigour and unanimity both to the national assemblies and the government. The integrity and piety of his son and successor Louis IX. cast the same lustre on the crown as had adorned it during the reign of Philip. His justice and humility disposed his subjects to listen to a legislator who directed his sole views to the benefit of the state. The encouragement which he gave to the code of Jus-

Justinian, and the body of institutions which he had compiled from the Roman laws, established a grand improvement in the maxims of jurisprudence, and in the cognizance of all civil causes. New courts were erected by his authority throughout the kingdom; yet the feudal judges who presided over them were but ill qualified patiently to investigate the theory of a complicated science, or to toil through volumes which daily increased upon their hands; the numerous charters of enfranchisement which had been granted to different towns and villages, required a rigid investigation to modify and explain, and the purest patriotism to render justice to each respective claim. Hence the canonists by degrees entered into the functions of judicature, and became constituent members of those courts of justice which were summoned by the kings, either for the determination of general feudal questions, or of private claims of right, and which were convened at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, according to the will of the sovereign. The secular peers and lords, whom they at first only assisted with their advice, yielded to their superiority in those tribunals; instead of the simplicity and conciseness which characterised the feudal forms of trial, and the martial splendour of a military court, the judges, in peaceful dignity, devoted their attention to the nice discussion of law questions, and encouraged those subtleties which afterwards devolved an arbitrary controul in every individual successor to the crown. The national assemblies now sunk into disuse; the court of peers, which was originally composed of only six secular and six ecclesiastical lords, but which had insensibly admitted the most powerful barons and bishops, and the principal officers of the crown, were restrained to appeals which involved the interests of persons of the same rank, the privileges of the peerage, or the pretensions of the throne.

Philip the Fair, the grandson of St. Louis, however, alarmed by the thunders of the Vatican, and
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desirous of finding support in the zeal and concurrence of his people, convened an assembly of the three orders of his kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons; and thus for the first time, in 1299, gave the people a voice in the grand council of the nation.

The example of Philip was imitated by his successors; and these assemblies, which obtained indiscriminately the names of *States-General* and *Parliaments*, were held as the necessities of the sovereign suggested, till the reign of Louis XIII. But the kings of France, ever jealous of their power, endeavoured to hinder them from assuming a regular establishment; the place of their meeting was frequently changed, and several provincial assemblies, to diminish the danger of their unanimity, were repeatedly held at the same time, and overawed by commissioners purposely sent by the crown. The later princes of the house of Valois even endeavoured to substitute in their place conventions of the notables, and other partial meetings of the nobles; and never but when distress impelled them did they resort to their last resource, the meeting of the *states-general* or *parliaments*.

But while the sovereigns of France were impressed with a jealousy of these assemblies, they nourished with care that court of justice which was composed of the most eminent among the nobility, the clergy, and the professors of the law, and which, equally with the *national assembly* and the *states-general*, had acquired the denomination of *Parliament*. Philip the Fair fixed the permanent seat of it at Paris; and as one chamber was insufficient for the arrangement and dispatch of appeals, he formed another, which was called the Chamber of Inquests. These chambers were appointed to meet twice in the year, at the terms of All Saints and Easter, when their sessions were continued for two months: but during the anarchy of the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. the magistrates sat without intermission; and the sessions of

of the French parliaments from that time could only be legally prorogued by their own consent, or by the termination of public business. From the moment that the parliament of Paris was established, the progress of it was rapid and interesting. The principal barons presided with their swords by their sides, as the supreme judges; but as they were ignorant themselves of the jurisprudence, their decisions were directed by the opinions of the most able lawyers, who, as counsellors, explained to them the edicts of the state and the customs of the nation.

The nobles, during the calamities which afflicted the æra of Charles VI. deserted their judicial station; and it was immediately occupied by the most able professors of the law. But when Charles VII. recovered Paris from the English, it was his first care to re-establish the administration of justice: he composed the grand chamber of parliament of thirty counsellors, half laity and half ecclesiastics; the chamber of inquests he augmented to forty members; and confining his appointments to those only skilled in the law, he delivered his people from the capricious partiality of an intolerant race of nobles.

The necessity, however, of providing some permanent repository for the royal edicts, induced the sovereigns of France to enroll them in the journals of their courts of parliament; and the members of those courts soon availed themselves of this custom, to dispute the legality of any regulation which had not been thus registered. But the right of remonstrating only first appeared in the reign of Louis XI. and during the minority of his son Charles VIII. when the Duke of Orleans disputed the regency.

As the influence of the states-general diminished, that of the parliament daily increased; the court of peers, resigning its separate claim of jurisdiction, was blended with it; and the kings of France by holding their supreme *Beds of Justice* in this court, invested it with the supreme authority of the state, both in civil and criminal affairs. The encroachments of the see of Rome first engaged the attention

of the parliament; and in the reign of Francis I. some strong remonstrances were presented against the mismanagement of the finances, and the impious rapacity which had stripped St. Martin of the silver rails that had been bestowed on his shrine by Louis XI.

In the subsequent reign of Henry III. when France was agitated by the ambition of the house of Lorraine, and the formidable confederacy of the League, the parliament maintained pure and unshaken their allegiance to their sovereign. On the assassination of the duke of Guise, the capital was subjected to the licentious caprice of the council of sixteen; and Harlai, the president of the parliament, with Messrs. de Thou and Potier, who had incurred the displeasures of the zealous leaguers, were by the triumphant faction committed to the Bastile. A more unfortunate fate awaited the president Brisson, who after the assassination of Henry III. had endeavoured to awaken the loyalty of the Parisians towards Henry IV. and was executed, without the form of trial, by a sentence of the council of sixteen. When that monarch recovered his capital, he restored the parliament to its dignity and freedom; and those edicts which had been extorted by the power of the league against himself and his predecessor, were formally annulled. But when Henry himself, grateful for the former services of the Protestants, whose religious tenets he had abjured, in the edict of Nantz, which was registered in parliament, granted to the reformed permission to assemble at what place and at what time they thought fit, to admit foreigners into their synods, and at pleasure to quit the kingdom to join foreign synods, the parliament hesitated not to remonstrate against a concession so dangerous to the royal authority. The sovereign ardently listened to the language of loyalty; but the reformed were entitled to his confidence; he wished to extinguish the rancour between the Protestants and Catholics by a generous toleration; and he compelled the parliament reluctantly to register the edict.

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On the death of Henry IV. the parliament confirmed the title of his widow to the regency, during the minority of Louis XIII. Even after that prince came of age to assume the reins of government, they vindicated their authority against the duke d'Epemon, who had presumed to release by force a soldier from the prison of St. Germain. The king, on account of his partiality for the duke, commanded the parliament to discontinue their proceedings: the parliament obeyed; but at the same time they determined to stop the administration of justice, till they had received satisfaction for this insult to their body; and though the king disapproved their resolution, the duke d'Epemon was at length compelled to a personal submission. But when the commanding genius of cardinal Richelieu guided the counsels of his sovereign, the parliament were taught to respect the voice of a master: their mediation in favour of the queen-mother was severely reprov'd, and they were reduced, at Metz, to implore the pardon of insulted majesty. By acquiescing in the desires of the court in dissolving the marriage of the duke of Orleans with Margaret of Lorraine, they reconciled themselves to the haughty cardinal; yet, unmindful of their late humiliation, they again exposed themselves to his resentment by resisting the establishment of the French Academy; and though their opposition was ineffectual, that minister regarded them with jealousy and aversion to the day of his death.

The death of cardinal Richelieu was soon succeeded by that of Louis XIII. and the minority of his son was entrusted to the queen-mother, Anne of Austria. That princess called to the supreme direction of affairs cardinal Mazarin; and the nation submitted with a great deal of reluctance to the authority of a priest and a foreigner. The parliament availed themselves of the general indignation to shake off the fetters which cardinal Richelieu had imposed, and to assume powers unknown before. Some vexatious edicts which they refused to register, was the signal
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of revolt; the queen, to enforce obedience, arrested several of the counsellors; and the people espousing the cause of the parliament, tumultuously assembled in arms, and barricadoed the streets. The court, alarmed at their hostile appearance, restored the members of the parliament to their freedom; and soon after abandoned a capital which it could no longer govern. For four successive years the parliament alternately opposed the authority of the regent, and launched its edicts against the princes of the blood.

Amidst every species of anarchy and civil commotion, Louis XIV. attained the age fixed for his majority; he appeared in his parliament, boldly reprimanded their presumption, and banished those members who had been rendered most conspicuous by their activity. The rest of the assembly submitted to the mandates of their sovereign; they cancelled the noxious edicts against cardinal Mazarin; they received that minister with every mark of regard; and during the reign of Louis XIV. the parliament of Paris was content to administer justice in obsequious silence. No sooner, however, had Louis expired, than the parliament embraced the opportunity of escaping from that subjection in which he had held them; and, contrary to the will of the deceased monarch, they vested the sole power of the regency in the hands of the duke of Orleans. Yet the freedom of their expostulations with that prince on the ruinous system of law, determined him to dismiss them to Pontoise; and they were compelled to purchase their recall by the most degrading concessions. We have since beheld them, on the resumption of the bull *Unigenitus*, resisting Louis XV. in the plenitude of his power; and though repeatedly banished, yet constantly recalled, and gathering from each fall increase of vigour.

From the days of Philip the Fair the parliament of Paris advanced rapidly, and continually gathered strength in its progress. In the different and most flourish-

flourishing cities of France, other parliaments, on a similar principle, were gradually erected; but, though we have traced the counsellors of law thus elevating themselves to the highest and noblest office of government, and dispensing justice in the supreme court of the kingdom, yet the notions of honour peculiar to the Gothic nations precluded them from being ennobled by their places: they were officially associated with peers, and had sat in judgement on princes of the blood; yet for several centuries they struggled in vain to obtain admission into the order of nobility; and it was not till the reign of Louis XIV. who had humbled their power, that their vanity was gratified by the indulgence of that monarch, whose edict first entitled them to the honours and privileges of the nobility.

In the reign of Louis XV. the parliament became jealous of its judicial functions, and even assumed a superiority beyond that of the king, in expelling the Jesuits from the dominions of France. Yet one feeble ray of hope broke in from the prospect of royal favour; and Louis, who had beheld the proceedings with apparent indifference, was allured by the solicitations of the friends to the society, to interpose in their behalf. The royal mandate, for the space of a year, averted their impending destiny; and during that period all decisions against the society were commanded to be suspended. A plan of accommodation was at length drawn up, and submitted to the pope and the general of the order; but the parliament declared the bulls, briefs, constitutions, and other regulations of the Jesuits, to be encroachments of authority, and abuses of government; they dissolved the society; forbade the members to wear the habit of the order; and interdicted them from the possession of any prebends, livings, or pulpits, or any other clerical or municipal offices. Their colleges were seized; their effects confiscated; and the king joining in the general resentment, seconded the decree of the parliament, by an edict which, in 1762, utterly abo-

abolished the order of Jesuits throughout his dominions.

The parliament, elated by their victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, in 1763, attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits prescribed by law. An edict which Louis issued for the continuance of some taxes which were to have ended with the war, was considered by the parliaments as an unwarrantable burthen; and a second edict, which enabled the crown to redeem its debts at an inadequate price, was represented as a violation of the public faith. The flame spread with rapidity through the kingdom; the provincial parliaments strongly remonstrated against, and ultimately refused to register, the edicts; and those of Paris and Rouen in particular distinguished themselves by their firm and animated language: The subject, said the latter, has a right to the easiest and least burthensome method of contributing to the wants of the state. This right, which is founded in nature, belongs to every nation in the world, whatever may be its form of government; and it is the first right of the FRANKS. The parliament of Bourdeaux also declared, without the least hesitation, that it was their duty in registering an edict to bear witness to the people that the tax was just, and to the king, that his people are still able to furnish the supplies. At Thoulouse, at Grenoble, in Brittany, and Besançon, they pursued the same measures, and held similar language. Nor did the parliament of Paris behold with indifference the exertions of their brethren in Brittany; they applauded their conduct, and exhorted them to persevere in what they had so laudably begun. But the freedom of their behaviour soon drew upon them the censure of the king: Louis suddenly appeared in the public court, and severely reprimanded the temerity of the members; he added, in the language of an offended despot, "I will not suffer an association to be formed in my kingdom, which might grow into a

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confederacy of resistance." The deputies from the parliament of Rouen reminded the sovereign of his coronation oath, and insinuated the existence of a compact between the king and the people. The answer of Louis was conveyed in evasive but very strong terms: "The oath that I have made is not to the nation, as you take upon you to say, but to God alone." This distinction proclaimed his determination to suffer no earthly opposition to his will: he resolved to reign absolutely: the parliaments were for a moment awed by the imperious voice of the monarch; and a transient and deceitful calm succeeded the murmurs of discontent.

The province of Brittany had for a series of years groaned beneath the iron rule of the duke d'Aiguillon, and for four years he had persecuted with unremitting vengeance M. de Chalotais, the attorney-general to the parliament. That unfortunate gentleman, whose genius, learning, and integrity, merited a better fate, had opposed, with the indignation of a virtuous magistrate, the oppressive measures of the duke, who drove the unhappy object of his enmity into exile; pursued him from one prison to another; and at length, by the subornation of false witnesses and the profligacy of dependent judges, procured against him a sentence which involved his life, and which his persecutor hastened privately to carry into execution. But the parliament of Brittany had received intelligence of the dark designs of their governor; the humanity of the duke de Choiseul was interested by their representations; and an order in favour of M. de Chalotais arrived time enough to stop the hand of the executioner, which was already armed against his life. The rescue of that gentleman laid open a scene of the blackest iniquity; and the parliament of Brittany, possessed of new proofs, commenced a process against the duke d'Aiguillon, whose trial was conducted in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, the peers, and the parliament of Paris. Before these judges the written proceedings carried

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on against M. de Chalotais were produced; and their production disclosed such a complicated system of guilt and cruelty against the duke d'Aiguillon as exceeded whatever could have been surmised.

But at the moment that the nation anxiously awaited the decision of this important cause, Louis thought proper, by a violent exertion of power, to put a total stop to the whole course of justice, and to all farther inquiries into the conduct of the duke d'Aiguillon. At the same time, conscious of their sentiments, he forbade the princes of the blood to attend the parliament. A procedure so inconsistent with the rights of the peerage was openly reprobated by the prince of Conti; and the partiality which the king evidently displayed towards the duke d'Aiguillon, could not repress the determined resolution of the parliaments against that odious noble. The parliament of Paris prohibited him from exercising the functions of his peerage till his character was cleared by an open trial; and, though the king annulled their arrêt by the absolute authority which he assumed, they maintained their resolution with firmness; and their remonstrances were seconded by the representations of the princes and peers, who complained that their honour was sacrificed, and the rights of the peerage annihilated. The other parliaments of the kingdom were not behind in vigour or resolution to that of Paris; but the general detestation that pursued the duke d'Aiguillon seemed only to increase the attachment of his sovereign; and Louis, after having severely reprimanded the parliament of Paris for their temerity, ordered two of their members to be arrested, and sent to the castle of Vincennes; yet the rest, instead of being intimidated by this act of severity, still displayed an astonishing magnanimity, and persevered in repeated deputations and remonstrances against the arbitrary proceeding.

At length the king arrived suddenly at Paris, and, like an arbitrary monarch, having surrounded the parliament with his guards, entered the assembly, reproached

proached the members in the severest terms, dismissed the two chambers of Inquests and Requests, and ordered all proceedings against the duke d'Aiguillon to be erased from their registers. But these measures secured not the submission of the parliaments of France; and those assemblies still maintained a conduct equally firm and honourable. The members long withstood the royal edict, by which they were to acknowledge themselves obliged in future to register all the edicts of the king, even though those very edicts should have been remonstrated against by themselves. The presence of the monarch, indeed, compelled them to enter on their journals this degrading edict; but in their next assembly the parliament of Paris complained of it as an act of force, and appointed a deputation to the king to entreat him to withdraw it. Their language on this occasion was bold, firm, and animated: "Your edict, sire, (said they,) is destructive of all law: your parliament is charged to maintain the law; and, the law perishing, they should perish with it: these are, sire, the last words of your parliament."

Enraged at their perseverance, Louis now yielded to the most violent councils, and prepared to support his authority by the most arbitrary measures: the members, in the dead of night, were awaked in their beds by parties of the guards, who presented to each of them a *lettre de cachet*, which enjoined them to declare whether they would resume the administration of justice, which they had abandoned, or persist in their refusal. Though in the moment of confusion a few were surprized into acquiescence, yet they soon retracted: they were commanded to attend at court, to receive their dismissal; and maintaining, even in the presence of the king, the same decent but inflexible firmness, the whole body of the parliament was banished from the metropolis. ✓

The chief author of a conduct so daring and odious, so arbitrary and tyrannical, was the chancellor de Maupe  u; a man who had risen to power by

the practice of every species of fraud and deceit, and who shared with the duke d'Aiguillon the hatred of the nation. At his suggestions a temporary tribunal was erected, at which the lawyers of the crown were compelled to assist; but this phantom of a parliament was soon extinguished. The king, at the last Bed of Justice that he held, issued three edicts; the first, for the dissolution of the present parliament; the second, for the suppression of the court of aids; and the third, for the transformation of the grand council into a new parliament: after which he closed the assembly with these decisive words: "You have heard my intentions, and it is my will that they should be executed. I command you to begin your functions next Monday: my chancellor will instal you. I forbid all deliberations contrary to my will, and all representations in favour of the ancient parliament; for I will *never* change." Soon after the king declared that the jurisdiction of the new parliament, which reached from Lyons to Arras, was too extensive: in consequence of which he divided it into six different parts; each court was to have a similar jurisdiction, and to be held at Arras, Lyons, Clermont, Blois, Poitiers, and Paris: a new code of laws, which had been framed by the chancellor, was also presented and approved; and measures accordingly taken for carrying them into execution. Thus by the most arbitrary and tyrannical measures the king established himself as an absolute monarch; and this order of things continued till the death of Louis XV. in 1774.

Although it was the hapless fate of Louis XVI. eventually to perish through the violent measures of the commonalty, yet he had no sooner ascended the throne, and began to regulate the abuses of the former government, than he suppressed for ever the functions and powers of this new assembly, and, to the great joy of the nation, restored, with all its ancient privileges, the old and only legal parliament. Even in the first moments of their return, the members displayed

played a spirit unsubdued by adversity; the article respecting the right of remonstrance was openly avowed; and they already aspired to their former pretensions; but their rising spirit was controuled by the decision of the monarch, who wished to reign absolute; and the answer to one of their representations, "*that he MUST be obeyed,*" was conclusive.

But although from this time forward, to the year 1786, the parliament pursued its functions to the general satisfaction both of the king and the people, it was easy to perceive that the despotic measures of the court would sooner or later meet with a final overthrow. When the edict for registering the loan at the conclusion of 1785, which amounted to the sum of 3,330,300*l.* was laid before the parliament, the murmurs of that assembly presented a formidable opposition. The king, however, signified to the deputation that was commissioned to convey to him their remonstrances, that "**HE EXPECTED TO BE OBEYED;**" accordingly the ceremony of the registering took place on the next day; but was accompanied with a resolution, importing, "*that public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin.*"

This proceeding was no sooner known, than the king required the attendance of the grand deputation of parliament; he erased from their records the resolution that had been adopted; and observed, though it was his pleasure that the parliament should communicate by its respectful representations whatever might interest the good of the public, yet he never would consent that they should so far abuse his confidence and clemency as to erect themselves into the censors of his administration. He told them, that he expected in future they should confine their expressions within the limits of wisdom and loyalty; and, more strongly to mark his displeasure at their expostulations, he directed the dismissal from further service

service, of one of their officers, who had appeared most active in forwarding the late resolution.

Though the measures of the sovereign bore this decisive mark of arbitrary power, yet Calonne, the minister of finance, could not help feeling deeply mortified by the opposition of the parliament. Under these circumstances, the only alternative that seemed to remain was to have recourse to some other assembly, more dignified in its character, and that should consist in a greater degree of members from the various orders of the state, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promised to be a popular measure, for it implied a deference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove greatly acceptable; but the true and legitimate assembly of the nation, the *States-general*, had not met since the year 1614; nor could the minister flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the royal assent to a meeting which a despotic sovereign could not but regard with an eye of jealousy. Another assembly had occasionally been substituted in the room of the *states-general*; this was distinguished by the title of the *Notables*, and consisted of a number of persons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king himself. This assembly had been convened by Henry IV. and again by Louis XIII. and was now once more to be summoned by the authority of Louis XVI.

The writs that were issued for calling together the assembly of the notables were dated on the 29th of December, 1786: they were addressed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field-mareschals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven heads of the law, twelve deputies of the *pays d'états*, the lieutenant civil, and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was 144; and the 29th of January, 1787, was the period appointed for their opening. It was at the moment when the
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members of the notables had arrived at Paris, and that the attention of all classes in the kingdom was fixed upon their meeting as an important æra in the history of France, that the minister found himself yet unprepared to submit his system to their inspection, and postponed the opening of the council to the 22d of February, when he met the assembly of the notables, and opened his long-expected plan. He began by stating that the public expenditure had for centuries past exceeded the revenue; that under the economical administration of cardinal Fleuri the deficit still existed; that the progress of this derangement under the last reign had been extreme; at the appointment of the abbé Terray it had amounted to 3,000,000*l.* sterling; that minister had reduced it to 1,675,000*l.*; it became somewhat less under the short administrations that followed; it rose again in consequence of the war, under the administration of Necker; and at his own accession to office, it was 3,330,000*l.* To remedy this evil the comptroller-general recommended a territorial impost, in the nature of the English land-tax, from which no rank or order of men were to be exempted; an enquiry into the possessions of the clergy, which had hitherto been deemed sacred from their proportion of the public burthens; the various branches of internal taxation were also to undergo a strict examination; and a considerable resource was presented in mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown.

A formidable adversary, however, presented himself in the person of count de Mirabeau, who boldly impeached the integrity of M. de Calonne; he hesitated not to rank him among those who preferred their fortune to their honour, and who had augmented their wealth by the most dishonourable speculations in the funds. He added, that all his operations bore the stamp of despotism and personal interest; and he called upon the notables to address their sovereign in the honest language of truth: "Let them tell him, (said he,) that a man, who was estranged to every prin-

principle of good faith, of fidelity in engagements, of respect to property, was unfit to remain at the helm of commerce, of contracts, and of law." The eloquence of Calonne at once sunk under the influence of the three great bodies of the nation; the grand and essential object of reform, was to equalize the public burthens, and, by rendering the taxes general, to diminish the load of the lower and most useful classes of the people. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public assessments; and, had the evil gone no further, it might have been still perhaps borne with patience; but, through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility, such crowds of new noblesse started up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with people of title. The first object with those who had acquired fortunes rapidly, was to purchase a patent, which, besides gratifying their vanity, afforded an exemption to them and their posterity from contributing proportionably to the exigencies of the state; the magistracies likewise throughout the kingdom enjoyed their share of these exemptions; so that the whole weight of the taxes fell on those who were least able to bear them. The design of equalizing the public burthens, though undoubtedly great, thus united against the minister the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy, and the event was such as might have been expected: the intrigues of those three bodies raised so loud and unexpected a clamour, that the measure fell to the ground, and terminated the ministerial influence of M. de Calonne. The king, thus deprived of any further hope of rendering the convention of the notables the instrument of extricating him from his embarrassments, immediately dismissed them; and thus paved the way to the erection of the National Assembly, and all the horrors of the Revolution.

The wonderful spectacle we are now to unfold, is that of a mild and polished people becoming in an instant sanguinary and fierce; an established government,

ment, celebrated for its weight and importance among the states of Europe, though rendered absolute by the arbitrary will of its monarchs, overturned almost without a struggle; a whole nation apparently uniting to destroy every institution which antiquity had hallowed, or education taught them to respect, but which respect had been forced upon them; an enlightened community treating the superstitious religion of their fathers with contempt; a long enslaved people occupied in their public counsels in the discussion of refined schemes of freedom: in short, twenty-six millions of persons suddenly treading under foot every sentiment and every prejudice that they themselves had once regarded as sacred and venerable, but which their newly-informed judgements taught them they should not any longer submit to. ✓

Long previous to this ever-memorable epoch, the nobles of France, within their own territories, enjoyed privileges almost equal to those of sovereign princes: they made peace and war; they coined money; they were judges in the last resort; their vassals were their slaves, whom they bought and sold along with their estates; the inhabitants of cities, although freemen, were for ages depressed and poor, depending for protection upon some tyrannical baron in their neighbourhood. At length, however, by the progress of the arts, the cities rose into more considerable importance, and their inhabitants, with such freemen of some rank as resided in the country, were considered as entitled to a place in the representation; but the clergy and the nobles formed the two first estates, while the sovereign was despotic; yet the nobles retained all their feudal privileges, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy did the same. The following was, in a few words, the state of that country during the two last centuries;

The kingdom of France, previous to the revolution, was never reduced into one homogeneous mass. It consisted of a variety of separate provinces acquired by different means; some by marriage, some

No. II.

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by legacy, and others by the power of the sword; Each province retained its ancient laws and privileges, whether political or civil, as expressed in their capitularies, or conditions by which they were originally acquired. In one part of his dominions the French monarch was a count, in another he was a duke, and in others he was a king; the only bond which united his vast empire being the strong military force by which it was kept in awe. Each province had its barriers; and the intercourse betwixt one province and another was often more restrained by local usages than by the intercourse of either with a foreign country. Some of the provinces, such as Bretagne and Dauphiny, even retained the right of assembling periodically their provincial states; but these formed no barrier against the power of the crown.

The clergy formed the first estate of the kingdom in point of precedence. They amounted to 130,000. The higher orders of them enjoyed immense revenues; but the *curés*, or great body of acting clergy, (the *rectors*,) seldom possessed more than about twenty-eight pounds sterling a-year, and their *vicaires* (*curates* as they would be called in England) about half that sum. A few of their dignified clergy were men of great piety, who resided constantly in their dioceses, and attended to the duties of their office; but by far the greater number of them passed their lives at Paris and Versailles, immersed in all the intrigues and dissipations of a gay and licentious court. They were almost exclusively selected from among the younger branches of the families of the most powerful nobility, and accounted it a kind of dishonour to the order of bishops for any person of subordinate rank to be admitted into it. The inferior clergy, on the contrary, were persons of mean birth, and had little chance of preferment; yet we find several respectable exceptions to this rule. The clergy, as a body, independent of the tithes, possessed a revenue arising from their property in land, amounting to four or five millions sterling annually; at the same

same time they were exempt from taxation; but they presented to the court a free gift of a sum of somewhat short of a million sterling every five years: this, however, was voluntary.

The nobility was nominally the second order of the state, though it was in reality the first. The nobles amounted to no less than 200,000 in number! The title and rank descended to all the children of the family, but the property to the eldest alone: hence vast multitudes of them were dependent upon the bounty of the court. They regarded the useful and commercial arts as dishonourable, and even the liberal professions as in a great measure beneath their dignity, disdaining to intermarry with the families of any such professors. The feudal system in its purity was favourable to the production of respectable qualities in the minds of the nobles; but the introduction of commerce rendered it equally unfavourable to that class of men. Instead of the ancient patriarchal attachment between the feudal chieftain and his vassals, the nobility became greedy landlords in the provinces, that they might appear in splendour at court and in the capital. There, lost in intrigue, sensuality, and vanity, their characters became frivolous and contemptible. Such of the French noblesse, however, as remained in the provinces, regarded with indignation this degradation of their order, and retained a proud sense of honour and of courage. The order of the nobles was exempted from the payment of taxes, although the property of some of them was immense. The estates of the prince of Condé, for example, were worth 200,000*l.* a-year, and those of the duke of Orleans nearly twice as much. The crown had indeed imposed some trifling taxes upon the noblesse, which, however, they in a great measure contrived to evade.

The parliaments generally consisted of large bodies of men, in different provinces, appointed as courts of law for the administration of justice. In consequence of the corruption of the officers of state, the

members purchased their places, which they held for life; but the son was usually preferred when he offered to purchase his father's place. Therefore the practising lawyers had little chance of ever becoming judges. Courts thus constituted consisted of a motley mixture of old and young, learned and ignorant, men; and justice was ill administered. The judges allowed their votes in depending causes to be openly solicited by the parties or their friends. No wise man ever entered into a litigation against a member of one of these parliaments, for no lawyer would undertake to plead his cause: it never came to a successful issue, and usually never came to any issue at all. After the states-general had fallen into disuse, the parliaments acquired a large degree of political consequence, and formed the only check upon the absolute power of the crown. The laws, or royal edicts, before being put in force, were always sent to be registered in the books of the parliaments. If they objected to register any edict, it was done under a kind of legal fiction: for they pretended, that the noxious edict, being injurious to the public felicity, could not be the will of the king, but must either be a forgery, or an imposition by the ministers. These objections were got the better of, either by a positive order from the king, or by his coming in person and commanding the edict to be registered. ✓

The *tiers état*, or commons, formed the lowest order of the state in France, and they were depressed and miserable in the extreme. To form a conception of their situation, it is necessary to observe, that they bore the whole pecuniary burdens of the state, and they alone were liable to taxation. An expensive and ambitious court; an army of 200,000 men in time of peace, and of twice that number in war; a considerable marine establishment; public roads and works; were all supported exclusively by the lowest of the people. To add to the evil, the revenues were ill collected. They were let out to farmers-general at a certain sum, over and above which they
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not only acquired immense fortunes to themselves, but were enabled to advance enormous presents to those favourites or mistresses of the king or the minister by means of whom they procured their places. To raise all this money from the people, they were guilty of the most cruel oppression, having it in their power to obtain whatever revenue laws they pleased, and executing them in the severest manner. For this purpose they kept in pay an army of clerks, scouts, and spies, amounting to eighty thousand men. These were indeed detested by the king, whom they deceived and kept in poverty; by the people, whom they oppressed; and by the ancient nobility, as purse-proud upstarts. But the court of France could never contrive to manage without them. The peasants could be called out by the intendants of the provinces in what they called *corvées*, to work upon the high roads for a certain number of days in the year, which was a source of severe oppression, as the intendant had the choice of the time and place of their employment, and was not bound to accept of any commutation in money. They were moreover subject to the nobles in a thousand oppressive ways. The nobles retained all their ancient manerial or patrimonial jurisdictions. The common people, being anciently slaves, had obtained their freedom upon different conditions. In many places they and their posterity remained bound to pay a perpetual tribute to their feudal lords. Such tributes formed a considerable part of the revenue of many of the provincial nobles. No man could be an officer of the army, who did not produce proofs of nobility for four generations. The parliaments, latterly, although originally of the *tiers état*, attempted also to introduce a rule that none but the noblesse should be admitted into their order. In such a situation, it will not be accounted surprising that the common people of France were extremely superstitious and ignorant. They were, however, obsequiously devoted to their monarch, and whatever concerned him. In 1754, when

when Louis XV. was taken ill at Metz, the whole nation was truly in a kind of despair. The courier and his horse that brought the news of his recovery to Paris, were both almost suffocated by the embraces of the people.

But the greatest of all the evils that can be suggested, was the insecurity of individuals in their own persons. In France no man was safe. The secrets of private families were searched into; and nothing was unknown to the jealous inquisition of the police. Men were seized by *lettres de cachet* when they least expected it, and their families had no means of discovering their fate. The sentence of a court of law against a nobleman was usually reversed by the minister. No book was published without the licence of a censor-general appointed by the court, and the minister was accountable to none but the king. No account was to be demanded of the expenditure of the public money. Enormous gratifications and pensions were given as the reward of the most infamous services. The supreme power of the state was usually lodged with a favourite mistress, and she was sometimes a woman taken from public prostitution. This was not indeed the case under Louis XVI.; but it was nevertheless one of the misfortunes of his life, that he was far from being absolute in his own family. Still, however, with all its faults, the French court was the most splendid and polished in Europe. It was more the resort of men of talents and literature of every kind; and there they met with more ample protection than any where else. The court was often jealous of their productions, but they met with the most distinguished attention from men of fortune and rank; insomuch that for a century past the French have given the law to Europe in all departments of taste, of literature, and of every polite accomplishment. The gay elegance that prevailed at court diffused itself through every part of the nation; and, amidst such internal misery, it gave to a
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foreigner the appearance of a mixture of happiness, of levity, and vanity.

The established religion of France had for some time past been gradually undermined. It had been solemnly assaulted by philosophers in various elaborate performances; and men of wit, among whom Voltaire took the lead, had attacked it with the dangerous weapon of ridicule. The Roman Catholic religion is much exposed in this respect, in consequence of the multitude of false miracles and legendary tales with which its history abounds. The various innovations and absurd doctrines which had been made and promulgated by the Roman pontiffs, were of a nature well calculated to make every thinking person smile at the folly of a nation who could admit them; and it was reasonable to suppose, that when the ancient government of France was overturned, the people, who had been so long under the influence of their confessors, would endeavour to overturn that system which had held their consciences in complete subjection. Therefore, without discriminating betwixt the respectable principles on which it rests, and the superstitious follies by which they had been defaced, the French nation learned to laugh at the whole, and rejected, instead of being willing to reform, the religion of their fathers. Thus the first order in the state, the clergy, had already begun to be regarded as useless, and the minds of men were prepared for important changes.

We cannot here avoid mentioning a physical event, which assisted not a little in producing many of the convulsions attending the revolution—a general scarcity of grain, which occurred about that period. On Sunday the 13th of July, 1788, about nine in the morning, without any eclipse, a dreadful darkness suddenly overspread several parts of France. It was the prelude of such a tempest as is unexampled in the temperate climates of Europe. Wind, rain, hail, and thunder, seemed to contend in impetuosity; but the hail was the great instrument of ruin. Instead
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of the rich prospects of an early autumn, the face of nature in the space of an hour presented the dreary aspect of universal winter. The soil was converted into a morass, the standing corn beaten into the quagmire, the vines broken to pieces, the fruit-trees demolished, and unmelted hail lying in heaps like rocks of solid ice. Even the robust forest trees were unable to withstand the fury of the tempest. The hail was composed of enormous solid and angular pieces of ice, some of them weighing from eight to ten ounces. The country people, beaten down in the fields on their way to church, amidst this concussion of the elements, concluded that the last day was arrived; and, scarcely attempting to extricate themselves, lay despairing and half suffocated amidst the water and the mud, expecting the immediate dissolution of all things. The storm was irregular in its devastations. While several rich districts were laid entirely waste, some intermediate portions of country were comparatively little injured. One of sixty square leagues had not a single ear of corn or a fruit of any kind left. Of the sixty-six parishes in the district of Pontoise, forty-three were entirely desolated, and of the remaining twenty-three, some lost two-thirds and others half their harvest. The Isle of France, being the district in which Paris is situated, and the Orlannois, appear to have suffered chiefly: the damage there, upon a moderate estimate, amounted to 80,000,000 of livres, or 3,500,000l. sterling. Such a calamity must at any period have been severely felt; but occurring on the eve of a great political revolution, and amidst a general scarcity throughout Europe, it was peculiarly unfortunate, and gave more embarrassment to the government than perhaps any other event whatever. Numbers of families found it necessary to contract their mode of living for a time, and to dismiss their servants, who were thus left destitute of bread. Added to the public discontent and political dissensions, it produced such an effect upon the people in general, that

that the nation seemed to have changed its character; and, instead of that levity, by which it had ever been distinguished, a settled gloom appeared to be fixed on every countenance.

Such was the wretched state of France, and such the miserably impoverished condition of the people, when Louis XVI. equally distressed with the meanest of his subjects for the want of pecuniary aids*, and after applying for relief in vain to the meetings

* We do not conceive how Louis could be otherwise than in want of pecuniary assistance, when we consider the contents of the "*Livre Rouge*," (the Red Book,) which was published to the world after the Revolution began, every page of which was filled with enormous pensions. It being found by the committee appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the public money in pensions and donations, that a register was kept by the ministers, under the name of the Red Book, in which every pension or gift was entered in the hand-writing of the comptroller-general of the finances, and checked by the king himself. This book was communicated to them on the 15th of March, 1791, but the communication was made under strong circumstances of reserve and delicacy. The king entreated that the profuse expences of his grandfather might be kept from the public eye; but M. Necker, with surprize and indignation, found that a few days after this register was committed to the press. When he demanded why they presumed to publish it without the permission of the assembly and the king, he received for answer, "That as to the assembly, they were certain of its approbation; and as to the king, they were not his representatives." Concerning this proceedure we can only observe, that it would not have been easy for the committee to reconcile the suppression of this catalogue with their duty to their constituents. The publication of this book disclosed a series of extravagance and iniquity perhaps unparalleled. Such was the profusion of one minister alone, M. Calonne, that under his short administration it appeared that, independent of their immense revenues, the *two brothers* of the king had received from the public treasury sums to the amount of nearly *two millions* sterling; that upwards of 1,000,000*l.* of this had fallen to the share of the count d'Artois; and that the same minister had undertaken to discharge the debts of this prince, amounting nearly to one million sterling besides. Among the donations and benefactions also, some appeared of the most singular description; among which is recorded a present of 600,000*l.* to an individual for his *important services*—and these services so important to the state were, that he was *Maitre d'Hotel* to his own wife, Madame de Polignac!!!

No. III.

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of his parliaments, his notables, and the states-general, was fatally driven to annihilate the fabric of the ancient constitution, and bend beneath the undefined powers of a new and imperious authority, which daily and hourly acquired new strength, and manifested a haughty and invincible spirit. Such was the national assembly, in the moment when Louis, on the brink of a precipice, determined yet to compel, in an arbitrary manner, the three privileged orders, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, to vote as separate bodies in their respective chambers, and as three distinct members of the new constitution.

On the 23d of June, 1789, the king convened the first legitimate meeting of the national assembly in the grand saloon of the palace of Versailles. His majesty opened the assembly by a speech, in which he complained of that division which he had heard prevailed among them, so fatal to the hopes of the people, and so contrary to the views of the sovereign. This was followed by a declaration from the keeper of the seals, which, in the most decisive language, insisted upon the ancient distinction of the three orders as essential to the existence of the state; it established particular rules for their deliberations; it abolished and declared void the celebrated declaration of the commons on the 17th of the same month, when they first took the oaths, as illegal and unconstitutional; and it finished by declaring, that the saloon, which hitherto had been opened, should be closed to the public in general. A second declaration followed the first, in which the king announced all the favours which it was his intention to grant to his people; and concluded with, "I may truly say, that no king has ever done so much for any nation whatsoever; but what subjects can have merited so much from their natural disposition as my own?" This declaration consisted of thirty-five articles, all of the utmost importance; taxes, loans, the actual state of the finances, the sums allotted to different departments for the maintenance of the king's household, the con-
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consolidation of the public debt; and the abolition of the pecuniary privileges of the clergy and nobility; lettres de cachet, liberty of the press, of commerce, code civil and criminal, personal liberty, equality of imposts, with the establishment of provincial states, were points on which his majesty expressed his wishes and his will. In addressing the assembly, he added, "If you abandon ME in this honourable enterprize, I alone will establish the happiness of my people; it is seldom perhaps that the sole ambition of a sovereign is to prevail on his subjects to receive his favours."

To this apparent system of moderation and good will to the people, it has been asserted, that the king was instigated by his fears of the populace, whom he apprehended to be meditating schemes for the advancement of their own rights; in which indeed he was not mistaken. He now began to consider, that the wealth of a sovereign consists in the good will and affection of his subjects; but still he wished to keep up an appearance of absolute authority; therefore, on retiring from the saloon, he commanded the three orders to separate immediately, and the next morning to assemble each in its respective chamber. The clergy, with the exception of a few, and the nobility, in obedience to the royal injunction, quitted instantly the saloon; but the commons, appreciating his views, still remained, and debated with firmness on the measures likely to avert the destruction with which they declared themselves menaced from the intrigues of the court.

Hence the interposition of the royal authority was not attended with the effects that his majesty had fondly expected; and every circumstance, however trifling, served to agitate and inflame the minds of the people; the court and the capital began to divide into two parties; those who adhered to the pretensions of the clergy and the nobility were distinguished by the title of *aristocrats*; while those who declared themselves on the side of the people were stigmatized

by the name of *democrata*. The lowering countenances of the Parisians foretold the horrors of the impending storm; while the prisons were forced, and the most daring felons let loose upon the public.

Thus the threatening clouds gathered on every side; the weakness of the royal councils, the boldness of the commons, and the frantic rage of the people, all demanded instant interposition, and the most decisive magnanimity: but it was the misfortune of the court of Versailles no longer to inspire confidence among the higher orders, or terror among the people. To add to the mischief, the duke of Orleans, in concert with about fifty of the nobility, on the 25th of June, joined the national assembly, and endeavoured to take a decided part in those violent commotions which threatened to shake the kingdom to its foundation. The people were not indifferent to this instance of his proffered zeal; and they bestowed on him the title of *Prince of Patriots*.

In the mean while the clergy and nobility published their resolution to adhere to the royal declaration of the 23d; but whether the influence of M. Necker prevailed, or that the king yielded to his dread of the consequences which might ensue, in a letter that his majesty addressed to the two privileged orders, after assuring them how sensible he was of their fidelity in accepting his declaration, he added, that in the present situation of affairs, it was his wish that they should accede to the resolution of the *tiers état*. This celebrated junction took place on the 27th of June; and the re-union of the different orders inspired the court, then at Versailles, with the most lively hopes of tranquillity; but these hopes were soon destroyed by the uncontrollable fury of the people.

Large bodies of troops were directed to march towards Paris; a considerable camp was formed near the gates of the capital; the avenues to Versailles were guarded by a train of artillery; numerous sentinels were planted round the palace; and mareschal Broglie,

Broglie, grown grey in the wars of Germany, was summoned to command the forces assembled in the district of the Isle of France. But these hostile preparations neither eluded the vigilance of the national assembly, nor were beheld with indifference by the citizens of the capital. The former contented themselves with addressing his majesty to withdraw these troops, which filled with apprehensions the minds of his faithful subjects; but the latter, impatient of controul, had already proceeded to acts of violence, and liberated by force some soldiers of the French guards, who had been confined for disorderly behaviour.

The scarcity with which France was afflicted, and the consequent high price of corn, added to the tumults which daily occurred in the streets of Paris; and it was at this moment, when the greatest address was necessary to sooth the discontented multitude, that the court ventured on a measure as unpopular as it was impolitic. On the 11th of July, M. Necker, who had so long enjoyed the confidence of the public; received the royal mandate to quit suddenly the kingdom. The first intelligence of his departure filled Paris with consternation; he was considered as a sacrifice to the patriotic sentiments he had avowed; the people regarded his exile as the first step to the subversion of their freedom; the exchange was shut; the public spectacles were suspended; and the crowds that assembled tumultuously in the streets of the metropolis proclaimed aloud their indignation. Their fury blazed out with open violence; the bells were sounded on every side as signals for the citizens to arm. The city, to facilitate the election of deputies, had been divided into sixty districts; and the electors, on the first alarm, repaired to their respective departments; they were classed into different regiments; they assumed a cockade of three colours, which was now first dignified with the title of *national*; while the court, whose versatility had provoked the insurrection,

rection, seemed lost in astonishment at the rapidity of its progress.

No sooner were the national assembly informed of the disorders which raged through the capital, than they dispatched a numerous deputation to the king, to represent their concern, and the dangers which threatened the state. The favourites, who had despised in a moment of tranquillity the rage of the populace, now trembled for their personal safety. The answer from the throne was conceived in terms the most satisfactory: the king assured the deputies that he would withdraw the troops from the environs of the capital; that he desired his intentions might be made known to the Parisians; and that, to maintain the public order, he permitted the citizens to form themselves into a militia, while he himself would select the proper officers to command them. But, before Paris could be assured of the favourable intentions of her sovereign, her streets were stained with blood. The royal regiment of Swiss guards, commanded by the prince de Lambesc, had been stationed in the gardens of the Thuilleries; but the colonel, apprehending that the increasing numbers of the people might preclude his retreat, gave orders to his soldiers to force their way through the crowd. In this attempt, the prince is reported to have wounded an unarmed citizen. This incident awakened the fury of the people; the regiment of guards was attacked by every weapon that instant fury could supply. The French guards interposed; but it was not without some loss that Lambesc secured the retreat of his regiment.

The multitude, elated by success, precipitated themselves on the Hotel of Invalids, where they possessed themselves of thirty thousand fusils; while the guards, that might have defended this important store, waited in vain the orders of their general, M. de Bezenval. This delay confirmed the courage of the populace. They now pressed forward to the Bastille, and devoted

voted to instant destruction that celebrated fortress of despotism. The massive walls of this state prison, with the wide and deep ditch that surrounded them, might have defied the rage of the insurgents, had the command been held by any other person than the marquis de Launay. But the conduct of that officer was equally fatal to his life and his reputation; he rejected the demand of the people to remove the artillery from the ramparts; yet he neglected to raise the draw-bridge, and suffered a crowd to place themselves upon it. On these unhappy people, who peaceably waited the effect of a parley which he held, he suddenly fired; many were the victims of this guilty rashness. But the populace, instead of being intimidated, were irritated by the fate of their companions; they pressed forward in myriads to avenge them. In vain did the wretched governor propose terms of capitulation; their fury was deaf to every entreaty, and superior to every obstacle. Resistance was in vain; each avenue was forced; M. de Launay was dragged to the place of public execution; and his head, severed from his body, was carried in triumph through the astonished multitude.

Deputies had been sent from the national assembly at Versailles to restore order to the city of Paris, and those gentlemen were witnesses of these sanguinary scenes of commotion. They now hastened to inform that assembly, that the voice of the nation imperiously demanded the recal of M. Necker, as a pledge of the sincerity of the court. Nothing now remained but to sooth the people by immediate compliance, and numerous couriers were dispatched after M. Necker, to solicit his return; and while the royal couriers were in pursuit of M. Necker, the sovereign presence was deemed necessary to appease the Parisians, and the king entered the capital amidst the acclamations of its inhabitants. He was met by M. Bailly, who had been chosen mayor of Paris, and whose election the king had confirmed. That officer presented to his majesty the keys of the city, addressing

ing him at the same time in the following remarkable and appropriate words: "These, sire, are the same keys which were presented to Henry IV. He came to conquer his people; this day it is the people who re-conquer their king."

Whatever might be the secret feelings of the king at this singular harangue, which was well calculated to bear different interpretations, his whole conduct was such as highly merited applause. The marquis de la Fayette was now selected to command the militia of Paris, while Louis manifested a seeming compliance with the wishes of the people, by shewing himself at the windows of the Hotel de Ville with the national cockade.

After these concessions, the king returned to Versailles. But the calm that his presence had diffused was of short duration; the minds of the people were still agitated; distrust and cruelty characterized the multitude; and the slightest suspicions were sufficient in their eyes to sanction the most barbarous executions. Each day beheld some new sacrifice to their sanguinary caprice; while the superior characters of Foulon and Berthier distinguished their fate from not less innocent, though less conspicuous, victims of popular fury. M. Foulon, on the dismissal of Necker, had been named to a post in the new administration. Though, in conjunction with his colleagues, he retired from office on the recal of that statesman, yet his retreat served not to extinguish the hatred of the citizens of Paris. His disposition, naturally severe and uncomplying, probably increased the general disgust; and an expression that public rumour had once attributed to him, "that hay was food good enough for the common people," inflamed the multitude into open menaces of destruction. Sensible of the storm that threatened him, he had retired into the country, and hoped in privacy to await the return of general tranquillity. But his retreat was discovered: he was dragged in triumph to the capital; judges were appointed to try him. But the im-

patience of the multitude could not brook delay; he was forced from the guards; a cord suspended to a lamp-iron supplied the instrument of execution; and his head, with the mouth filled with hay, was carried through the streets of Paris. Berthier, his son-in-law, was no less culpable in the eyes of the Parisians. A rumour prevailed that he had furnished the troops in the environs of Paris with ammunition. He was also accused with not only having monopolized great quantities of corn, but also with having destroyed the growing harvest, to enhance the price of grain in his own possession. Though his fate was longer deferred, it was no less inevitable. The head of the unfortunate Foulon was thrust into his carriage, and he was compelled by the populace to salute it. This cruel insult served only to procrastinate the hour of his destruction; and the last moments of his life were embittered by reproach, inhumanity, and torture.

To appease the disturbances in the capital, notices were given of the hourly expectation of the return of M. Necker, and corn was procured from the most distant parts of the kingdom, while agents were dispatched to every court in Europe to solicit supplies. The minds of the citizens were assuaged by the hopes of returning plenty; and the affections of the soldiers were confirmed by the decree which abolished whipping*.

The melancholy disorders which thus afflicted the French nation, and which equally menaced the public revenue, and all private property and personal security, awakened the national assembly to a sense of the danger, and impressed their minds with the necessity of proceeding with alacrity to form that constitution, which was become no less necessary to

* A most unmanly and degrading punishment, which originated among the savage hordes of the priests of Germany, and had been received into the armies of other countries with universal detestation and abhorrence.

the existence of France, than requisite to preserve the lives and liberties of her citizens. The committee of reports had presented an affecting picture of the national calamities; and it was therefore proposed, as a remedy for the evils which daily multiplied, to publish a solemn declaration, in which all conditions of men were commanded to contribute their proportions to the burden of the state, and not to withhold, under any pretence whatever, those dues to which the original land-holders were entitled. It was in consequence agreed, that a committee should be entrusted to draw up a plan for the preservation of the rights of the proprietors; and which, on the 4th of August, was presented for the approbation of the national assembly.

In consequence of this declaration, the illustrious *compte de Noailles*, who had long espoused the popular party, and displayed a zeal in restraining the royal influence, stood forward as the champion of republicanism. His speech on the declaration, in the evening sitting of the 4th of August, 1789, opened one of the most important scenes in the French revolution, or in the history of any country. After a most eloquent and appropriate oration on the subject, he concludes by making four propositions, in the following words: "To restore therefore that confidence which they once reposed in this assembly, and to re-establish that tranquillity which every true Frenchman pants after, I propose, 1st, That in the preamble to the declaration intended, it shall be expressed, that the public taxes shall be paid by every individual of the kingdom in proportion to his revenue. 2dly, That the burden of the state shall in future be equally distributed among all. 3dly, That the feudal rights should be redeemed at a certain price. And, 4thly, That those seigniorial claims which fall under the description of personal servitude, shall be for ever abolished without any compensation whatsoever."—It is scarcely necessary to observe, that these motions received

received the unanimous approbation both of the assembly and the people.

While, however, the bold and decisive measures of the national assembly commanded general attention, the influence of the king was daily diminished; his grandeur was over-shadowed; his authority was eclipsed; his French and Swiss guards had abandoned all duty, and retiring from their posts at Versailles, had marched with their arms and colours to join their companions, who had already united themselves on the popular side. Every hour was marked with some new desertion, or some bold and spirited question of reform; whilst Louis himself seemed the only calm spectator of a tempest which shook his kingdom to the very foundations, and which appeared likely to exclude him from exercising the functions of royalty.

To improve the confidence between himself and the legislative body, he dismissed his former ministers, and bestowed the seals on the archbishop of Bourdeaux; entrusted to the archbishop of Vienne the disposal of ecclesiastical promotions; appointed to the department of war M. de la Tour du Pin; and called to his council the mareschal de Beauveau; all of whom had been eminently distinguished for their patriotic zeal and eloquence. It was the king's intention to have conferred the dignity of prime minister on M. Neckér; but that statesman thought proper to decline his majesty's offer, requesting that his influence might not be accompanied by any public mark or title, and that M. Lambert, who had formerly occupied the post of comptroller-general, might be associated to his labours in the finances. The count de Montmorin was replaced as minister for foreign affairs; to M. de St. Priest was allotted the home department; and the count de la Luzerne was placed at the head of the marine: at the same time the king declared his intention, in all promotions in the army or navy, the royal household or magistracy, to be in future guided by the majority of his council.

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And notwithstanding all the sacrifices and submissions of the king, (which were supposed by the people to be the effects of fear or weakness,) the terrors of famine and the contempt of royal authority failed not to produce consequences the most fatal. The militia of Louvier attacked a convoy of corn which was ascending the Seine, under the escort of the militia of Elbœuf; the boats were seized; the corn was conveyed to Louvier; and the citizen who commanded the detachment from Elbœuf was thrown into a dungeon, and conceived himself fortunate in escaping with life from the fury of the hunger-oppressed multitude. ✓

Circumstances of a similar nature produced at Provins similar effects. Two electors of Paris had been commissioned by the committee of subsistence to purchase in that town a quantity of corn, where the grain in the magazines was well known to exceed the wants of the inhabitants; but the people, apprehensive of being involved in the distress of their neighbours, were no sooner informed of the object of the electors, than they made themselves masters of their persons. They persisted in refusing their liberty to the demands of the Hotel de Ville; and to procure their release the marquis de la Fayette was obliged to order a detachment of eight hundred men, with cannon, to march to Provins; and an arrêt was published, in which it was declared the duty of all the municipalities, and of the militia, to restrain by force those acts of violence which dishonoured the kingdom, and annihilated personal security. At the same time, the regular troops were called upon to assist whenever it might be necessary, and to contribute their efforts to re-establish the safety of the citizens, the liberty of commerce, and the public peace.

The peasants, said to be brutal and ignorant, though that does not appear to have been the case, conceived themselves released from every restraint, and plunged into the most daring excesses, which

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was to be expected from the state of abject slavery in which they had been held by their superiors. The seats of several of the nobility were devoted to the flames; the tribunals of justice were despised and insulted; and even the harvest, the future hopes of the nation, was threatened by the blind fury of the inconsiderate multitude: this last, however, was spared.

Nor did the internal state of the finances present an object of less serious and painful deliberation. In the picture that was placed before the eyes of the national assembly by the celebrated Necker, that statesman asserted many truisms, and a most distressing picture it was with respect to the miseries of the state and people. But notwithstanding the respect which the national assembly might have for the integrity and eloquence of M. Necker, they were far from committing themselves in full and open confidence. There was not a deputy who regarded not the succours demanded by the minister as indispensable; they were convinced the loan was of that nature that could neither strengthen the hands of the executive power, nor augment in any considerable degree the burdens of the people; the sum in itself was small, and the conditions proposed far from unreasonable: yet they dreaded the popular clamour. At length they determined to steer what they deemed a middle course; they consented to the loan, but they changed the conditions on which it was to have been negotiated. Confiding in that general enthusiasm which they themselves were sensible of, they decreed, that no security should be given to the subscribers; that no term should be named for the reimbursement; and that the interest should be fixed at only four and a half per cent.

These regulations were applauded by the public in general; but they were soon taught, that the flame of patriotism burns not in the interested bosoms of agents and brokers, nor of others who owe their existence to national distress. These miscreants were not

not to be moved by so scanty a harvest ; they determined to wait till the public necessities should offer terms more advantageous. Twenty days after the loan of thirty millions had been decreed, two millions six hundred thousand livres only had been subscribed. The delay quickly augmented the public wants ; forty millions of livres now became necessary, and to procure these it was deemed expedient to vote a loan of eighty millions, at five per cent. and to be redeemed in ten years. Every step rendered in appearance the labyrinth in which the national assembly had involved itself more perplexed. Unaccustomed to money speculations, their first error had arisen from too lively a confidence in the patriotism of the nation ; their second measure withdrew the veil, and presented to every eye the public misery ; while the magnitude of the loan they had opened encreased the general distrust, and fatally defeated their own views.

The national assembly, so unfortunate in their first efforts of finance, now directed their attention to a new measure, which they hoped might be more successful. The tythes in France had been long considered as a heavy and intolerable burden : the committee to whose consideration this article had been referred, had proposed, that all tythes, ecclesiastical as well as lay, should be rendered redeemable. But this redemption was subject to material objections : it confounded the impropriate tythes with those of the church ; it militated against the intention of the assembly, which was to relieve the husbandman ; and it afforded an endless source of litigation in ascertaining the value at which that redemption was to be fixed. These objections were ably supported by Mirabeau ; while the claims of the church found a warm and strenuous defender in the abbé Sieyès. Yet, to the integrity and honour of the clergy, the point was given up by themselves. M. Ricart de Séault read to the assembly a deed subscribed by twenty curates, who surrendered their tythes into the hands of the nation, and confided in its equity to provide

wide for them a proper and decent subsistence. "Gentlemen, (added M. Séault,) I deposit this act, with which I have the honour of being entrusted, on your table, to afford an opportunity to all those who are willing to sign it." Instantly the numerous body of curates pressed towards the table, and disputed with each other the honour of first subscribing their names; and their example was followed by the dignified clergy.

The national assembly received with transport an offer so superior to their expectations; they were profuse in their encomiums, and unbounded in their promises of compensation. But the exigencies of the state were so excessive, that M. Necker was unable to wait the beneficial but tardy flowing in of the tythe: he had recourse to a speedier and more striking sacrifice. The idea of relieving a state by voluntary contributions possesses something so natural and so fascinating to an inexperienced statesman, that it has been frequently resorted to, and almost as frequently proved abortive. But here the case was different; for throughout the different provincial capitals offices were opened, and the people were invited to deposit their plate, their jewels, and a fourth of their actual revenue. On this occasion, the success, though not sufficient to extinguish the wants of the state, exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the minister. A general ardour seemed to pervade every rank and description throughout the kingdom; the sumptuous side-boards which had ministered to the vanity of the nobility, the ancient and massy vessels which had been so long consecrated to religious services, the very ornaments of the fair sex, swelled the promiscuous pile, and were cheerfully offered as a sacrifice to freedom. Even those who most dreaded, and in secret were most desirous of embarrassing the government, endeavoured to elude the suspicions of their countrymen, by the most liberal donations.

But while the people so freely contributed to alleviate

viate the public distress, their clamours against the influence of the crown assumed a louder and more decisive tone. The clubs and popular assemblies opposed the *royal sanction*; while the committee which had been nominated to arrange the form of the new constitution, far from acquiescing with the popular opinion, represented it as essential to the very existence of the government, that the king, on every law, should possess the power of an *absolute veto*, or negative.

The debates on this important occasion were long and vigorous, and the fermentation of the people violent. It was even thought necessary to secure the safety of the capital by numerous guards of militia, and the protection of artillery. Those who most distinguished themselves in favour of the veto were Mirabeau, Lally-Tollendal, and Messrs. Mounier and Bergasse; and those who opposed it were Messrs. Chappelier, Barnave, and Lameth.

During these discussions, a new expedient seemed for a moment to unite the discordant opinions; and while the *absolute veto* appeared to yield to the jealousy of the populace, a *suspensive* one was proposed to supply its vacancy; which proposition was made in a message from the king himself. But this also was soon discovered to be liable to objections: to leave it unlimited was again to fall into the system of the absolute veto, and only to change the name, and not the nature, of that dangerous prerogative; or to suffer it to depend on the judgement of provincial assemblies, or the instructions of the constituent body, was to establish an appeal to the people, far distant from the intentions of the national assembly, and fatal in its consequences. In consequence of this diversity of opinion, and of the long and violent debates, it was not till the 23d of September, 1799, that the majority of the national assembly, wearied out with the vain hope of uniting all parties, proceeded to complete the decrees which were to form the

the future constitution of France, and which consisted of nineteen resolutions.

The articles of the constitution were preceded by a declaration of the rights of men and of citizens, scarcely less remarkable for the solemnity with which it was introduced, than for the important matter it contained.

The celebrated and exalted declaration of rights, and the articles of the new constitution, soothed the angry spirits of the republican multitude, and kindled the anxious hopes of France: but her harvest of prosperity was retarded by the chilling breath of famine. Neither the exertions of the committee of subsistence, the precautions of the minister of the finances, nor the liberality of the duke of Orleans, who devoted his princely revenue to alleviate the distresses of the public, could prevent the Parisians from being assailed by that dearth which still afflicted the country of France, and was also felt in several of the neighbouring kingdoms. Even Versailles, the royal residence, was not exempt from its share of misery; and some popular tumults, excited by the extravagant price of bread, served as a pretext for the municipality to demand, and the king to grant, the regiment of Flanders to be called in to preserve the public tranquillity. This measure, which at first appeared of little importance, was soon productive of consequences the most fatal and sanguinary.

The capital, ever alive to imaginary danger, beheld with suspicion a body of regular troops, whose presence, it was asserted, could be productive of no good; and whose consumption of corn would increase that scarcity, from which the inhabitants of Paris so severely suffered. Such were the subjects of remonstrance, when a new cause of jealousy presented itself. The *gardes-du-corps*, or household troops of the king, had invited to an entertainment the regiment of Flanders. Though it is an ancient custom in the French service to pay this compliment to every regiment that arrives, yet, as it had been delayed

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some time, prudence at least would have dictated the omission of it at so critical a juncture.

But the circumstances that attended the entertainment, were far from allaying those fears which had been excited by the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. Besides that corps, the household troops invited several officers of the militia of Versailles, with their commander, the celebrated count d'Estaing. Towards the close of the evening, several ladies of the court presented themselves, and distributed white cockades, which were eagerly received, though the regiment of Flanders had previously borne that of the nation; a circumstance which was highly imprudent in the present state of France. The rumour of these occurrences rapidly spread from Versailles to Paris. It had been preceded by a report that it was the intention of the king to quit his palace, and accompanied by the queen, whose reproaches, it was confidently asserted, had aroused him to this decisive measure, to escape to Metz; there to assemble what forces he could depend upon, and erect again the standard of despotism. The recal of regular troops to the neighbourhood of the capital gave weight to this report; and the Parisians had too much reason to apprehend that, from the moment of the king's retreat, the scanty supplies of grain which furnished at present but a bare subsistence to the capital, would be entirely intercepted.

These discontents were not long confined to secret and ineffectual murmurs; for, on the intelligence of the mysterious entertainment of Versailles, the clamours of the populace assumed a louder and more menacing tone. The militia of Paris, and the ancient French guards, joined in the general indignation.

On the 4th of October, the marquis de la Fayette, who was then at the committee of police, was addressed by six grenadiers, who informed him, "that they were deputies from the six grenadier companies; that though they entertained no doubt of his integrity, they believed that he was betrayed by the government;

ment; that it was time an end should be put to the public distress; that they could not turn their arms against women who demanded bread; that the committee of subsistence deceived them, and ought to be abolished; that they were determined to go to Versailles, and exterminate the gardes-du-corps and the regiment of Flanders, who had trampled under foot the national cockade; that if the king of France was not fit to wear the crown, they would depose him, and that they would crown his son; and then all would go well." Language so strenuous, it might have been expected, would have induced the marquis de la Fayette, as colonel-general of the militia, to have adopted every possible precaution; but, whatever were his motives, that general contented himself with simply recommending patience and forbearance.

The eloquence of the marquis, however, was not attended with the smallest effect. Some hundreds of the rabble; chiefly women, collected from the markets and public halls, armed with staves, pikes, and every weapon their fury could supply, poured forth, and, surrounding the Hotel de Ville, forced the doors, and possessed themselves of the arms. Their numbers were soon increased to several thousands, furnished with fusils and pistols, swords and poignards, lances and hatchets, and dragging two pieces of cannon. These insurgents, animated by a survey of their strength, took the road to Versailles. On their route they compelled the different passengers whom they met, and especially the women, to mingle in their train. Terror and dismay preceded their van; the villages through which they passed were deserted; the shops and houses were shut on their approach; and the few inhabitants who remained were happy to redeem themselves from attack by a liberal distribution of bread and wine. Intoxicated with rage and liquor, the frantic crowd about half after three o'clock reached Versailles. The king that morning was engaged in hunting, when he was informed of

the march of this mob; he instantly returned to the castle, and arrived a quarter of an hour before the appearance of the hostile rabble. Yet, far from regarding their dispositions as really dangerous, he replied with a smile to the prince of Luxembourg, the captain of the guard, who enquired if his majesty had any orders to give, "What, for women? you surely jest."

At this period the national assembly was engaged in discussing the answer of the king to the articles of the constitution. His majesty had acceded to them, on the condition that the executive power should remain whole and undiminished in his hands. But this reservation was far from meeting their general approbation. It was observed, that though the king had acceded to them, he had not accepted them. It was proposed, that he should swear to observe them in the presence of the assembly; and the fatal entertainment of the first of October, the source of so many suspicions, was introduced into the debate. While the deputies were agitating this question, M. Mounier, the president, communicated the intelligence, that an armed mob of thirty or forty thousand people were on their march from Paris. On this news, the assembly resolved that the president should instantly wait upon the king, to obtain a pure and simple acceptance of the articles of the constitution; and were already prepared to break up, when they were interrupted by the unwelcome presence of the insurgents. They presented themselves with loud cries and imprecations at the door of the assembly, and threatened to force the guards that defended them. To avoid this extremity, it was decreed by a majority of voices to permit them to enter. They immediately pressed forwards, and the benches were instantly occupied by a crowd of women, stained with dust and sweat, deaf to reason, inflamed with liquor, and insatiate of blood.

Two men, who assumed the tone of authority, appeared at their head. They first addressed the assembly,

sembly, and informed them that they were come from Paris for bread and money; and at the same time to punish the gardes-du-corps, who had insulted the national cockade; that, like good patriots, they had on their route taken away all the white and black cockades they had met with; and, drawing one out of his pocket, he concluded with observing, "that he would have the pleasure of tearing it to pieces in the presence of that assembly." His associate added, that they would compel every one to wear the national cockade. A murmur of discontent at this expression spread itself through the assembly; which only produced from the lawless orator the exclamation of, "*What! are we not all brethren?*" while the president, sensible of the danger which impended over him, condescended to answer in terms of the mildest expostulation. This dialogue was interrupted by the tumultuous cries of the women, who demanded, with menacing gestures, bread for themselves and for Paris. In vain did M. Mounier represent the constant attention of the assembly to their distresses; in vain did he hold up the flattering prospect of future relief, and intreat them to retire in peace. His promises and solicitations were equally disregarded; but the national assembly averted the fury of the mob by appearing to comply with their demands.

The majority confirmed again the decree respecting the articles of the constitution. They appointed once more the president, accompanied by a deputation, to wait on the king, in order to obtain not only his acceptance of those articles, but also his assistance in relieving Paris, and allaying that scarcity which threatened the most fatal consequences. But at the moment that the president rose to depart, the women who surrounded him proclaimed their intention of accompanying him to the king; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could prevail on them to limit their demand to six of their number.

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The appearance of this motley deputation, and the embarrassments which attended it, cannot be better described than from the pen of the president himself. "We were," says he, "on foot, exposed to the mud and a heavy rain. A crowd of the inhabitants of Versailles lined on each side the avenue that conducted to the castle. The women from Paris were formed into different groupes, mingled with a number of men, for the most part covered with rags, their countenances fierce, their gestures menacing, and raising the most terrible howlings. They were armed with fusils, old pikes, hatchets, staves guarded with iron, and long poles, having at the end the blades of swords or knives. Small detachments of the gardes-du-corps formed the patroles, and passed on full gallop, amidst the cries and hisses of the populace. We advanced," continues M. Mounier; "and another party of men, armed also with pikes, and hatchets, and staves, approached to escort the deputation. The strange and numerous train by which the deputies were followed, was mistaken for a crowd of the insurgents. The gardes-du-corps charged across us. We were dispersed in the mud; we however rallied again, and proceeded towards the castle. We there found the gardes-du-corps, a detachment of dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, the Swiss guards, the invalids, and the militia of Versailles, ranged in order of battle. We made ourselves known, and were received with respect; we traversed the lines; and it was with difficulty that we could prevent the crowd that had followed us from entering with us; but in place of six women, to whom I had promised admittance into the castle, I was obliged to introduce twelve."

It was half-past five, and a day the most wet and dreary, which had given place to a night the most dark and inauspicious; when the president of the national assembly, escorted by fifteen deputies, and twelve women of the dregs of Paris, entered into the

the royal presence, and painted to his majesty the distress of his capital. The king answered in the language of sensibility, and with every assurance of prompt and effectual succour. Satisfied on this subject, M. Mounier still solicited that some hour might be appointed to understand his majesty's definitive answer to the articles of the constitution, and the rights of men and citizens. The king named nine; and retired to his cabinet to consult with his ministers on the difficulties which presented themselves. It was not till ten that this important deliberation was brought to a conclusion: M. Mounier, who remained in waiting, was then called in, and received from the hands of his sovereign his acceptance **PURE AND SIMPLE.**

-The triumph of the president, however, was of short duration. The multitude, whose fury had been excited by the stings of hunger, felt themselves but little interested in the prospect of future freedom, while the distress of the moment threatened inevitable destruction. Famine still stalked before their eyes in its most hideous form; and when M. Mounier entered the saloon and announced the acceptance of the king *pure and simple*, he was interrupted by the cries of the populace, "Is it advantageous to us? will it procure us bread?" Even the female deputies who had accompanied the president, had reason to regret the unexpected honour which the voice of their comrades had conferred upon them. They too announced the auspicious promises of the sovereign; but these were far from satisfying their impatient companions. They accused them of having been corrupted; and compelled them to return to the castle, and to demand from the king that he would subscribe to his promise. M. de St. Priest condescended to explain to them the different measures that the king and the ministers had adopted for the subsistence of the capital; and he delivered to them a paper signed by his majesty, in which he engaged for the most speedy and effectual succours.

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The dreadful horrors which pervaded Versailles soon reached the ears of the Parisians; and the marquis de la Fayette presented himself at the Hotel de Ville, and demanded permission of the commons to march to Versailles. This was immediately granted; and at four in the evening, about five hours after the factious populace had quitted the capital, the marquis, at the head of eighteen thousand men, pointed his march towards Versailles. It was ten at night before an aid-de-camp of the marquis announced to the king and the national assembly the approach of the Parisian army. Their commander halted his army at a small distance from the town, and administered to his soldiers the oath to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and the king. Fortified by this proof of allegiance, he next presented himself to the national assembly, and assured the president both of his own pacific intentions, and of those of his followers. From the national assembly the marquis passed to the royal presence; where he held the same language, and so fully possessed his majesty of his security, that the king declined the presence of the national representatives, and contented himself with declaring, that it was his intention never to separate himself from the seat of their councils.

But the deputies still continued sitting, and were employed in discussing the code of criminal law. These deliberations were interrupted by the frequent cries of the multitude, who were half famished, for bread. At length the tempest seemed to have exhausted its force; the crowd sunk into a momentary silence. The militia who had marched from Paris, benumbed with cold and wet, sought shelter in the taverns, the stables, and the courts of the different houses. They were liberally supplied with liquor and provisions; and all was peace, when his majesty, oppressed by fatigue, about two o'clock in the morning, retired to rest.

The marquis de la Fayette, fatally impressed by the deceitful quiet which prevailed, contented himself

self with placing a few scattered sentinels, and hastened to rejoin the national assembly. Though M. Mounier declared, that if any doubt remained he would still keep the deputies sitting, he was answered by the marquis with so perfect a reliance on the attachment of his own army, and so favourable a representation of the peace that pervaded every place, that the president consented to dismiss the assembly, and resigned himself to sleep; an example that was soon followed by Fayette himself.

But the insurgents were now preparing for mischiefs of a more dreadful nature. The name of the queen was mingled with their imperious demand of bread. At length, about six in the morning, the frantic crowd precipitated themselves on the hotel of the gardes-du-corps. The thin remnant of the troops were incapable of stemming the torrent; the doors were forced; fifteen of the gardes-du-corps were dragged away by the multitude; the rest fled towards the castle; and were eagerly pursued by their enraged enemies; two of the gardes-du-corps fell victims to their fury, near the iron railing; a third was slaughtered on the marble staircase; the scattered sentinels placed by the marquis de la Fayette were inactive spectators of the bloody scene; the household troops that had escaped the first attack, in vain attempted to defend the interior of the palace; and their feeble efforts were soon overcome by the insurgents, who now rushed forward to the apartments of the queen.

The door of the royal chamber was defended by M. Miomandre; while he heroically opposed himself to the sanguinary host, he loudly called to her attendants to save the queen. That princess was hastily awakened by her women, and by a private passage was conducted almost naked to the apartments of the king; Miomandre, her gallant protector, fell indeed covered with wounds; but his life was preserved by the goodness of his constitution and the skill of his surgeons. A short moment before the multitude rushed towards the apartments of the queen, the king had been roused

from his sleep by the increasing tumult. The duke of Luxembourg had also been awakened by the same cause; he now presented himself in the chamber of his sovereign, followed by the few gardes-du-corps that he could collect. Round the standard of these, the ancient French guards ranged themselves, and joined in repelling the attempts of the insurgents. By degrees the mob was compelled to retire into the lower courts; while regular posts were established, and every precaution taken to secure the castle from a second attack, should it be attempted.

On the first intelligence of these disastrous events, the marquis de la Fayette quitted his bed, and endeavoured to atone by his activity for his former credulity. The militia of Paris assembled at the voice of their commander; and their united efforts wrested from the populace several of the gardes-du-corps. A considerable body of the national troops were also introduced into the castle; and to sooth the people, the king and queen, by the advice of the marquis, appeared in an open balcony; while the gardes-du-corps were prevailed on to contribute to the general tranquillity, by the humiliating measure of surrendering their arms and accoutrements. Yet these concessions were far from satisfying the multitude. The Parisians conceived that plenty could only be secured to the capital by the presence of the monarch; therefore they demanded the removal of the royal family from Versailles; and the king, after a short deliberation, was compelled to acquiesce in their demand. A deputation of thirty-six members of the national assembly now waited on the king; and on the news that his majesty intended to remove to Paris, that number was swelled to an hundred, and was appointed to accompany him to the metropolis.

About one o'clock in the afternoon Louis XVI. attended by the royal family, set out from Versailles; and the order of the march presented a scene of horror that surpasses description. A crowd of frantic women, staggering under the effects of the liquor which had

had been given them on the preceding night, mounted on horses, fantastically ornamented with the hats and uniforms, and armed with the weapons, of the household troops; these were surrounded by a host of men, two of whom, with their arms naked and bloody, displayed aloft on their pikes the heads of two of the gardes-du-corps whom they had put to death. Behind were the survivors of those unhappy men on foot, bare headed, without arms, and shuddering with horror at the goary visages of their ill-fated comrades. The royal family followed, encompassed by the dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, and the Swiss guards; continually exposed to the insults of the rabble, who incessantly reproached them as the authors of that scarcity which the hand of Providence had inflicted. About seven o'clock in the evening his majesty and the royal family entered the capital, rather amidst the reproaches than the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the king, after having presented himself at the Hotel de Ville, and received an address from M. Bailly, was, with his royal consort, escorted to the palace of the Thuilleries.

After his arrival at Paris, the first measure of the king was to issue a proclamation to allay the tumults in the provinces; and to represent his departure from Versailles rather as his own choice than the effect of constraint. The king's proclamation was followed by one from the national assembly.

So soon as the king had fixed his residence at Paris, the national assembly undertook to provide for the deficiencies of the executive government, which had been stated in May 1789, by M. Necker, at fifty-six millions of livres, and was now swelled by the suppression of the duty on salt, and the deficiencies in the customs and excise, to a most enormous amount. To provide for this deficit, the eyes of the assembly were once more turned to the property of the church. The affluence of the clerical order had been severely narrowed by the abolition of tythes; but their possessions still presented an immense source of wealth, and the

the new government were determined on taking a share of it.

To avert a decree so injurious to the clergy, the archbishop of Aix offered, in the name of the ecclesiastical body, a contribution of four hundred millions of livres, or nearly seventeen millions sterling, provided they might be permitted to enjoy their revenues in peace*. Yet in November 1789, the assembly decreed, "that all ecclesiastical property was at the disposal of the nation;" subject to the charge of providing for the expences of divine worship, the support of the ministers of the church, and the relief of the poor; but to be placed under the inspection of the different provinces. This measure was followed by a proclamation from the king, stating that at the request of the national assembly, he had thought proper to suspend the nomination of all benefices, with the sole exception of curacies; and he therefore commanded all tribunals, administrative bodies, and municipalities, to make known this ordonnance, and to respect it as the established law of the sovereign.

In the beginning of February 1790, all possessors of benefices, or of pensions on benefices, under the above-mentioned proclamation, were enjoined to declare before the municipality of the city which they inhabited, or were nearest to, the number, the title, and the situation, of the benefices that they possessed, as well as of all pensions which they enjoyed; under the penalty of forfeiting the whole of those benefices and pensions which they omitted to specify. At the same time it was declared, that in every order throughout the different municipalities of the kingdom, one religious house, where there existed two, should be suppressed; two in every municipality where there existed three; and three where there existed four; and, on

* This large offer of the clergy served only to shew the enormous property they had acquired from the donations and bequests of their devotees, and was so far from satisfying the wants of the government, that they determined to make them contribute more to the exigencies of the state.

the 13th of the same month, a decree of the national assembly prohibited in future all monastic vows in either sex.

It now being in vain for the clergy to hold back, full declarations were made of all their revenues; and on the 26th, the pensions of the religious who should chuse to quit their houses, were regulated by the national assembly. In the mendicant orders, those under fifty years of age were assigned seven hundred livres; and those above fifty and under seventy, eight hundred livres; and those above seventy, one thousand livres. Various provisions were likewise made for the other religious orders. But so soon as the national assembly had passed these motions, they proceeded to extinguish the hopes of the clergy, by allotting those stipends which were in future to circumscribe their views. Thus the splendour and dignity of the Gallican church was virtually annihilated, and its clergy at once reduced from a state of great affluence to what was barely sufficient to support themselves with decency.

On the abolition of the tenures and jurisdiction of the clergy, France came to be divided into eighty-three portions, each forming a square of about eighteen leagues by eighteen, which were called *departments*; these were apportioned again into districts called *communes*, and the communes were subdivided into still smaller parts, which received the general name of *cantons*.

It would neither be interesting to the reader, nor consistent with the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, to enter into a long and complicated detail of decrees which respect the minutiae of this new government; but the address of the assembly to the nation may be considered as a record of their first or primary intentions. It was published about the middle of February 1790; and was preceded by the following oath, which was administered to every deputy, and to the different districts throughout France: "I swear to be faithful to the nation, to the law, to the king; and to maintain with all my power the constitution decreed

decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king."

Whatever reputation the national assembly might expect to derive from their address, they neglected not to add to it by every other favourable means. The scanty pay of the army had long been a subject of complaint; and the soldiers looked forward with anxious joy to the relief of those grievances, which had been rendered more intolerable by the exactions of their officers. In June 1790, a decree was published which increased the pay of the army full one-fourth; and this was soon followed by a second order, which imparted the same augmentation to the sailors and marines.

The next step of the assembly was to deprive the king of the prerogative of making peace and war without the consent of the people; and the assembly, desirous of acquiring the confidence of Europe, Resolved, "*that the French nation would never embark in any war with a view to conquest, nor ever employ her forces against the liberties of any people.*"

Thus the national assembly transferred from the crown of France a prerogative which it had peaceably enjoyed for fourteen centuries; and was preparatory to a decisive and signal triumph over the French nobility. While the titles and distinctions of that order remained, it was considered as impossible to alienate from it the adulation of the multitude; and therefore, on the 19th of June, the celebrated motion was brought forward to suppress the titles of duke, marquis, count, baron, excellency, abbé, &c. and that all citizens should take in future their family and patronymic names; that no one should in future cause liveries to be worn, or assume armorial bearings; and that the title of monseigneur should no longer be applied to any individual or body. Thus in one moment were three hundred thousand of the first families in France degraded from their ancient honours, (most of which had been purchased by their progenitors,) and reduced to a level with the common people.

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This decree, however, as might naturally be expected, excited, for a time, a high sense of enmity and dissatisfaction between opposite orders and sects. At Nismes, the fever of discontent was rapid in its progress, and fatal in its consequences; that city was the residence of a numerous nobility, accustomed to pomp, and zealously attached to the catholic persuasion. It had also become the seat of a considerable body of protestants. Religious differences were heightened by political animosity; and while the catholic nobility regarded with horror and aversion every measure of the national assembly, which stripped them of their overbearing and persecuting authority, the protestants looked up with admiration to those resolutions, which restored them to religious and civil liberty. Their mutual enmity could not long be confined to idle reproaches; arms ministered to their fury; for two successive days the streets were deluged with blood; and it was not until several hundred citizens had perished, that the victory of the protestants over the infatuated catholics established tranquillity.

The national assembly, deeply afflicted with the repeated instances of tumult and disaffection, occasioned principally by the catholics, who were urged by the nobility and the clergy, their former tyrants, more firmly to bind the people to the new government, and to unite them in one general cause, resolved to have recourse to the solemn tie of oaths and compacts. In various provincial towns civic feasts had been instituted, and general associations had taken place; and it was now determined to concentrate these patriotic effusions in one universal point of view, and by a general confederation at Paris, to assert the pre-eminence of the capital, and to cherish and combine the zeal of the kingdom at large. To this memorable festival every district throughout France was required to send its deputies; nor was the monarch himself to be exempted from an oath, which was to consecrate the mutual ties between the sovereign and his subjects. The day fixed for this sacred ceremony was the 14th
of

of July, 1790; and the place chosen for the purpose, the Champ de Mars, a spacious plain which joins the suburbs of Paris to the capital. In the centre an altar was erected; and seats were placed round capable of containing several hundred thousands of spectators; and on this occasion the enthusiasm of France was eminently displayed. The deputies were assembled from every quarter of the kingdom; and the duke of Orleans returned from England to pledge his faith to the maintenance of the new constitution.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the marquis de la Fayette ascended the altar; and, in the name of the national troops of France, pronounced the following oath: "I swear always to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; to maintain the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king; to protect, according to law, the security of persons and of property, the free circulation of corn and subsistence throughout the kingdom, and the collection of public taxes of every description; and to remain united to the French in fraternal and indissoluble bonds." The deputies of the regular troops and militia, on the conclusion of the oath, repeated each aloud, "I SWEAR."

The marquis was followed by the president of the national assembly: "I swear to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, with all my power, the constitution, as decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king;" each deputy repeating aloud, after their president, "I SWEAR."

The sovereign himself, then stretching his arm towards the altar, amidst an awful silence, slowly and distinctly pronounced: "I, *King of the French*, swear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the constitution, and to enforce the execution of the law."

The national assembly now proceeded to the completion of the constitution with considerable tranquillity,

till it was disturbed by an unhappy event at Nancy. Most of the officers of the army were unfriendly to the revolution, and every means had been employed by them to disgust the soldiers with it. At Nancy, in particular, necessaries had been denied them, and their pay was kept back, under pretence that this was the will of the national assembly. Driven to despair, the regiments in garrison threw off their allegiance, and demanded loudly the regimental accounts. They seized at the same time the military chest; and sent a deputation to state their case at Paris to the national assembly. But the officers were before-hand, and prepossessed the minister of war against them; upon whose representation a decree was passed, authorising the commander-in-chief of the province, M. Bouillé, to reduce the insurgents by force. This was no sooner made known, than the national guard of Nancy assembled, and sent a deputation to give a fair statement of facts. But Bouillé, without waiting the result of an explanation, hastened to Nancy at the head of all the troops he could suddenly collect; and, having fallen upon the regiments of Chateaufieux and Mestre de Camp, after putting an immense multitude to the sword, took four hundred prisoners. The king's regiment was prevented from acting against Bouillé by the intrepidity of a young officer of the name of Dessilles, who, however, died of the wounds which he received on the occasion. The news of these events filled Paris with indignation. The assembly afterwards reversed its own decrees against the insurgents at Nancy. Public honours were decreed to the memory of Dessilles; but Bouillé could not be punished, because he had only acted in obedience to orders.

M. Necker, who had been greatly regarded by the people on account of the moderation of his principles, began now to decline in his popularity; and, as he was unwilling to go to all the lengths that the ruling party wished, he gave in his resignation on the 4th of September; and left the kingdom. He de-

parted, however, with the unblemished reputation of strict integrity.

The remainder of the year 1790 was occupied in attempting to introduce subordination into the French navy, which had been disorganized, and in farther regulating the affairs of the clergy. It was now declared, that such clergymen as should not take the following oath, should be considered as ejected from their benefices: "I swear to watch carefully over the faithful in the parish or diocese which is entrusted to my care; to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; and to maintain to the utmost of my power the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy." This decree rendered the situation of conscientious men extremely perplexing, especially as the pope testified his disapprobation of the oath. The people were reduced to the dilemma of choosing between their new political and their old religious prejudices, and the result was extremely unfavourable to the interest of the Catholic religion.

The national assembly commenced the year 1791 with a decree, announcing the termination of its session, so soon as it should have settled and ascertained the final record of the constitutional articles. In the mean time, on the side of Germany, Spain, Italy, and Savoy, hostile appearances began to break forth; and troops advanced in almost every direction towards the French frontier. The emperor Leopold was, however, too cautious to announce his intentions; and the king soon communicated a letter from him, containing protestations of an amicable tendency, but adding, that "the innovations occasioned by the decrees of the 4th of August, ought to be done away." The king, whether through ignorance or by design was not certainly known, though the latter was supposed to be the case, treated this merely as an official measure on the part of the emperor, that he might not appear to renounce the claims of certain German princes connected with Lorraine and Alsace. But the assembly expressed considerable

considerable alarm, and voted an augmentation of the national force.

On the 20th of February the public attention was roused by a circumstance that in any other state of affairs would have been accounted unimportant. The king announced to the assembly, that his aunts, the daughters of Louis XV. had that morning left Paris; but, as he did not apprehend that the existing laws laid them under any restraint in this respect, he had not opposed their departure. After some debate, the assembly agreed that the king had judged well; and these princesses were left to pursue their journey to Rome. Thus the kingdom was gradually deserted by every branch of the royal family, excepting the king and his brother, monsieur. The assembly, however, continued its labours with a considerable degree of quietness.

In the close of March died the celebrated count de Mirabeau, at the age of forty-two years; a man whose integrity has for many good reasons been much suspected, but whose political address and intrepidity; and whose splendid powers of eloquence, have been seldom equalled. He was the first who was interred in the new magnificent Pantheon, consecrated to the remains of illustrious men. But his ashes were afterwards removed, in consequence of a charge that he had not been incorruptible by money.

Deep plans against the new order of things in France were concerted by the four powers above mentioned; but the vigilance of the national assembly was not so easily lulled into a state of security. About this time also, M. de Bouillé, to whom the protection of the frontiers was entrusted, was secretly employing every means in his power to render the country defenceless. The garrisons were without provisions or ammunition; disunion was spread among the troops; they were removed from the frontiers, and their place was occupied by foreigners, wherever it could be done. The emigrants abroad, and their friends at home, were lying in wait for an opportunity of revolt; when sud-

denly, on the 21st of June, it was announced from the Thuilleries, that the king, the queen, the dauphin, with monsieur and madame, had quitted the palace and the capital, without leaving any information of their intention or their route *. The emotion excited by this news among the multitude was a mixture of consternation and rage.

The national assembly, however, conducted itself with much coolness. They took upon themselves the ostensible government, and decreed their sittings permanent. They sent messengers at the same time in all directions, to attempt to secure the fugitives. Monsieur and madame arrived safely at Brussels on the 23rd. To favour their escape, the royal family had obtained a passport through the medium of the Russian ambassador, in the name of a baroness de Kortz, with her suite, as travelling to Frankfort. The king, queen, and their children, when they came to a considerable distance from the capital, were furnished by Bouillé with a guard of dragoons, under pretence of protecting treasure for the pay of troops. At the distance of one hundred and fifty-six miles, and when only a few leagues within the frontiers, they were arrested at St. Menchoud by the postmaster M. Drouet, formerly a dragoon in the regiment of Condé. At half past seven in the evening the carriages stopped to change horses at his house; he thought he recollected the queen, and imagined that the king's face resembled the impressions stamped upon assignats. The escort of dragoons increased the suspicion.

* On the night of the 20th of June the royal family disappeared. Soon after their departure, it was discovered that a sewer which ran under the princess Elizabeth's apartment, from the castle of the Thuilleries, and communicated with the river, under the first arch of the Port Royal, had been cleaned out, and covered with planks and sand. Through this it was supposed the royal family escaped, and proceeded along the river to Sarre, where a strong and convenient coach, made for the purpose, received the king, the queen, the Dauphin, and madame Elizabeth. The others were conveyed in post-chaises. Monsieur and madame took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmedy.

M. Drouet

M. Drouet suffered the fugitives to depart at eleven o'clock, without notice; but, taking a companion with him, he went a shorter road to Varennes. With the assistance of the postmaster there, he gave the alarm, and overturned a loaded waggon on the bridge, which detained the royal travellers. M. Drouet and the postmaster of Varennes, who had likewise been a dragoon, called together the mayor, the procureur de la commune, and the commandant of the national guard, and in a few minutes the number of the patriots was increased to eight men. The commandant and the procureur approached the principal carriage, and asked the names of the travellers. The queen petulantly answered, they were in haste, and produced the passport, which was thought a sufficient warrant by several persons; but the post-masters combated the opinion, on the ground of its not being countersigned by the president of the national assembly; and asked why a Russian baroness should be escorted by the military of France? It was determined therefore to stop the travellers; and as they entered the house of the procureur, the king throwing off his disguise resumed his dignity. "I am your king, it is true," said he; "these are my wife and children. I charge you to treat us with that respect which the French nation have always manifested towards their sovereign." The national guard now arrived in considerable numbers, and at the same moment the hussars endeavoured sword in hand to force the house where the king was; but were answered by the national guard, that they should never carry him off alive. The commandant of the national guard had placed at each end of the street two field pieces, which, however, were not charged; but they were sufficient to intimidate the hussars, who, upon the commandant ordering the artillery-men to their posts with their matches in their hands, relinquished their object, and quietly surrendered the king to the custody of the national guard. They were conducted back to Paris by a deputation from the assembly.

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On his departure from the Thuilleries, the king imprudently left behind him a memorial, in which he declared, that he never had thought any sacrifice too great for the restoration of order; but that the destruction of the kingdom, and the triumph of anarchy, being the only reward of all his efforts, he thought it necessary to depart from it. He took a review of the inconsistencies of the new constitution, the grievances he had suffered; and *protested against every thing that he had been compelled to acquiesce in during his captivity.*

Different parties were differently agitated by this ill-conducted and unfortunate flight of the king. A small republican party had already began to appear; and, during the king's absence, attempts were made to induce the public at large to consider the royal authority as no necessary part of a free constitution. But the minds of men were not at present sufficiently prepared for the reception of this doctrine. The idea, however, having been thus publicly proposed, left some impressions, which in time contributed to give rise to important events. Some of the leading men were convinced, that it was impossible to conduct a great empire like France, well and prosperously, without the assistance of an hereditary chief: they were desirous of retaining the king at the head of affairs, and therefore determined to pass over the flight with as much silence as possible, and to hasten the period when their new constitution should be complete. But there is reason to believe, that this sudden flight was productive of fatal effects to the personal safety of the monarch. Many of the aristocratic party, thinking that the former state of things would be speedily restored, sent in resignations of their seats in the national assembly. Troops were levied on the frontiers in the king's name; who took care, however, to disavow any connection with such procedure. Bouillé migrated; and afterwards sent to the assembly a furious threatening letter: "You shall answer, said he, for the lives of the king and of the queen to all the monarchs

of the universe. Touch but a single hair of their heads, and not one stone shall be left upon another in Paris. I know the roads; I will conduct the foreign armies. This letter is but the forerunner of the manifesto of the sovereigns of Europe." We forbear to make any remark on the inflammatory language contained in this letter, the formation of an army on the frontiers of France, and the flight of the king and the royal family from the capital: let the reader judge.

In the mean time the national assembly was hastening to the completion of the new constitution. It was finished on the 3rd of September, 1791, and presented to the king on the same day. On the 13th the king announced, by a letter to the president of the assembly, his acceptance of the constitution. This event was ordered to be notified to all the foreign courts, and the assembly declared a general amnesty with respect to the events of the revolution. On the following day the king repaired in person to the national assembly; and being conducted to a chair of state prepared for him at the side of the president, he signed the constitutional act, and again took an oath of fidelity to it. He then withdrew, and was attended back to the Thuilleries by the whole assembly, with the president at their head. On the 30th of September, the national assembly, which has since been known by the name of the *Constituent Assembly*, dissolved itself, and gave place to the succeeding legislative national assembly, which had been elected according to the rules prescribed by the new constitution.

The king opened the new assembly on the 7th of October, with much apparent union on all sides. His speech recommending unanimity and confidence between the legislative and executive powers, was received with great applause; yet the character of the men who composed the new national assembly was inauspicious to the court. At the commencement of the revolution, the great body of the people at a distance

tance from the capital were little interested in those projects which occupied the more turbulent inhabitants of Paris. They had gradually, however, been roused from their lethargy. The variety of powers conferred by the new constitution upon the people, and the multiplicity of offices of which it gave them patronage, had kindled in the minds of men a love of dominion, and a wish to interfere in public affairs. This attached them to the new order of things, and those who were most loud in praise of the rights of the people, became speedily the favourites of the public. The consequence was, that the new national assembly was chiefly composed of men whose principles were highly democratic.

When the assembly first met, it showed a very trifling attention to formalities, and a peevish jealousy of the ministers of the crown. On the 9th of November, a decree was passed, that the emigrants who, after the first of January next, (1792,) should be found assembled in a hostile manner, beyond the frontiers, should be considered as guilty of a conspiracy, and suffer death; that the French princes, and public functionaries, who should not return to France before that period, should be punishable in the same manner, and their property forfeited during the remainder of their lives. On the 18th, a series of severe decrees was also passed against such of the ejected clergy as still refused to take the civic oath. To both the above decrees the king opposed his veto, or negative. But this early exercise of his power excited a most violent clamour, and became the means of exciting new suspicions of the designs of the court.

At this period answers were received from the different courts, to the notification sent to them of the king's acceptance of the new constitution. These were generally conceived in a style of caution, with a view to avoid giving open offence. The emperor even prohibited all assemblages of emigrants within his states; and the king intimated to the assembly that he had declared to the elector of Treves, that, unless the emigrants

emigrants should cease before the 15th of January to make hostile preparations within his territories, he would be considered as the enemy of France. All this, however, did not preserve the royal family from suspicion; for, although the different foreign courts had openly declared pacific intentions, yet the French emigrants boldly asserted, that all Europe was actually arming in their favour.

The unhappy Louis, placed between a republican party that was gradually gaining strength, and an aristocratical party that was inviting Europe to arm against a nation of which he was the constitutional chief, and a combination of princes * justly suspected of wishing to seize upon his dominions, stood in a situation

* To unravel more explicitly the cause of the fatal jealousies of the people of France, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumstances which afterwards afflicted that unhappy country, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of a transaction which occurred previous to the period of which we are now treating, but which was even then but faintly known by the vague insinuations of rumour, or by the unconnected intimations of some whose information appears to have been rather founded upon conjecture than upon competent evidence.

The meetings of great and powerful princes have generally been considered as ominous to the peace and happiness of the world. Towards the close of the summer of 1791, an extraordinary convention of this kind took place at Pilnitz in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold and the king of Prussia, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers afterwards acceded. The professed object of this treaty was sufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hostile invasion of France, and the new modelling of the government. In his circular letter from Pavia of the 6th of July, 1791, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in a resistance to those principles so noxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the empress of Russia is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more offensive, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of Europe. The partition of France as well as of Poland, or at least of a considerable portion of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new modelling of the Ger-

situation which would have perplexed the most skilful politician; and it is no proof of incapacity that he fell a sacrifice to circumstances which might have overwhelmed any known measure of human ingenuity.

Addresses at this period were daily crowding into the assembly, disapproving the conduct of the court. M. Montmorin resigned; M. Delessart succeeded him; and M. Cabier de Gerville became minister of the interior. M. du Portail resigned also, and M. Narbonne succeeded him as minister of war. In the month of November, M. Bailly's mayoralty terminated; and the once popular La Fayette appeared as a candidate to succeed him. But he was successfully opposed by M. Petion, a declared republican, who was elected mayor of Paris by a great majority of votes.

About this time the moderate men, who were friends of the constitution, attempted to counteract the influence of the Jacobin club by the establishment of a similar one. It derived its name from the vacant convent of the Feuillans, in which it assembled. The

manic circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded. Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts was, relative to the substance of the conference, the imprudence of some of the inferior agents dropped occasional intimations which can leave little doubt of the criminality of their designs. This Partition Treaty, (which was afterwards made public,) between the courts in concert, was concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month of July, 1791, and was signed, *Leopold, Prince Nassau, Count Florida Blanca, Bischoffswerder*. It was said the king of England acceded to this treaty in March, 1792; and Holland acceded afterwards. When count d'Aranda came into office as minister, Spain renounced the part it had taken in this treaty, but gave assurances of the strictest neutrality.

The convention of Pilnitz was not unknown in France, though the terms and conditions of the treaty were but imperfectly understood. It was impossible then in the nature of things that it could be known, that a concert of princes was formed for the express purpose of invading the country, of overturning the constitution, of re-establishing despotic authority, and that the minds of the people should not be agitated with fears and with suspicions: and it was next to impossible, that a part of these suspicions should not fall upon the court.

most

most active members of the constituent assembly belonged to it, such as Messrs. D'André, Barnave, the Lameths, Du Port, Rabaud, Sieyès, Chapelier, Thouret, Labord, Talleyrand, Montesquieu, Beaumetz, &c. The Jacobins contrived to excite a riot at the place of their meeting, which was in the vicinity of the hall of the national assembly. This afforded a pretext for applying to the assembly for the removal of the new club, which was instantly complied with.

At the close of 1791, the kingdom of France was by no means prosperous. The public revenue had fallen greatly short of the expenditure. The emigrant nobility had carried out of the kingdom the greater part of the current coin; and a variety of manufacturers, who depended upon their ostentatious luxury, were reduced to distress. The dispositions of foreign courts appeared very doubtful. The new year 1792, however, opened with delusive prospects of tranquillity. The German princes professed themselves satisfied with the mode of compensation which the French had offered for the loss of their possessions in Alsace and Lorraine. The prince of Lowestein accepted an indemnification. The princes of Hohenlohe and Salm-Salm declared themselves ready to treat upon the same terms. Prince Maximilian, and the dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, freely negotiated. It is unnecessary to state in detail the subterfuges employed, in the mean time, by the crafty Leopold, for amusing the French with the appearances of peace, though his heart was bent upon war. M. Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, fell a sacrifice to them, and probably to the undecided character of Louis. He was accused by Brissot of not having given timely notice to the national assembly of the dispositions of foreign powers, and of not pressing proper measures for securing the honour and safety of the nation. A decree of accusation passed against him; he was apprehended, tried by the high national court at Orleans, and executed in consequence of its sentence passed against him.

But the sudden death of the emperor Leopold the Second, on the first of March, 1792, gave rise to a transient hope that peace might still be preserved. A suspicion of poison fell upon the French, but that suspicion was fully removed by the detail of his disease that was speedily published. On the 16th of the same month, the king of Sweden was wounded by a nobleman of the name of Ankerstrom, at a masked ball, and died on the 29th. This enterprising prince had overturned the constitution of his own country; he had formed the project of conducting in person his troops to the frontiers of France, and of commanding or accompanying the combined armies of Europe in their attempt to avenge the cause of Louis. It was in a great measure to counteract this scheme that he was assassinated; and Ankerstrom gloried in the deed. The sudden fall, however, of these two princes, rather accelerated than retarded the meditated hostilities. The young king of Hungary, Francis the First, who succeeded his father Leopold, made no secret either of his own intentions, or of the existence of a confederacy of princes against the new constitution of France.

M. Dumourier was now at the head of the war-office, M. Roland was minister of the interior, and M. Claviere minister of finance. The Jacobins were in the plenitude of their power. The court was compelled to give way to the torrent. The property of the emigrants was confiscated, reserving only the rights of creditors. The imperial minister, prince Kaunitz, now demanded three things of France; 1st, The restitution of their feudal rights to the German princes; 2dly, To restore Avignon to the pope; and lastly, prince Kaunitz demanded, that, "the neighbouring powers should have no reason for apprehension, from the internal government of France." On receiving these unqualified demands, Louis proposed a declaration of war, which was decreed by the national assembly on the 20th of April, 1792.

The

The French immediately commenced hostilities, by attacking in three different columns the Austrian Netherlands. M. Dillon advanced from Lisle to Tournay, where he found a strong body of Austrians ready to receive him. The national troops, unaccustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were instantly thrown into confusion, and fled to the gates of Lisle. The cry of treason resounded on all sides; and their commander, an experienced and faithful officer, was murdered by his own soldiers and the mob. A second division of ten thousand men, under general Biron, took possession of Quiverain on the 29th, and marched towards Mons. He was there attacked by the Austrians, whom he repulsed. Hearing, however, of the defeat of Dillon, he retreated. A third party advanced to Furnes, but without performing any kind of service. La Fayette also advanced towards Bouvines, from which he afterwards retreated with barren laurels. These expeditions were ill contrived, in as much as they divided the French troops, and exposed them in small bodies to the attack of veteran forces. The Austrians were some time before they attempted to retaliate. At length, on the 11th of June, they attacked M. Gouvion, who commanded the advanced guard of La Fayette's army near Maubeuge. M. Gouvion was killed; but on La Fayette himself coming up, the Austrians abandoned the field.

Matters, however, were hastening in Paris towards a crisis. Two parties, both of which were hostile to the new constitution, had been gradually formed. The one wished to give more effectual support to the royal authority, by establishing a senate of two chambers, to assist the king in depressing popular enthusiasm; while the other party wished to set aside royalty altogether, and to hazard the bold experiment of converting France into an absolute republic. These were supported by the Jacobin club, which had contrived to concentrate in itself great influence. Popular societies devoted to its interest were established in

in every town and village throughout the provinces. With these a regular correspondence was kept up by writing and by emissaries. Thus their schemes and notions were readily propagated through the kingdom, and all the violent spirits which it contained were enabled to act in concert: but the more immediate engine of the republican party consisted of the immense population of the metropolis, whom they now endeavoured to keep in constant alarm.

For this purpose they alledged, that an Austrian conspiracy in favour of the enemies of the country, existed among the queen's friends at court. Gensonné and Brissot even offered in the assembly to prove the existence of this Austrian committee. A report was also circulated, that the king intended to abscond from the capital on the 23rd of May. His majesty publicly contradicted these accusations as calumnies; but his voice made no impression upon the public.

New decrees were now made against the refractory clergy, but these his majesty refused to sanction. A proposal was also made and decreed in the assembly to form a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris, and for this levy it was determined that every canton in the kingdom should contribute one horseman and four infantry. The national guard of Paris disliked the proposal, and the king gave it his negative.

Indeed at this time the king seems to have come to a resolution of standing out against the Jacobin party, to which he had for some time yielded. The ministry were therefore dismissed, excepting Dumourier, and others were appointed in their stead. By this event Dumourier lost the confidence of the Jacobin club. He saw his error, resigned his office and joined the army.

In the mean time a decree had been passed, authorising the manufactory of pikes for the purpose of arming cheaply the lower class of citizens. All means were used to render the king odious by inflammatory writings and harangues; and in both of these the famous Marat was supposed to be at the head.

On

On the 20th of June, M. Roederer, the procureur general syndic, informed the national assembly, that, contrary to law, formidable bodies of armed men were preparing to present petitions to the king, and to the national assembly. A part of them speedily appeared, with St. Huruge, and Santerre, a brewer, at their head. They marched through the hall in a procession that lasted two hours, to the number of about forty thousand. They surrounded the palace of the Thuilleries. The gates were thrown open; and, on an attempt to break the door of the apartment where the king then was, he ordered them to be admitted. His sister the princess Elizabeth never departed from his side during five hours that he was surrounded by the multitude, and compelled to listen to every indignity. All this while Petion, the mayor of Paris, was unaccountably absent. He at length, however, arrived, and also a deputation from the assembly. The queen, with her children and the princess de Lamballe, were in the council-chamber, where, though protected from violence, they were yet exposed to much insult. At last, in consequence of the approach of evening, and of the entreaties of Petion, the multitude gradually dispersed and retired to their dwellings.

The indignities suffered on this day by the royal family were in some respects not unfavourable to their cause. A great number of respectable inhabitants of the capital were ashamed of such gross proceedings. The directory of the department of Paris, at the head of which were M. Rochefoucault and M. Talleyrand, published a declaration disapproving the conduct of the mayor, and of M. Manuel the procureur of the commune, whom they afterwards suspended from their offices, although they were speedily restored by a decree of the assembly. At the same time La Fayette, leaving his army suddenly, appeared on the 26th at the bar of the national assembly. He declared that he came to express the indignation which the whole army felt on account of the events of the

20th: he called upon the assembly to punish the promoters of these events, and to dissolve the factious clubs. This bold harangue of La Fayette threw the Jacobins into consternation, and from that period they never ceased to calumniate his character.

On the first of July, on the motion of Jean de Brie, the assembly ordered a proclamation to be made, that the country was in danger. On the 6th, Louis gave intimation that the king of Prussia was marching with fifty thousand men to co-operate against France. The French arms were at this time somewhat successful in the Austrian Netherlands; but the cabinet speedily thought it necessary to order the armies to retreat: a measure which was afterwards publicly censured by mareschal Luckner. On the 25th, the duke of Brunswick issued at Coblenz his celebrated manifesto. It declared the purpose of the intended invasion of France to be the restoration of the French king to full authority. It declared the national guard of France responsible for the preservation of tranquillity; and threatened with the punishment of death, as rebels to their king, those who should appear in arms against the allied powers. All men holding offices, civil or military, were threatened in the same manner, as well as the inhabitants of all cities. Paris, in particular, and the national assembly, were declared responsible for every insult which might be offered to the royal family. It was declared, that if they were not immediately placed in safety, the allies were resolved to inflict "on those who should deserve it the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels, who should be guilty of illegal resistance, should suffer the punishments which they should have deserved."

This sanguinary and imprudent manifesto operated as a death warrant for the unfortunate Louis XVI. It left no middle way in the nation. All who wished to preserve freedom in any form, and all who loved the
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the independence of their country, were instantly united. At the same time the reproaches cast on the king by the Jacobins gained universal credit. The republican party soon felt their advantage, and resolved upon the deposition of the king. The chief engine which they meant to employ, consisted of about fifteen hundred men, who had come to Paris at the period of the confederation on the 14th of July, and were therefore called *fédérés*, and sometimes *Marseillois*, from the place from which the greater number of them came. Next to these, dependence was placed in the populace of the suburbs of the capital. Various charges were first brought against La Fayette, and the 8th of August was appointed for their discussion.

In the mean time, on the 3d of August, M. Petion, the mayor, at the head of a deputation from the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly, and in a solemn speech demanded the deposition of the king. The discussion of the accusation against La Fayette was considered as a trial of strength between the parties: he was acquitted by a majority of one hundred and eighty-two voices; and the republican party, despairing of carrying their point by a vote of the national assembly, resolved to have recourse to violence.

On the 9th of August, about fifteen hundred gentlemen, officers of the army, and others, repaired to the palace, and resolved to protect the royal family, or to die in their defence: added to these were seven hundred Swiss guards, with a body of cavalry amounting to about one thousand. Mandat, the commander of the national guards, a man firmly attached to the constitution, had procured two thousand four hundred of that corps, and twelve pieces of cannon. With such a force, it has been generally thought, that, by vigorous and steady councils, the palace might have been successfully defended; and what was called a *Revolution*, might have borne the name of a *Rebellion*. In the mean time the assembly declared its

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sittings permanent. Petion was at the palace late on the evening of the 9th. Some apprehensions were entertained for his safety, and a deputation from the assembly brought him away. At midnight the tocsin or alarm-bell sounded, and the drums beat to arms through the city. At this instant a number of the most active leaders of the republican party assembled, and elected a new council or commune. The persons thus chosen took possession of the common hall, and drove out the members of the former assembly; who, with that weakness with which men are apt to shrink from stations of responsibility in perilous times, hastily gave place to the new council. The new commune sent repeated messages to M. Mandat, requiring his attendance upon important business. He was occupied in arranging the troops in the best order around the palace; but, suspecting nothing, he went to the common hall, and was there astonished to find a different assembly from what he expected. He was instantly accused of a plot to massacre the people, and ordered to prison; but as he descended the stairs, he was shot with a pistol, and Santerre was appointed in his stead to command the national guard.

On this eventful night no person in the palace went to bed. About six in the morning of the 10th the king descended into the gardens to review the troops. He was received with shouts of "*Vive le roi*," excepting from the artillery, who shouted "*Vive la nation*." The king returned to the palace, and the multitude continued to collect. The national guard seemed undetermined as to the method they ought to pursue, as they assembled in divisions near the palace; and, had a steady resistance been made from within, it is probable they would have joined the royal party. But towards eight o'clock M. Roederer procured admittance to the palace, and told the king that armed multitudes were assembling in hostile array around the Thuilleries; that the national guard was not to be depended upon; and that, in case of resistance, the whole royal family would most certainly

be massacred. He therefore advised the king to seek protection in the hall of the national assembly. With this advice the king was ready to comply; but the queen opposed with vehemence the humiliating proposal. Becoming, gradually, however, alarmed for the safety of her children, she gave her consent; and the king and queen, the princess Elizabeth, with the prince and princess royal, went on foot to the hall of the assembly. "I am come hither, said the king, to prevent a great crime. Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety."

Now by an article of the constitution, the assembly could not deliberate in the presence of the king: the royal family were, therefore, placed in a narrow box separated from the hall by a railing, where they remained fourteen hours without any place to which they could retire for refreshment, excepting a very small closet adjoining. Here they sat listening to debates, in which, as they were on the principles of republicanism, the royal character and office were treated with every mark of degradation.

When Louis left the palace of the Thuilleries, he forgot to order it to be immediately surrendered. He recollected this as soon as he reached the assembly, and sent orders for the purpose; but it was then too late. The insurgents amounted to upwards of twenty thousand effective men, commanded by Westerman, a Prussian, with about thirty pieces of cannon. Those persons who were within the palace, and who had assembled with a view to protect the king's person, were now dispirited, and knew not how to act. The commander of the Swiss, M. Affry, was absent; and the national guard had no leader, in consequence of the death of Mandat. About nine o'clock the outer gates were forced open; and the insurgents formed their line in front of the place. A bloody combat commenced, chiefly between the Marseillois and the Swiss. After a brave resistance of about an hour, the Swiss were overpowered by numbers, and gave way. All of them that could be found in the palace were

N 2 massacred;

massacred; some even while imploring quarter on their knees. Others escaped into the city, and were protected by individuals. Of this brave regiment only two hundred survived; but every human being, even the lowest servants found in the palace, were put to death. The Swiss taken prisoners in various quarters were conducted to the door of the assembly, and taken by a decree under the protection of the state. But the multitude insisted upon putting them to instant death; and the assembly would, in all probability, have been unable to protect them, had not the Marseillois interfered in their favour.

The suspension of the royal authority was instantly decreed, and the nation was invited to elect a convention to determine the nature of its future government. On this occasion all Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age were declared capable of electing, and of being elected, deputies to the new national convention. Commissioners were, in the mean time, sent on the same evening to give to the armies an account of these transactions. The royal family were sent to the old palace of the Temple in the midst of the city, to remain there under a strict guard; and all persons of rank who had been attached to them were seized and committed to different prisons.

To give an idea of the temper of the people of Paris at this memorable conjuncture, it must be recorded to their honour, that at the same instant when the multitude were massacring the menial servants in the palace, and could scarcely be restrained from offering violence to every person devoted to the royal cause, they would suffer no one act of pillage to pass unpunished. Several attempts of this kind were accordingly followed by the instant death of the criminals. The plate, the jewels, and money, found in the Thuilleries, were brought to the national assembly, and thrown down in the hall. One man, whose dress and appearance bespoke extreme poverty, cast upon the table a hat full of gold.—Such was the conduct of men whose minds were elevated by enthusiasm, and rendered

rendered frantic by false notions of liberty, or of a republican government.

The situation of France now became extremely critical, and it was very doubtful whether the new convention would be suffered to assemble. La Fayette had got speedy intelligence of the events of the 10th of August. He advised the magistrates of Sedan to imprison the commissioners from the national assembly when they should arrive there; which was accordingly done. He also published an address to his army, calling upon them to support the king and the constitution; but, finding they were not to be depended upon, on the 19th of August he left his camp in the night, accompanied only by his staff and a few servants. They took the route of Rochefort in Liege, which was a neutral country; but were met by a party of the republicans, who took them prisoners, and they were detained in Prussian and Austrian dungeons till autumn, 1794.

General Dillon had at first entered into the sentiments of La Fayette; but the politic Dumourier diverted him from his purpose, and by this means regained his credit with the Jacobins, inasmuch that he was appointed commander-in-chief. The other generals, Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, made no opposition to the will of the national assembly, and retained their appointments.

In the mean time, the combined armies of Austria and Prussia had entered France. The duke of Brunswick's army was above fifty thousand strong. General Clairfait had joined him with fifteen thousand Austrians, and a considerable body of Hessians, along with twenty thousand French emigrants, amounting in all to ninety thousand. To oppose these, Dumourier had only seventeen thousand men collected near the point from which the enemy were approaching in Luxembourg. The French emigrants had imposed upon the duke of Brunswick such an account of the distracted state of their own country, and of the pretended disaffection of all orders of men towards

wards the ruling party in Paris, that no resistance of any importance was expected. When the combined troops, consisting either of steady Austrian or Hungarian battalions, or of those well-disciplined Prussians which the great Frederic had inured to military discipline, were reviewed in Germany, before setting out on their march, it is said that the spectators, among whom the French cause was not unpopular, beheld them with anxiety and regret, and pitied the unhappy country against which this immense force was directed. The beginning of their progress justified these expectations, but they were soon after frustrated. Longwy surrendered on the 22nd of August, after a siege of fifteen hours, although well fortified, possessed of a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, and defended by seventy pieces of cannon. The news of this event irritated the assembly so much, that they decreed, whenever retaken, the houses of the citizens should be razed to the ground. On the 1st of September, Verdun was summoned; and here the municipality compelled the governor M. Beaurepaire to surrender. That officer, disappointed and enraged, because he was not permitted to defend himself any longer with honour, shot himself in presence of the council; and, on the following day, the Prussian troops entered the town*.

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* The garrison of Verdun obtained liberty to retire into the interior of France. After the capture of the town, the king of Prussia and duke of Brunswick ordered the administrators of the department of the Meuse to repair to Verdun, to regulate the affairs of the department, on pain of death in case of disobedience. The Prussian general also ordered the receiver-general of the department of the Moselle to come before him, and render an account of his receipts. This the receiver was compelled to do; and the whole being audited, and the sum in his hands paid, the Prussian general gave him an acquittance in the following terms: "Received for, and in the name of the French people, and of Louis XVI. king of the French, such a sum, being the amount of the taxes received from such a time to such a time, according to the decrees of the National Assembly, and for this sum I grant a compleat acquittance in the name of the French nation and the king."

The news of the capture of Verdun, and of the approach of the Prussians, spread instant alarm throughout Paris. It was proposed to raise a volunteer corps, which should set out immediately to meet the enemy. The council, which was now led by Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and others of the most sanguinary character, ordered the alarm-guns to be fired, and the populace to be summoned to meet in the Champ de Mars, to enrol themselves to march against the invaders. The people assembled, and, as is supposed, in consequence of a premeditated plan, a number of voices exclaimed, that "the domestic foes of the nation ought first to be destroyed, before its foreign enemies were attacked." In an instant parties of armed men proceeded to the prisons where the non-juring clergy, the Swiss officers, and those confined since the 10th of August, on a charge of mal-practices against the state, were detained in custody. On the 2nd of September, they liberated all those who were confined for debt. From seven o'clock on Sunday evening till day-break on Monday, slaughter pervaded in the prisons of Paris. They took out the suspected persons one by one, gave them a kind of mock trial before a jury of themselves, acquitted some few, and deliberately murdered the rest. Among these was the princess de Lamballe. She was taken from her bed before this bloody tribunal, and massacred; her head was carried by the populace to the Temple, and exhibited to the queen, whose friend she was. These massacres lasted for two days, and upwards of one thousand persons fell a sacrifice to the savage barbarity of the mob*.

In

king." The same general then gave orders to the president of the department to convene the primary assemblies according to the constitution, as accepted by the king, and then to proceed to the election of new deputies to the national convention.

* Madame de Lamballe was murdered on the 3d of September; and when the multitude were carrying the head of that princess to the Temple, their violence and impetuosity was abated by the following

In the mean time general Dumourier was taking the best measures to impede the progress of the enemy, till the army of Kellerman, consisting of twenty thousand men, could join him from Lorraine, and that

bowing inscription fixed upon the gate by a deputation of the assembly, previous to their arrival:

“ Citizens,
You who to a just vengeance,
Know how to join the love of order,
Respect this barrier:
It is necessary to our vigilance,
And to our responsibility.”

The people arrived at the Temple at three o'clock; when a sentiment of veneration stopped them at the sight of this insurmountable barrier. So great was their enthusiasm and respect for the constituted authorities, that they approached the placard, and kissed it with religious adoration. Two commissioners then advanced towards the multitude; and the people addressed them in the following terms: “Magistrates that we honour, we do not come to lay hands, we do not call it sacrifice, on the hostage confided to your vigilance; but we desire that the number fired by yourselves should accompany this impious head to the foot of the throne. We desire that those who are the cause of so many mischiefs should see the sad and fatal result of their conspiracies and infernal plots.” In consequence of this address, Messrs. Charrier, Guichard, and Palfoni resolved to make known to the king the events which happened, with all possible delicacy. The queen and madame Elizabeth manifested great sensibility on the occasion; but the conduct of the king seems of a different nature; for he said, with an appearance of composure, to the person who shewed him the head of madame de Lamballe, “Vous avez raison, monsieur!” that is, “You did right, Sir!”

The following interesting and affecting anecdote, which bears some resemblance to the story of the Grecian daughter, was published in the Paris magazine:—“M. Sombreuil, *ci-devant* governor of the Hotel des Invalides, for being suspected of secreting arms, had been conducted to prison. His daughter was resolved to share his misfortune. She accordingly applied to the jailer for permission to enter that cell which was void of gloom; nay, rather let me say, for her noble soul possessed charms—it contained her father. The jailer replied, that he dared not allow any person whatever to enter the prison without orders from a superior power. Resolute, and persevering in her virtuous pursuit, she waved all difficulties, and applied to M. Santerre, who granted her request. On the wings of filial love she now flew to the prison, and bore to the heart of her aged parent the balm of pious affection

that of Bournonville from Flanders, amounting to thirteen thousand, together with the new levies that Luckner might be able to procure him from Chalons. The forest of Argonne extends from north to south upwards of forty miles; it lay directly in the route of the duke of Brunswick, who must either force his way across it, or make a circuit of forty miles by the pass of Grandpré on the north, or by Barleduc on the south. The pass that lay directly in his route was that of Biesme. After surveying Dillon's position here, he left a party of twenty thousand men to watch it; and, with the main body of his army, took the circuitous route by Grandpré on the north. Here Dumourier waited to receive him, and was attacked on the 12th and 13th without success; but, on the 14th, the attack of the Prussians was irresistible, and Du-

tion and duteous consolation; and thus beguiled the tedious hours of confinement. On September the 3rd, when the people had taken the reins of justice into their own hands, the prison where M. Sombreuil was confined, was visited. The twelve judges were sat, and the prisoner tried. His hour was now come, and the jailer appeared at the door. "I am ready," exclaimed mademoiselle Sombreuil, with a tone of fortitude, "I am ready to die: but oh! spare my father." The jailer was moved to compassion: thrice he approached the door, and thrice he withdrew. At length the moment came, and M. Sombreuil was demanded. He appeared, supported by his daughter: her hair was dishevelled, and her countenance expressive of anguish, perturbation, and dismay. Disengaging herself from her father, she threw herself on her knees, and, with uplifted hands, pleaded for him, in an unconnected, but affecting address to the judges, in which she offered her own life to ransom his. It was the note of pious sorrow, affecting, and persuasive. The judges surveyed the old man and his daughter alternately: their souls were filled with admiration and pity. "Whatever M. Sombreuil may have been guilty of," said the judges, "he is an old man, and let him know that we are merciful! Let him cry, *Vive la Nation!* and retire." The virtuous mademoiselle Sombreuil, with a piercing accent repeated, *Vive la Nation!* fell at her father's feet and embraced his knees. The people were so much pleased with this scene, that they brought an old door, on which they placed M. Sombreuil and his daughter, and bore them through the crowd, amidst the loudest acclamations of the multitude.

mourier, retreating, gave up the pass. On his march he was so violently pressed by the advanced cavalry of the Prussians, that his army was seized with a panic, and fled. On the 15th, however, Dumourier encamped at St. Menehould, and began to fortify it. Bournonville's army joined that under Dumourier on the 17th. The duke of Brunswick formed a plan of attacking Kellerman before his junction could be completed. That general arrived, on the 19th, within a mile of Dumourier's camp; the projected attack took place; the Prussians manœuvred with their usual coolness and address; they attempted to surround Kellerman's army, but this could not be accomplished. The French troops preserved excellent order, while the national vivacity was constantly shewing itself in their shouts and patriotic songs. In this affair four hundred French were killed, and five hundred wounded; but the loss of the Prussians was much greater; and, in the face of the enemy, Kellerman joined Dumourier at the end of the engagement without opposition.

At the same time that the attack was made on the army of Kellerman, an attempt was made to force Dillon's camp at Biesme by the twenty thousand men that had been left in its vicinity, but without success; and this large detachment was thus prevented from crossing the forest of Argonne, and supporting the duke of Brunswick.

The duke of Brunswick encamped his army at La Lun, near the camp of Dumourier. And here the Prussians began to experience extreme distress, both from sickness and famine. No temptation could induce the inhabitants of the country to carry provisions to the hostile troops; while on the other hand the French army was abundantly supplied. Bournonville, with four thousand men, intercepted several droves of cattle and convoys of provisions for the Prussian camp; while the rain fell in torrents, and the roads were uncommonly deep. Exposed to the cold, the moisture, and want of provisions, the Prussians rashly
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ate great quantities of the grapes of Champagne. The consequence was, that an epidemical distemper commenced, and spread through the army to such an extent, that ten thousand men at one time were unfit for duty. The duke of Brunswick, however, still commanded a force much more numerous than that of Dumourier; and he has been much censured for not attacking his camp, and forcing him to engage. It has been said, that the veteran and numerous force which he commanded, had he defeated Dumourier's army, might have found nothing to oppose their march to Paris. But the duke of Brunswick had, entered France upon the supposition, that in its present distracted state, no effective army could be brought to face him in the field, and that the people at large were hostile to the ruling party. The contrary of all this now turned out to be the fact. He found himself in the midst of an hostile country, and opposed by skilful generals. A defeat in such a situation would have brought certain ruin to his army; and even the loss sustained in the acquisition of a victory might have proved no less fatal. The remains of the French army would not fail to hang upon his rear; and from the disposition of the people it appeared impossible to ascertain to what amount that army might be suddenly increased. After proposing a truce, therefore, he commenced his retreat towards Grandpré, and no advantage was attempted against him. Verdun was retaken by the French under general Dillon, on the 12th of October, and Longwy on the 18th. The siege of Thionville was at the same time raised; that small but strong fortress, under the command of general Felix Wimpfen, had held in check an army of fifteen thousand men*.

While

* The siege of Thionville commenced on the 24th of August, 1792, and the garrison made a vigorous resistance. The imperialists lost five hundred men in erecting one battery; and the garrison made a sally, in which they destroyed eight batteries which were ready to play upon the town. When the duke of Brunswick

While the Prussians were advancing from the north-east, the Austrians under the duke of Saxe Teschen laid siege to Lisle. The council-general of the commune answered the summons of the besiegers thus: "We have renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post. We will not perjure ourselves." The Austrian batteries began to play upon the town on the 29th; and, though a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins, the citizens became daily more obstinate: they received each other into the houses that were still standing, and every vault and cellar was occupied. Although upwards of thirty thousand red-hot balls and six thousand bombs were thrown into the city, besides the efforts made by an immense battering train of artillery, yet the loss both to the garrison and people did not exceed five hundred persons, most of whom were women and children. After a fortnight of fruitless labour, the Austrians raised the siege, with the loss, it is said, of nearly two thousand men.

War had also been declared against the king of Sardinia on account of the threatening appearances exhibited in that quarter. On the 20th of September, general Montesquiou entered the territories of Savoy, and was received at Chambery and throughout the whole country with marks of unbounded approbation. On the 29th, general Anselm, with another body of

summoned general Wimpfen, the governor of the town, to surrender, he returned the following answer: "You may, by means of your bombs and red-hot balls, destroy the town and inhabitants of Thionville; but there are two things which you will not be able to do, viz. either to burn the ramparts, or make my brave garrison be guilty of a dastardly act." On the 27th of September, M. Merlij read, in the national assembly, an extract of a letter from Thionville, which announced, "That the besieged placed a wooden horse upon the ramparts, with a bundle of hay in its mouth, and the following inscription: 'When the horse eats this hay, Thionville will surrender:' and that general Wimpfen had captured many waggons loaded with flour, salt meat, &c. estimated at more than a million of livres,"

troops,

troops, took possession of Nice and the country around it. On the 30th, general Custine advanced to Spire, where he found the Austrians drawn up in order of battle. He attacked and drove them through the city, taking three thousand prisoners. The capture of Worms succeeded that of Spire; Mentz surrendered by capitulation; and Frankfort on the Maine fell into the hands of the French on the 23d: out of this last place, however, they were afterwards driven, on the 2d of December*.

On the 20th of September the French national convention had assembled. It was found to contain men of all characters, orders, and ranks. Many distinguished members of the constituent assembly were elected into it, and also several that had belonged to the legislative assembly; even foreigners were invited to become French legislators. The famous Thomas Paine (author of the Rights of Man) and Dr. Joseph Priestley of England, were elected by certain

* On the capture of Frankfort on the Maine, general Custine demanded a contribution of five millions of florins, but relaxed two millions. The quantity of warlike stores which he took was immense. The following curious proclamation, dated headquarters at Frankfort, October 28, 1792, was issued by general Custine, and caused to be stuck up in all the squares, market-houses, and other conspicuous places, in Frankfort, and the countries belonging to the prince of Hesse Cassel: "The prince of Hesse Cassel is at this time assembling legions of armed men. Does he not know that the day of judgement is come for every unjust prince; that another day is arriving, for the deliverance of the people who had been hood-winked by such despots? He is ranging round him those by whom, he vainly hopes, to strengthen his tottering throne;—that portion of his subjects, the most pure of all, whose blood he sells to fill his treasury. This circumstance alone will decide the fate of such a tyrant. Monster! upon whom have accumulated, for a long time past, the clouds in a tempest, the curses of the Germanic empire; the tears of the widows, from whom thou hast pillaged the very bread; the cries of the orphans, whom thou hast rendered miserable; the soldiers, whom thou hast abused, will deliver thee over to the just vengeance of the French.—Flight will not now save thee from their hands; for how is it possible to find a people of the earth, who will grant an asylum to a tyger like thee?"

departments;

departments; but the latter declined accepting the office they intended for him. Anacharsis Clootz, a Prussian, was chosen, though his countrymen were engaged in the forlorn hope of re-establishing Louis upon the throne; but to render every such hope abortive, Collot d'Herbois, formerly an actor, ascended the tribune on the 21st of September, 1792, and said, "You have just now formed a wise resolution; but there is one which you cannot defer till to-morrow, nor yet till the evening; no, not even a single moment, without being unfaithful to the wishes of the nation: that resolution is, the abolition of royalty." The loudest applauses followed. M. Gregoire then moved, that the convention sanction by a solemn law, the abolition of royalty. Upon this motion the assembly rose unanimously, and decreed by a loud acclamation, the abolition of royalty in the following form: "The national convention decree, that royalty is abolished in France." Messages were sent to all parts of the country to intimate the decree, and they were every where received with applause. It was next day decreed, that all public acts should be dated from and by the year of the French republic; and all the citizens were declared eligible to vacant offices and employments. The rage of republicanism now went so far, that the ordinary titles of Monsieur and Madame were abolished, and the appellation of *Citizen* substituted as more suitable to the principles of the republican form of government.

It was, however, discovered, that the leading republicans had split into two opposite factions. One of these was called *Girondists*, because Verginaud, Gensonné, Gaudet, and others of its prominent leaders, were members from the department of la Gironde. The celebrated Condorcet belonged to this party; and they were sometimes denominated *Brissotines*, from M. Brissot de Warville, their principal leader. They supported the ministry then in office, at the head of which was M. Roland; and the majority of the convention was obviously attached to them. In opposition

tion to these was the party of the *Mountain*; so called from its members usually sitting in the convention on the upper seats of the hall. They were men possessed of less personal respectability, and fewer literary accomplishments, but of daring and sanguinary characters, whom the violent measures of the revolution had alone brought into notice. At the head of this party were Danton and Robespierre, and their creatures Couthon, Bazire, Thuriot, Merlin de Thionville, St. André, Camille Desmoulins, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, Sergent, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Panis, and Marat. These two parties shewed the diversity of their characters by the mode in which they treated the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. The Brissotines, with the majority of the convention, wished to bring the murderers to trial; but the question was always eluded by the other party, with the aid of the Jacobin club and the populace.

By a decree which was made on the 9th of October it was determined, that all emigrants, when taken, should suffer death; and on the 15th of November, in consequence of an insurrection in the duchy of Deux Ponts, and an application on the part of the insurgents to the convention for aid, the following decree was passed: "The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering, in the cause of liberty*.

On

* To repel the danger which the French apprehended from the operations of the treaty of Pilnitz, the assembly thought proper to discuss the right of Monsieur to the regency, in case of the death of the king; and after some deliberation, the assembly passed a decree nearly in the following terms:

"The national assembly, considering that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, being the next in succession to the regency, is absent from the kingdom—in virtue of an article of the second

On the 12th of October, general Dumourier came to Paris, and was instructed to commence a winter campaign in the Netherlands. He suddenly attacked the Austrians at Bossu, and drove them from their position. On the 5th of November he came in sight of the enemy upon the heights of Jemappe. Three lines of fortification arose above each other, defended by one hundred pieces of artillery. Their right wing was covered by a village and a river, and their left by thick woods. The French, by their own account, amounted to thirty thousand; and the Austrians were about twenty thousand. On the flanks Dumourier placed all the old soldiers in whom he could best confide. In the centre he drew up the Paris volunteers and the recruits from every part of the country. Behind him he ranged his park of artillery. They began the assault in the afternoon, and were beat back. That night the French lay upon their arms, and the next morning, when the volunteers marched with great spirit quite up to the entrenchments, they were mowed down by the Austrian artillery in great numbers. The French gave way in the centre, but returned again. A second time the French centre gave way, and the Austrians incautiously left their entrenchments to pursue them. This was the object Dumourier had in view; and with his own flanks he turned the wings of the Austrian army, and got behind them in their entrenchments. Here great slaughter was made of the

second section of the French constitution, decrees, that the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within the space of two months from the day on which the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in Paris.

“ In case the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, shall fail to return to the kingdom within the period above signified, he shall then be deemed to have forfeited his right to the regency, in virtue of the second article of the constitutional act. The assembly further decrees, that, conformably to the decree of the 30th of this month, (October,) a proclamation to this effect shall be printed, affixed, and published, within three days in the city of Paris, and that the executive power shall notify the same to the assembly, within the three following days.”

Austrians,

Austrians, who lost ten thousand men, and were entirely defeated. Dumourier, during the greater part of the engagement, threw off his coat and waistcoat, and fought as a common soldier. This victory was decisive of the fate of the Netherlands. Mons and Brussels surrendered to Dumourier; Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, were taken possession of by general Labourdonnaye; Louvain and Namur were taken by general Valence; and the whole Austrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, fell into the hands of the French. Liege was taken on the 28th of November, after a successful engagement, in which the Austrians lost six hundred men, and an immense train of artillery.

Thus was France, by means of an invincible spirit of enthusiasm infused into her numerous army, more than a match for the formidable combination of foreign powers, and rose superior to the veteran prowess of the numerous invaders, who assailed her on every side. But while she was thus victorious in all quarters abroad, she was distracted by violent factions at home. The two parties in the convention were engaged in a struggle, which daily became more implacable and alarming. The party called the Mountain did not disguise their intention of bringing the king to trial: the moderate party as anxiously meditated to save him. This attempt was at once so incompatible with every thing that had long been considered as forming the French character, so devoid of every shadow of justice, and so repugnant to every principle of true policy, that even the previous atrocities of the revolution had not prepared mankind to believe that its accomplishment could be seriously meditated, much less that the people, the armies, and the constituted authorities of France, would have permitted it to take place. The conduct and progress of this scandalous perversion of the forms of justice and humanity, however, prove that the space is but small from the prison of a prince to his final persecution on a scaffold.

CHAPTER III.

*The Fate of Louis the Sixteenth and his Queen
Marie Antoinette.*

THE royal family had for some time been confined in the Temple, an ancient building belonging to the grand-prior of the knights-templars, situated at the north-east extremity of Paris, in a division which formed a refuge for debtors, crowded with buildings of the meanest description, and particularly dirty, unwholesome, and melancholy. Great pains had been taken to render the apartments secure, and these precautions added to their gloom. The decree for abolishing royalty was announced to them with rudeness; the commissioners hoping to extort from the monarch some unguarded expressions, which might give more colour to their proceedings; but to their disappointment, he bore the event with heroic fortitude.

The papers on which it was intended to found the charges against Louis, were referred to a committee, and delay was judged necessary to prepare the public mind for the horrid catastrophe; but the exertions of the Mountain, and the inefficient opposition made by the Girondists, removed every fear; the harangues in the convention boldly proceeded on the principle, that no trial for the ascertainment of guilt was necessary, but the only exertion requisite was to defeat the plea of inviolability, and pronounce immediate sentence of death. Such were the sentiments avowed by Robespierre, who said, "sentence of death ought to be pronounced against Louis, as a tyrant, condemned by the insurrection of the people: instead of which, proceedings were instituted against him, as in the case of an accused citizen, whose criminality was doubtful. The revolution ought to have been cemented by his death; instead of which, the revolution itself was rendered a subject of litigation."

Similar

Similar to these were the sentiments of Legendre, Tallien, St. André, and the Mountain in general, and all their party. On the other hand, the Brissotines, with hesitation, maintained the king's inviolability.

While these measures were carrying on, a new incident occasioned considerable agitation. A secret iron closet, in which the king kept his papers, fixed in a wall of the palace of the Thuilleries, and covered with a pannel, was pointed out to Roland, by the workmen who constructed it. The minister, without making any communication to the legislature, or to his colleagues, and unaccompanied even by a single municipal officer, went to the palace, and possessed himself of the whole collection of writings, presenting such of them as he thought fit to the convention, as documents "capable of throwing great light on the events of the 10th of August, on the revolution in general, and on those characters who had taken the most active part in it." He declared that several members of the first and second assemblies were implicated in the contents, and required a committee to take cognizance of them. The popularity of Roland suffered by the irregularity and impropriety of his conduct; but the documents were referred to a committee of twelve.

In consequence of this determination to subject the king to a form of trial, recourse was had to the iron closet for documents; and from these a selection was made of some papers, respecting which it was hoped to extract some plausible grounds of accusation. When the committee of twelve had made their report on these papers, a committee of twenty-one was appointed to draw up the charges, which were to be discussed in the convention on the 10th, and Louis to appear the next day to answer to interrogatories; he was to have a copy of his accusation, and a sight of the documents, and in two days to be finally heard. Each member was to give his vote from the tribune.

The king's appearance in the convention, was fixed for the 11th of December, 1792. He was informed

that the new mayor of Paris, Chambon, a physician, would pay him a visit. At length the mayor appeared, attended by Chaumette and Collumbéan, procureur and secretary of the commune, several municipal officers, and Santerre with his aid-de-camps. The mayor informed the king that they were come to convey him to the convention, in pursuance of a decree which was read by the secretary, stating that *Louis Capet* should be brought to the bar. The king protested against the form and effect of this proceeding. " *Capet*, he said, is not my name, but that of one of my ancestors. I am however ready to follow you, not in obedience to the convention, but because thy enemies have the power in their hands." In crossing the court, nothing but strange objects presented themselves to the eyes of Louis. The uniform of the troops was new in its fashion; and no countenance displayed the slightest mark of respect or commiseration. He rode in Chambon's coach, under a numerous guard, which began with three field-pieces, attended by two ammunition waggons, and escorted by a corps of fusileers; forty-eight horsemen formed the avant-guard; six hundred infantry, provided with sixteen rounds of cartridges, formed a line of three deep on each side of the coach; the cavalry from *L'Ecole Militaire* formed the rear-guard, and the cavalcade was closed by three field-pieces, attended by one ammunition waggon, and escorted, like those in the van, by a corps of fusileers. Nor were these the only precautions taken: the executive council, and the council-general of the commune, were in a state of permanent activity. Troops were posted in various parts of the city; patroles paraded the streets, and all the national guards in the department were put in a state of requisition. During their progress, the whole procession maintained a profound silence.

In the mean time the convention were engaged in settling the interrogatories, and deciding the line of conduct they were to observe on the king's appearance.

ance. Barrere, the president, recommended silence; and Legendre enforced the observation by saying, "*Guilt must be appalled by the silence of the tomb.*" At length Santerre announced the king's arrival; and the monarch entered, not only without perturbation, but without betraying the smallest semblance of fear. His features, though clouded by misfortune, had lost none of their dignity; and he seated himself in an arm-chair provided for the purpose.

Barrere opened the business, by informing the king of the accusation against him. Mailhé, one of the secretaries, read the act of accusation, charge by charge; the king was immediately interrogated on the various charges, article by article. The particulars of the trial of the king being fresh in the memory of the reader, we waive the insertion of it in this place.

At length the trial on the part of the convention being finished, the *President*, addressing the convention, said, "The questions are done with."—(*To the king.*) "Louis, is there any thing that you wish to add?"

Louis. "I request a communication of the charges which I have heard, and of the papers relating thereto, and the liberty of choosing counsel for my defence."

The president, Barrere, informed the king, that his two first requests were already decreed, and that the determination respecting the other would be made known to him in due time. It would have been unreasonable to have denied this request; therefore it was decreed, that counsel should be allowed to the king, and his choice fell upon Messrs. Tronchet, Lamignon, Malesherbes*, and Deseze; he had previously applied to M. Target, who excused himself on account of his age and infirmity.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 26th, Louis the Sixteenth appeared at the bar of the national con-

* Malesherbes was at this time seventy-eight years of age.
vention,

vention, to present his means of defence, with the same firm and collected air as on his examination. M. Deseze, in an able and eloquent speech, then commenced the defence. Coming to that period in his speech, which related to the 10th of August, which was so fatal to the king, he said, "I come at last to the disastrous day of the 10th of August. In this hall men have contended for the glory of that day. I come not to dispute that glory; but since it has been proved that that day was premeditated, how can it be a crime to Louis? And you accuse *him*, and you would give judgement against *him*, who has never given a sanguinary order,—against *him*, who, at Varennes, preferred returning a captive, to exposing the life of a single man,—against *him*, who, on the 20th of June, refused every kind of aid, and preferred remaining alone in the midst of the people. Hear History speak—Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty: he exhibited on it an example of morals, of justice, of economy: he abolished servitude in his domains: the people desired liberty—he gave it. (*Murmurs among the members.*) We cannot deny to Louis the glory of having always anticipated the wishes of his people. I do not conclude: I appeal to History: think that History will judge your judgement."

When the defence was finished, the king rose, and holding a paper in his hand, spoke in a calm manner, and with a firm voice, as follows: "Citizens, you have heard my defence; I now speak to you; perhaps, for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing to you but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing: I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed, with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary disposition, I hoped would have saved me from such an imputation, which I now solemnly declare is entirely groundless."

The

The discussion was finally closed on the 16th of January, 1793. After a sitting of thirty-six hours, the punishment of death was awarded by a small majority of the convention, and several of these differed in opinion from the rest, respecting the time when it should be inflicted; some contending that it should not be put in execution till after the close of the war, while others proposed to take the sense of the people, by referring the sentence to the primary assemblies. M. Deseze then solemnly invoked the assembly in the name of his colleagues, to consider by what a small majority the punishment of death was pronounced against the dethroned monarch: "Do not afflict France (added this eloquent advocate) by a judgement that will appear terrible to the nation, when eleven voices only are presumed sufficient to carry it." He appealed to eternal justice, and sacred humanity, to induce the convention to refer their sentence to the tribunal of the people. "You have either forgotten or destroyed (said the celebrated M. Tronchet) the lenity which the law allows to criminals, of requiring at least two-thirds of the voices to constitute a definitive judgement." The number of suffrages, on this ever-memorable occasion, amounted to seven hundred and twenty-one: thirty-four gave their opinions for death, with various restrictions; two for imprisonment in chains; and three hundred and nineteen for confinement or banishment—Total 355. The number of votes for death absolutely was 366—Majority 11.

In the whole course of this transaction, nothing created greater surprize and horror than the conduct of the duke of Orleans, now distinguished by the name of Philip Egalite. This prince, it is said, intended to have abstained from voting, but Robespierre gained his suffrage by means of terror. From the tribune he deliberately pronounced these words: "Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty; convinced that all who have conspired or who shall hereafter conspire against the sovereignty of the people deserve death; I VOTE FOR DEATH." The
assembly

assembly was in a general ferment; one member starting from his seat, and striking his hands together, exclaimed, "*Ah, le scelerat!*" that is, "Ah, the rascal!" Many repeated that expression, and "*Oh, l'horreur! Oh, le monstre!*" that is, "Oh, horror! oh, the monster!" The king alone felt pity for the degraded state of his persecutor: "I do not know, (he said,) what I have done to my cousin to make him behave to me in the manner he has; but he is to be pitied. He is still more unfortunate than I am. I certainly would not change conditions with him." A motion for a respite was argued with great warmth, but decided in the negative by a majority of seventy; and the convention then ordered, that a copy of the decree pronouncing sentence of death against Louis, should be notified to him in the course of the next day by the executive council, and executed within twenty-four hours afterwards.

During the night of Sunday, the 20th of January, Paris was illuminated, and no person whatever was permitted to go abroad in the streets. Large bodies of armed men patrolled every part of that immense metropolis: the rattling of coaches ceased: the streets were deserted; and the city was buried in an awful silence. About two o'clock in the morning of the fatal Monday, (the 21st,) voices were heard at intervals, through the gloom of lamentation and distress; but whence they proceeded, or what they were, no person has been able to discover. This circumstance, among many others, terrified the people. The unhappy monarch passed all Sunday in preparation for his approaching change. His calm resignation, and great patience, were remarkably conspicuous; but the meeting and parting of the family was a scene too painful, too distressing to the feelings of humanity! The queen hung around the neck of the departing husband in delirious anguish; the princess royal grasped his hand; the dauphin embraced his knees; and Madame Elizabeth bathed his feet with the torrent of her tears. The queen was at last removed

4

from



A Warren Sculpture!

from him in a state of insensibility, from which she did not revive till about two o'clock on Monday afternoon. The king exhibited, on this sad occasion, all the tenderness of a husband, a father, a brother; and, appeared more affected by the affliction of persons so dear and so beloved than by his own misfortunes, he consoled them in the most soothing and tender expressions. Having passed through this trying scene, he applied to his religious duties, and prepared to meet his God. The conversation, which he held with his confessor, was pious, sensible, and animated; and his hope was full of immortality, (*d'immortalité bien heureuse.*) He protested his innocence, and said, he forgave his enemies from his heart. The clocks of Paris, at length, sounded eight on Monday morning; and Louis was summoned to his fate. He issued out of his prison, and was conducted to a coach belonging to the mayor of Paris, in which were two soldiers of the gendarmerie. He was attended by his confessor, and assisted to step into the carriage by one or two of the sentinels who stood at the gates of the Temple. But here an event happened, which was calculated to soften the most obdurate heart. Soon after the coach was driven off, and the king was conducting to the scaffold, the dauphin escaped from those who had the care of him, and ran down stairs with great precipitation. The sentinel at the bottom of the stairs, who appeared to have possessed a feeling heart, stopped him, and said, "Where are you going, my dear, in such a hurry?"—"Pray, pray, let me alone," said the child; "I'll go into the street, and fall on my knees, and beg the people not to kill my papa."

The *Place de Louis Quinze*, now called the *Place de la Revolution*, was the spot appointed for the execution. The place was filled with prodigious multitudes of people, and large bodies of horse and foot were drawn up to preserve order during the tragical scene about to be exhibited. The most awful silence prevailed, while the coach was slowly advancing towards the scaffold. The monarch ascended it with

heroic fortitude, with a firm step, and with an undimmed countenance. He was accompanied on the scaffold by his confessor, and two or three municipal officers. For a moment he looked round upon the people, with eyes which beamed benignity and forgiveness; and he was preparing himself to address the spectators, when, it is said, one of the officers cried out, "No speeches! come, no speeches!" and Santerre ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound. He spoke, however; but all the expressions that could be distinctly heard, were these: "I forgive my enemies: may God forgive them, and not lay my innocent blood to the charge of the nation! May God bless my people!"

The confessor fell upon his knees, and implored the king's blessing, who gave it with an affectionate embrace. The unfortunate monarch then laid his head upon the block with admirable serenity, and speedily ceased to live in this world. The execution was performed between eleven and twelve o'clock on Monday morning, the 21st of January, 1793. When the axe of the guillotine had performed its office, the bleeding head was held up in the usual manner, and several of the populace shouted "*Vive la République!*" Previous to his execution, he wrote to the national convention, requesting to be buried near to his father in the cathedral of Sens; but the convention, with cruel apathy, passed to the order of the day, and the body of the royal victim was interred in a grave, which was filled with quick lime, and a guard was placed around it till it should be wholly consumed.

Thus fell Louis XVI. the last and best of all the monarchs of France; whose benevolence of heart, and mildness of character, certainly merited a better fate. Want of firmness and active courage is the only fault imputed to him; yet his whole conduct proves that he had no fears for himself; his only terrors arose from the apprehension of shedding the blood of his subjects in civil war. His conduct from the time his trial

trial commenced, till the moment which terminated his existence, forms a model of excellence almost surpassing humanity, and demonstrates the transcendent benefits of that purity of morals which takes the sense of shame from premeditated ignominy, which deprives cruelty of its venom, and death of its sting.

We might here be allowed, without incurring the charge of superstition, to enumerate a singular coincidence of events fatal to the repose of Louis XVI. all happening on the 21st day of the month; viz.

21 April, 1770, married Marie Antoinette, who was no favourite of France.

21 June, 1770, the fête on that occasion, when one thousand five hundred persons lost their lives by the falling of the stages.

21 January, 1782, fête on the birth of a dauphin, who died during the revolution.

21 June, 1791, flight to Varennes.

21 September, 1792, abolition of royalty.

21 January, 1793, death by the guillotine.

21 October, 1805, a great naval victory obtained by England over the combined fleets of France and Spain, off Trafalgar.

After the death of Louis, Robespierre took the lead as the most active persecutor of the royal family; and on the first of August following, he obtained a decree against the queen on a charge of conspiracy against the state. In pursuance of this edict, she was called from her bed in the middle of the night, and removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie, the most degrading prison in Paris. Before her departure her pockets were rifled; she was refused the consolation of a parting interview with her attendants; and was hurried into a hackney coach, which conveyed her to close confinement. Her apartments was a cell eight feet square, with a thinly-covered straw mattress to sleep on, and her daily fare was wholesome, but common food. Her person no longer exhibited those graces which had charmed her admirers, the beauties of her countenance were obliterated; her frame was

enfeebled; and her whole appearance indicated the ravages of grief and agitation of mind.

After remaining in the Conciergerie two months, a committee of the jacobin club was selected to prepare the act of accusation, and Herbert, one of the agents, founded on a pretended conversation with the young prince a charge so unnatural and abominable, that even Robespierre himself expressed indignation at the wickedness and folly of the fabrication. The act of accusation against her was a repetition of the libels which had during so many years blackened her fame, and it referred to transactions previous even to her marriage; but no evidence was found to substantiate any charge against her; and all the arts of preparation, promise, and terror, could not produce one person sufficiently hardy to accuse her of any crime or act of immorality. Some allusions to the supposed irregularities of her life were made in the interrogatory to which she was subjected; but she answered, with magnanimous defiance, that no one could rejoice more than herself that every act of her life should be thoroughly investigated. During the progress of her trial, which took place on the 14th of October, 1793, her deportment was dignified, firm, and composed; her acquittal was not expected; her destruction having been resolved on before the process commenced.

Her execution followed on the 16th, immediately after her condemnation. Cannon were planted in the streets and on the bridges, and a numerous body of national guards attended for preservation of order. The queen was seated on a tumbril, with her back to the horse, and the mode of her carriage, the poverty of her attire, and the general wretchedness of her appearance, disgraced the national convention, who could suffer the widow of a monarch, and the sister of a reigning emperor, to be thus made the object of such mean and wretched resentment. The royal victim met her fate with courage, and during her whole progress to the place of execution betrayed neither weakness nor affectation of superior heroism. Her body

body was thrown into a grave in the church-yard of La Madelaine, which was filled up with quick-lime, completely to destroy her remains, as had been the case with the late unfortunate king.

Thus perished the beautiful Marie Antoinette, daughter of Leopold emperor of Germany, and one of the most accomplished women of her age. That she had foibles, no one can doubt, but let us not seek to disturb the ashes of a princess doomed to an ignominious death, more through the sanguinary disposition of Robespierre, than for any crime which she had committed.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERREGNUM.

THE gloom and consternation which overspread Paris at this period, was increased by the assassinations which occasionally took place; and on the 5th of February, 1793, Tallien announced, in the convention, that Paris, the assassin of Pelletier de St. Fargeau, who had voted for the king's death, had been apprehended; and that on his person were found three papers, one of which contained the following words: "I had no accomplices in the glorious act I achieved, by the murder of the villain Pelletier: had I not found him ready for the blow, I should have purged the earth of that regicide, parricide, and patricide, D'Orleans." This murder occasioned the shutting of the barriers against all the friends of the late royal sufferers, whereby, it is said, six thousand persons were arrested as emigrants. The people also saw themselves about to be plunged into a general war with fresh enemies, who were hastening to join the league against France. We do not mean here to enter into a detail of the political struggles that occurred in any other country than that in the narrative of whose revolution we are now engaged. It will therefore only

only be necessary to remark in general, that most of the foreign powers thought themselves endangered by the propagation of those republican opinions which had overturned the French monarchy; and with these Great Britain united in an offensive war.

The republicans for some time endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the British government; but this being impossible, M. Chauvelin, the French ambassador at the court of St. James's, was ordered to quit London, which he did, and repaired to Paris; where, in the debates which took place on the occasion, it was said, "Let us have peace with England, if we have war with the whole world." Thus did the French endeavour to court the good-will of the British government: they sent M. Chauvelin back again to England in the capacity of ambassador from the French republic; but he was not suffered to remain, and was ordered to quit the country in a few hours. This hostile measure so irritated the French, that the national convention, on the 1st of February, 1793, on the motion of Brissot, decreed, that in consequence of certain acts of aggression, the French republic is at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of the United Provinces. War was likewise declared against Spain: so that in the course of the summer of 1793, France was at war with all Europe, excepting only Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey.

In the mean time Dumourier, who was proceeding agreeably to his orders, made an attack upon Holland; but in doing this he dispersed his troops in such a manner as to expose them to a dangerous attack on the side of Germany. He ordered general Miranda to invest Maestricht, while he advanced to block up Breda and Bergen-op-zoom. Breda, which was defended by count Byland, surrendered on the 24th of February; Klundert was taken on the 26th; and Gertruydenberg on the 4th of March.—But here the triumphs of Dumourier ceased: the sieges of Williamstadt and Bergen-op-zoom were vigorously but unsuccessfully

unsuccessfully pressed. The French troops in the Netherlands, and on the German frontier, being injudiciously posted, and the commanders not being on the most harmonious terms, the prince of Saxe-Coburg, who commanded the Austrians, conceived the hope of bringing the republican army to a disadvantageous action. On the 1st of March, general Clairfait, having passed the Roer, attacked the French posts, and compelled them to retreat with the loss of two thousand men. The following day the Austrians attacked them anew with considerable success. On the 3d, the French were driven from Aix-la-Chapelle, with the loss of four thousand men killed, and sixteen hundred taken prisoners.

The siege of Maestricht was now raised, and the French retreated to Tongres, where they were also attacked, and forced to retreat to St. Tron. Dumourier here joined them, but did not bring his army along with him from Holland.

After some skirmishes, a general engagement took place at Neerwinden. It was fought, on the part of the French, with great obstinacy; but they were at length overpowered by the number of their enemies, and, perhaps, also by the treachery of their commander. This defeat was fatal. The French lost three thousand men, and six thousand immediately returned home to France. Dumourier continued to retreat, and on the 22d he was again attacked near Louvain. He now, through the medium of colonel Mack, came to an understanding with the Imperialists; and it was agreed that his retreat should not be interrupted: it was fully settled between him and the Austrians, that, while the latter took possession of Condé and Valenciennes, he should march to Paris, dissolve the convention, and place the son of the late king upon the throne.

The rapid retreat and successive defeats of general Dumourier, soon rendered his conduct suspicious. Commissioners were sent from the executive power for the purpose of discovering his designs. They dis-
sembled,

sembled, and pretended to communicate to him a scheme of a counter-revolution. He confessed his intention of dissolving the convention and the Jacobin club by force, which he said would not exist three weeks longer, and of restoring monarchy. On the report of these commissioners, the convention sent Bournonville, the minister of war, to supersede and arrest Dumourier, along with Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, as commissioners. Dumourier, having intelligence of what was passing, assembled his chosen troops, which consisted of from eighteen to twenty thousand men, and asked them if any part of his conduct had merited that he should be condemned as a traitor? They all cried with one voice, that he had behaved with great courage, and that they most deserved the appellation who had called him so. So soon as the commissioners arrived, and Bournonville had made known their errand, Dumourier affected to receive them with great civility, and invited them to the place d'armes, where they had no sooner arrived, than he immediately put them under arrest, reproaching them with their folly in having undertaken such a business. He then took from them their swords, and sent them under a file of grenadiers to the Austrian general Clairfait's headquarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family. He next attempted to seduce his army from their fidelity to the convention; but he speedily found that he had much mistaken the character of his troops: upon the first report, that their general was to be carried as a criminal to Paris, they were seized with sudden indignation; but, when they found that an attempt was making to prevail with them to turn their arms against their country, their sentiments altered; and they disdained to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow citizens.

Two proclamations were issued on the 5th of April; one by Dumourier, and the other by the prince of Saxe Cobourg, declaring, that their only purpose was to restore the French constitution of 1789, 1790, and

1791. Cobourg announced, that the allied powers wished merely to co-operate with Dumourier in giving to France her constitutional king, without altering the constitution she had formed for herself; declaring, on his word of honour, that he came not to the French territory for the purpose of making conquests. On the same day Dumourier went to the advanced guard of his own camp at Maulde. He there learned that the corps of artillery had risen upon their general, and were marching to Valenciennes; and he soon found that the whole army had determined to stand by their country. Seven hundred cavalry and eight hundred infantry was the whole amount of the troops that deserted with Dumourier to the Austrians, and many of these afterwards returned, and rejoined their former corps.

An event so momentous as the defection of Dumourier, excited great speculations and a considerable ferment in Paris. Each of the contending factions endeavoured to make use of it against their opponents. When the report of Cambaceres was read, an attempt was made to implicate Danton; who, however, disengaged himself with great dexterity, and rolled back the accusation on the Brissotines. Dumourier himself had not an advocate or a friend; he was unanimously declared a traitor to the nation by both parties, and outlawed, together with the companions of his flight. The convention set a price on his head, and offered a reward of a hundred thousand crowns (12,500*l.*) and a full restoration of property, to any emigrant who should destroy him*.

By

* The fortune which afterwards befel him may be summed up in a few words. Unemployed by the allies, he wished to take refuge in Switzerland, but was forbidden to enter the country; he then went to Stutgard, and craved an audience of the duke of Wirtemberg, but was commanded to quit his territories. From that place he went to Margentheim in Franconia, professing his intention to live in solitude and write history; but he soon returned to Brussels, and published a proclamation to the French nation, and another to the convention. Foiled in every attempt to appear
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By the defection of Dumourier, however, the whole French army of the north was dissolved. The Prussians were, at the same time, advancing on the Rhine with an immense force, and about to commence the siege of Mentz. In the interior of the republic more serious evils, if possible, were arising. In the departments of la Vendée and la Loire, formerly the provinces of Brittany and Poitou, immense multitudes of emigrants and other royalists, had gradually assembled in the course of the winter: they professed to act in the name of Monsieur, as regent of France. About the middle of March they advanced against Nantz to the amount of forty thousand men; in the beginning of April they defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, and possessed themselves of fifty leagues of country; they even threatened, by their own efforts, to shake the new republic to its foundation.

On the 8th of April, 1793, a congress of the combined powers inimical to France assembled at Antwerp. It was attended by the prince of Orange and his two sons, with his excellency Vander Spiegel, on the part of Holland; by the duke of York and lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; by the prince of Saxe Cobourg, counts Metternich, Staremberg, and Mercy d'Argenteau, with the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys. It was here determined to commence active operations against France. The prince of Cobourg's proclamation was recalled, and a scheme of complete conquest announced.

advantageously on the continent, he visited England, having obtained a passport under the feigned name and character of Peralta, an Italian merchant. On his arrival, the 20th of June, 1793, he wrote to lord Grenville, soliciting, in abject terms, leave to remain near London till the end of the revolution. A polite answer was returned, in which Dumourier was informed that his continuance in England could not be permitted, and he remained only one day in London. After staying a week at Dover in cautious privacy, he returned in obscurity to the continent, where he remained unpitied and condemned by all orders of society. He was in London in 1803.

In

In the mean time commissioners from the convention industriously set up the standard of the republic anew, and the scattered battalions flocked around it. General Dampierre was appointed to the chief command in Flanders, and on the 13th he was able to resist a general attack made upon his advanced posts. On the 14th, his advanced guard yielded to superior numbers; but on the 15th he was victorious in a long and well-fought battle. On the 23d, the Austrians were again repulsed; and on the 1st of May, general Dampierre was himself repulsed in an attack upon the enemy. On the 8th, another engagement took place, near St. Amand, where the British troops, particularly the guards, under the command of the duke of York, obtained great praise by their spirited exertions. They so effectually supported the Austrians and Prussians, that the French were at last compelled to retire. The republican commander, Dampierre, received a shot, which proved fatal; and the loss of the French was about four thousand men, killed and wounded. The English alone lost about one thousand five hundred killed and wounded, but what was the loss sustained by the other allies we are not informed.

On the 23d, a very determined attack was made by the allies upon the French fortified camp of Famars, which covered the town of Valenciennes. The French were overcome, and in the night abandoned their camp. In consequence of this, the allies were enabled to commence the siege of Valenciennes; for Condé had been blockaded ever since the 1st of April. About the same time, general Custine, on the Rhine, made a violent but unsuccessful attack upon the Prussians; in consequence of which they were now enabled to lay siege to Mentz. The Corsican general Paoli revolted at this period; and the new republic, assaulted from without by the whole strength of Europe, was undermined by treachery and faction within.

While France seemed to be in a state verging upon ruin, parties in the convention were becoming daily

more fierce in their animosity; and, regardless of what was passing at a distance, they seemed only anxious for the extermination of each other. In the month of March, the celebrated Revolutionary Tribunal was established for the purpose of trying crimes committed against the state; and the Girondist party, the mildness of whose administration had suffered the evils of their country to increase, began to feel the necessity of adopting measures of severity. But the public calamities which now rapidly followed in succession, were ascribed by their countrymen to their imbecility or perfidy. This gave to the party of the Mountain a fatal advantage. On the 15th of April, the communes of the forty-eight sections of Paris presented a petition, requiring that the chiefs of the Girondists therein named should be impeached and expelled from the convention. This was followed on the 1st of May, by another petition from the suburb of St. Antoine. The Girondist party, in the mean time, impeached Marat; but he was acquitted by the jury before whom he was tried. The Mountain, by the assistance of the Jacobin club, had now acquired a complete ascendancy over the city of Paris. The Girondists, or Brissotines, proposed therefore to remove the convention from the capital to Versailles; but, to prevent this, the Mountain resolved to make the same use of the people of the capital against the Girondist party, that they had formerly done against the monarch on the 10th of August.

It is unnecessary to state in detail all the sanguinary tumults that occurred, either in Paris or in the convention, during the remaining part of the month of May. On the 31st, the tocsin was sounded, at four o'clock in the morning, the *generale* was beat, and the alarm guns fired. All was commotion and terror. The citizens flew to arms, and assembled round the convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against thirty-five of its members. The day, however, was spent without decision. On the 1st of June, an armed force marched up to the convention, and

and made the same demand. On the 2d of June this was repeated; the tocsin again sounded, and an hundred pieces of cannon surrounded the national hall. At last Barrere mounted the tribune. He was considered a moderate man, and respected by both parties; but he now artfully deserted the Girondists. He invited the denounced members voluntarily to resign their character of representatives. Some of them complied, and the president attempted to dissolve the sitting; but the members were now imprisoned in their own hall. Henriot, commander of the armed force, compelled them to remain; and the noxious deputies, amounting to upwards of ninety in number, were put under arrest, and a decree of denunciation against them was immediately signed. It is obvious, that on this occasion every idea of liberty in France was trodden under foot. The minority of the national representatives, by the assistance of an armed force raised in the capital, compelled the majority to submit to their measures, and took the leading members prisoners. Human pursuits are a mass of contradictions: the Mountain party came into power by preaching liberty, and held their place by violating its fundamental principles.

The first result of the superiority of the Mountain party in the capital, was highly calamitous to the republic at large. Brissot and some other deputies escaped, and endeavoured to kindle the flames of civil war. But the influence of the Jacobin club, and of its various branches, was such, that the north of France adhered to the convention as it stood; yet the southern departments were speedily in a state of rebellion. The department of Lyons declared the Mountain party to be outlawed. Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into a confederacy, since known by the appellation of *Fæderalism*. The departments of Gironde and Calvados broke out into open revolt. In short, the whole of France was in a state of warfare and convulsion.

The

The political enthusiasm which pervaded all orders of persons was such, that even the female sex did not escape its contagion. On the 13th of July, 1793, the deputy Marat was assassinated by Charlotte Cordé, and on the following day particulars relative to that event were communicated to the convention by Chabot: That, in order to effect a counter-revolution in Paris, the members of the Mountain were to be assassinated; that the conspirators of Caen, for this purpose, kept up a correspondence with their accomplices, who still sat in the assembly. That a woman, named Charlotte Cordé, was the first instrument of their crimes, who wrote thus to Marat on the preceding Friday: "Your civism must make you desirous to discover conspiracies: I have a very important one to communicate to you, and, therefore, beg you will have me at your house." She presented herself there yesterday morning, but not seeing him, left another note conceived in these terms: "Have you received my letter? If you have, I rest upon your politeness. It is enough that I am unfortunate to claim your attention." Yesterday evening she went again to his house, when he ordered her to be introduced. She spoke much of the conspirators who fled to Caen. Upon his answering her that they would one day lose their heads upon the scaffold, she plunged the dagger (*then shewn by Chabot*) into his bosom. Marat had only time to say, "I am dying." Among other things found upon her, after this desperate act, was a certificate of her baptism, dated July 28, 1768, which stated, that she was born of M. Jean Francoise Cordé and Charlotte Godier his wife. Charlotte Cordé, who had travelled from the department of Calvados to effect her purpose, was condemned shortly after her apprehension, and at the place of execution she behaved with infinite constancy, shouting, "*Vive la republique.*" The remains of Marat were interred with great splendor, and the convention attended his funeral. His party, perhaps, derived advantage from the manner of his death, as it seemed to fasten the odious

odious charge of assassination upon their antagonists, and gave them the appearance of suffering in the cause of liberty*. The truth is, that bare-faced assassination was sanctioned by both parties, under pretence of defending the liberties of the republic.

One of the first acts of the Mountain, after their triumph, was to finish the republican constitution. Previous to their fall, the Girondists had brought forward the plan of a constitution, chiefly the work of Condorcet; but it never was sanctioned by the convention, and was too intricate to be practically useful. The new constitution now framed, which was afterwards sanctioned by the nation, but never put in practice, abolished the former mode of electing the representatives of the people through the medium of electoral assemblies, and appointed them to be chosen immediately by the primary assemblies, which were made to consist of from two hundred to six hundred citizens, each man voting by ballot, or open vote, at his option. There was one deputy appointed for every forty thousand individuals, and population was the sole basis of representation. The promulgation of this constitution, however, procured no small degree of applause to the Mountain party. The rapidity with which it was formed (being only a fortnight) seemed to cast an indelible reproach upon the inactivity of their antagonists, and it was considered as a proof their being decidedly serious in the cause of republicanism. No regard, however, had been paid to it by the convention, which declared itself permanent; nor, indeed, did it seem possible to carry it into effect.

We have mentioned that Condé was invested from the beginning of April. It did not yield till the 10th of July, to the prince of Wirtemberg, when the garrison was so much reduced by famine and disease, that out of four thousand men, of which it originally consisted, only fifteen hundred men were left for service.

* The honours of the Pantheon were decreed by the convention, on the 14th of November following, to Marat.

The eyes of all Europe were, in the mean time, fixed upon the siege of Valenciennes. Colonel Moncrieff had contended, that batteries ought immediately to be placed under the walls, without approaching it by regular parallels; but the imperial engineer, M. Ferraris, asserted, that the work of the great Vauban must be treated with more respect; and his opinion was adopted by the council of war. The trenches were opened on the 14th of June; and general Ferrand, who commanded the garrison, was summoned to surrender. But he answered, "That rather than capitulate, he would bury himself under the ruins of the works." The batteries having at length reduced the principal parts of the town to ashes, the inhabitants besought the general to surrender; but he told them in a proclamation, that he would not betray the nation; and threatened, on the least appearance of tumult, to resort to the extremes of military rigour. The allies now carried on their operations till half the garrison had perished, the artillery was dismounted, the fortifications destroyed, and breaches opened in the wall sufficient to admit the passage even of cavalry. The mines were sprung with success, and the duke of York, attacking the horn-work on the 25th of July, made himself master of the mines of the besieged, and discovering a subterraneous passage, made a secure lodgement in the works. It was not till the last extremity, on the 28th of July, that the governor would accede to terms of capitulation; the garrison were permitted to return to France, on condition of not serving against the emperor or his allies till exchanged; and possession was taken of the town by the English in the name of the emperor of Germany.

Mentz in the mean while was attacked with equal success; the trenches were opened under the inspection of the king of Prussia. The approaches were opposed not only by vigorous sallies from the besieged garrison, but from those of Kostheim and Albanus. The operations were, however, continued, and the bombardment

bombardment destroyed the church of Notre Dame, and many principal buildings; the fortifications were set on fire, the redoubt of Zahlback surprized; the post of Koestheim taken, and at length, after living two months under an arch of fire, the governor, on the 22d of July, was obliged to capitulate. The terms were moderate, the garrison being allowed to retire into France with the honours of war, their colours, arms, and baggage, on condition of not serving against the king of Prussia, or his allies, for the space of one year..

Thus far the progress of the allied army in the interior of France carried all before it; but its subsequent movements, and final separation, have remained an inexplicable mystery on the minds of people in general, particularly those of England, which no system of political measures have yet been able to unravel. Perhaps the following remark of M. Lacretelle, in his "*Précis Historique de la Revolution Française*," published at Paris in 1803, may help to explain this obscure part of the campaign: "After the fall of Valenciennes, not one of the powers seemed to recollect the purposes of their league. France now appeared to them another Poland; and selfish views of partition led their policy astray. The emperor declared Valenciennes to be his conquest. The prince of Cobourg threatened an invasion far better concerted than that of the king of Prussia. He had already obliged the French to quit Caesar's Camp; and Cambray would have yielded but feeble resistance; and the line of strong posts would have been passed. The numerous German cavalry was about to over-run the plains of France. Paris would have known its approach by that of famine: but Austria forgot Paris and France, and fixed its thoughts on Quesnoy and Maubeuge, as did England upon Dunkirk. An absurd order was issued by the cabinet of St. James's; and the English army, commanded by the duke of York, separated itself from the conquerors of Famars. Had the most in-

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veterate hatred directed this movement, it could not have rendered it more incompatible with any plan of future concert and mutual support. The prince of Cobourg marching towards Maubeuge, and the duke of York towards Dunkirk, caused a separation of their forces, exactly such as active and provident enemies could have wished."

The duke of York had no sooner made known his intention of attacking Dunkirk, than the hereditary prince of Orange assaulted several posts, chiefly with a view of covering his highness's march. He forced Lincelles on the 18th of August, with a small loss; but he was shortly after dispossessed of it by the superior prowess of the republican forces. Three British battalions, however, conducted to his aid by major-general Lake, bravely stormed a very strong redoubt, and saved the Dutch by routing the enemy. Near Furnes, another brisk engagement occurred, in which the allies were also successful.

The duke of York was said to have entered into a secret correspondence with O'Meara, the governor of Dunkirk, for delivering up the town; but the convention received intelligence of the plan, and he was removed from the command before any advantage could be taken of his treachery. He was afterwards put to death as a traitor. On the 24th of August, the duke of York attacked, and drove the French outposts into the town, after an action, in which the Austrian general, Dalton, was killed. A naval armament was expected from Great Britain to co-operate in the siege; but an unaccountable delay in bringing forward the naval preparations, and the necessity of waiting for heavy artillery, gave the French time to make ample provision for the defence of the town; and a strong republican force menaced the covering army of the allies, which was commanded by the Hanoverian general Freytag. The Hanoverian general was fiercely attacked by the French army on the 6th of September, and his forces were completely routed with amazing slaughter. General Freytag

Freitag and prince Adolphus, the youngest son of the king of Great Britain, and brother to the duke of York, were made prisoners in their retreat, but were seasonably rescued by a detachment sent to their relief, under general Walmoden. The duke of York's right wing was greatly harrassed by a sally, and vast numbers of his forces were driven into the dykes. It being impossible now for the English to make any progress in the attack upon the town, the duke was compelled to raise the siege. All his heavy artillery, amounting to one hundred pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy: the loss also of the English, in killed and wounded, was excessively great, amounting to several thousands. The number taken prisoners was likewise very considerable. The convention, however, was not satisfied with the services of general Houchar, who, they were informed, could with ease have cut off the retreat of the duke and his army: he was, therefore, brought to trial for neglect of duty, found guilty, and executed.

Soon after the duke of York had been compelled to raise the siege of Dunkirk, the Dutch posts upon the Lys were forced: the consequence of which was the evacuation of Menin. General Beaulieu afterwards assaulted the latter place, and retook it with very trifling loss.

The prince of Saxe-Cobourg and general Clairfait, in the mean time, unsuccessfully attempted to besiege Cambray and Bouchain. Quesnoy was, however, taken by general Clairfait on the 11th of September; and a numerous body of the republican forces were defeated at Bisseghem. Here terminated the success of the allies in the Netherlands.

A considerable part of the French army of the north took a strong position near Maubeuge, where they were blockaded by the prince of Cobourg; but, upon the 15th and 16th of October, he was repeatedly attacked by the French troops under Jourdan, who had succeeded to the command in the place of

Houchard. The French now began to recover their vigour: they brought into the field a formidable train of artillery, in which were many twenty-four pounders. Commissioners from the convention harangued the soldiers, threatened the timid, and applauded the brave. Crowds of women, without confusion, went through the ranks, distributing spirituous liquors in abundance, and carrying off the wounded. The attacks were frequent and terrible on both sides; but the Austrians had considerably the disadvantage, and prince Cobourg evacuated his position during the night. The French now menaced the maritime part of Flanders. They took Furnes, and besieged Nieuport. A detachment of British troops, ready to sail to the West Indies, were hastily sent to Ostend, which, for some time, prevented the further progress of the French.

Such was the multiplicity of the events that now occurred in France, that it is difficult to state the outlines of them with any tolerable perspicuity. We have already noticed the dissensions that prevailed throughout the republic, in consequence of the triumph of the Mountain party on the 31st of May. The department of Calvados was first in arms against the convention, under the command of Felix Wimpfen; but, before the end of July, the insurrection was quieted, after a few skirmishes. But the federalism of the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still remained. Lyons was attacked, on the 8th of August, by the conventional troops. Several actions followed, which were attended with great loss on the part of the assailants and of the besieged. The city was reduced almost to a heap of ruins; but it held out during the whole month of September. Kellerman was removed from his command on account of his supposed inactivity; and the city surrendered on the 8th of October to general Doppet, who had just before been a physician. Such was the rage of party zeal, that the walls and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be razed, and its name changed to that of

of *Ville Affranchie*. Many hundreds of its citizens were dragged to the scaffold, on account of their alleged treasonable resistance to the convention. The victorious party, wearied by the slow operation of the guillotine, at last destroyed their prisoners in multitudes, by firing grape-shot upon them, under the direction of Collot d'Herbois. Such, indeed, was the unrelenting character of the sanguinary Mountain, that they not only encouraged the destruction of multitudes, but declared, that "*terror was with them the order of the day.*"

In the end of July, general Carteaux was sent against Marseilles. In the beginning of August he gained some successes over the advanced federalist troops. On the 24th, he took the town of Aix, and the Marseillois submitted. But the leading people of the city of Toulon entered into a negociation, and submitted to the British admiral, lord Hood, under condition that he should preserve the town and shipping for Louis XVII. and under the stipulation that he should assist in restoring the constitution of 1789. The siege of Toulon, after having been thus surrendered to the English, was commenced by general Carteaux in the beginning of September; it continued, without much vigour, during that and the whole of the succeeding month. Neapolitan, Spanish, and English, troops, were brought by sea to assist in its defence. In the beginning of November, Carteaux was removed to the command of the army in Italy, and general Dugommier succeeded him. The English general O'Hara arrived with reinforcements from Gibraltar, and took upon him the command of the town. On the 30th of November, the garrison made a powerful sally to destroy some batteries that were erecting upon heights which commanded the city. The French were surprized, and driven from their object; but, elated by the facility of their conquest, the allied troops rushed forward in pursuit of the flying enemy, and were unexpectedly met by a strong French force that was drawn out to protect the fugitives. O'Hara

now

now headed a battalion from the city to endeavour to bring off his troops; but he was wounded in the arm, and taken prisoner; but the total loss of the allies, in this sortie, was estimated at nearly one thousand men. The French now mustered in full force around Toulon, and prepared for the attack. It was begun on the 19th of December, in the morning, and was chiefly directed against Fort Mulgrave, defended by the British. This fort was protected by an entrenched camp, thirteen pieces of cannon, thirty-six and twenty-four pounders, five mortars, and three thousand troops. Such was the ardour of the assault, that it was carried in an hour, and the whole garrison was destroyed or taken. The allies, finding it impossible to defend the place, embarked their troops, after having set fire to the arsenal and some ships. Sir Sydney Smith undertook the dangerous task of burning the store-houses and ships, amidst a continued firing from the enemy on shore. A "rapid ignition" took place, but they were unable to extend it to the vessels that were nearest the town. A scene of confusion ensued, such as has not been known in the history of modern wars. Crowds of people, of every rank, age, and sex, hurried on-board the ships, to avoid the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Some of the inhabitants began to fire upon their late allies; others, in despair, were seen plunging into the sea, making a vain effort to reach the ships; or putting an end, at once, to their own existence upon the shore. Thirty-one ships of the line were found by the British at Toulon; thirteen were left behind; ten were burnt; four had been previously sent to the French ports of Brest and Rochefort, with five thousand republicans who could not be trusted; and Great Britain finally obtained by this expedition three ships of the line, four frigates, and as many sloops. After the English and the allies had retreated from Toulon, the French, in the style of bombast and falsehood, said, that "the English took it like cowards, and quitted it like poltroons."

It



(Warren style)

BONAPARTE.

It is said that general Dugommier expressed in council an opinion that it was utterly impossible to recover Toulon, unless a most competent engineer could be found to manage and direct the immense artillery to be employed against it. Such a person was found in Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican by birth, who had served as a lieutenant in the regiment of La Fere. Having fled from the troubles that prevailed in his native country, he now offered his services, and was employed by the deputy Barras, on the recommendation of his countryman Salicetti. The whole direction of the artillery was committed to his superintendence; he reconnoitred the works; erected batteries in proper situations; and by his efforts drove the allies from the shores of France. On the 24th of December, it was decreed, in the convention, that the army at Toulon had deserved well of their country; and that the name of Toulon should be suppressed, and be called in future Port de la Montagne. A grand festival was celebrated at Paris on the 30th, in consequence of the recapture of Toulon; when all the members of the convention attended, and went in procession from the gardens of the Palais Nationale to the Champs de Mars.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, FROM HIS BIRTH TILL THE RE-TAKING OF TOULON.

THE history of the early lives of great men, whether they be statesmen or warriors, have been condemned by some, as totally uninteresting; and extolled by others, as necessary to render the biographical accounts of their lives complete. But a circumstantial narrative of the school-day transactions of such a person as Bonaparte, will be perused with interest, and afford a species of serious reflection to those who mean to

to pursue a military course of life. Some of them will, no doubt, be thought lightly of by the thinking part of our Readers, while others will be viewed as containing marks of superior genius, and indicative of great military sagacity.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in Corsica. He was the second son of Carlo Bonaparte, a lawyer, by his wife Lætitia Raniolini; and, it has been asserted, that the famous General Pascal Paoli was his god-father. General Count Marbœuf, who had conquered Corsica for the kingdom of France, in the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, and was appointed governor of that island, became the early patron of young Bonaparte. The protection of the count Marbœuf was very advantageous to the whole family of Carlo Bonaparte.

The father of Napoleon, Carlo Bonaparte, was likewise born at Ajaccio, and bred to the civil law at Rome. He afterwards took part with the celebrated Paoli, in the memorable struggle, which was made by the Corsicans, against the tyrannical efforts of Louis the Fifteenth, and the nefarious schemes of his minister Choiseul. On this occasion the intrepid Carlo not only laid aside the civilian's gown, but it is said he actually carried a firelock as a private centinel; after which he was advanced to the rank of major. On the conquest of the island by the French, he wished to retire from the service, with the gallant Paoli, who had so nobly struggled to emancipate his countrymen from a foreign yoke; but he was hindered by his uncle, a canon of the church, who exercised a parental authority over him. In the year 1773, a deputation from the three estates was dispatched to the king of France; and Carlo Bonaparte was selected to represent the nobles. He was soon after promoted to the office of procuratore reale of Ajaccio, where his ancestors (who came originally from Tuscany) had been settled for nearly two hundred years. His family was numerous; for he had seven children, namely, four sons and three daughters. It was, however, his good fortune,

fortune, to be cherished by the French, and both he and his family lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with the Count de Marbœuf, as we have before mentioned.

Count Marbœuf, on the death of his friend, Carlo Bonaparte, continued to patronize his family, and placed, through the influence of the Marshal de Segur, the French minister at war, his second son, Napoleon, as an *Eleve du Roi*, in *L'Ecole Militaire*, at Brienne in the province of Champagne. This academy was under the direction of the fathers, called Minims. It was here that he acquired a considerable knowledge in the rudiments of mathematics from Father Patrault, whom Napoleon ever afterwards mentioned with respect and esteem. It was here also, that he attained to a considerable share of knowledge in the military and political sciences, which he so well matured by experience, and which enabled him to lead mighty armies to battle, and to victory; which enabled him to cause kings and princes to fall at his feet and sue for the nominal possession of their states, which procured for him kingdoms which he bestowed on whom he chose to create sovereigns, and which gave him the uncontrolled and absolute dominion of an empire that he raised to the highest pitch of exaltation on the European continent, and seated him on the throne of the most ancient and powerful dynasties of the globe.

L'Ecole Militaire at Brienne was one of the thirteen Royal Military Academies, or Colleges, which were established in various provinces of the kingdom of France, and they were particularly patronized by Louis XV. and XVI. These military colleges were magnificently endowed, and the pupils enjoyed all the advantages that were essential to their domestic convenience and happiness. In these seminaries the most able masters were employed to superintend their education, and they were principally required to attain a competent knowledge of the ancient and modern languages, geography, history, the mathematics, and

every branch of military science. But these pursuits were enlivened by the charms of elegant literature: the useful and the pleasant were occasionally blended, and the fatigue of mind arising from abstruse inquiries was succeeded by an indulgence in studies that were less elaborate. The pupils were likewise instructed to accustom themselves to such amusements as inure the constitution to toils which men, trained to military services are likely to experience.

The Royal Military School at Paris was the principal military seminary in the country, and it was to this school that not only subordination was acknowledged by the pupils of the others, but to which they all looked forward as the haven of every youth of pre-eminent genius, who had received his education in any of the military seminaries of the provinces. Once a-year examinations were held in the presence of a royal inspector, (who was most commonly a general officer,) and two members of the French Academy; and after their examination, those pupils, whose proficiency in study qualified them for candidates, and whose good behaviour in the school received the testimony of the regents, were selected and admitted pupils of the Royal Military Academy at Paris; where their studies were completed. After which they were honourably dismissed, and immediately taken into the service, by being attached to some regiment, or appointed to some military employ.

In the year 1779, when he was only ten years of age, Napoleon Bonaparte was sent to the Royal Military Academy at Brienne. But at this early age he discovered a very peculiar temper of mind. He studiously avoided the juvenile sports and amusements of his fellow pupils, about one hundred and fifty in number, and appeared rather to court solitude and gloom. He withdrew himself from partaking in their mirth, and devoted the principal part of his time, after the duties of the school, to sedentary, rather than to active employ, and appeared entirely absorbed in his own individual and retired pursuits. It was seldom

dom that he exposed himself to his school-fellows; for as he came only as a monitor, they repulsed his reprimands and raileries, by frequently chastising him with blows. By this treatment, however, he was not dismayed, for he received their blows with indifference, returned them with coolness, and never attempted to flee from those who were greatly his superiors in strength.

Adjoining the academy there was a large plot of ground, which had been divided into a number of portions for the use of the scholars, who were allowed to cultivate or appropriate them to such other purposes as they thought fit. One of these portions was allotted to young Bonaparte and two other lads of about the same age as himself; but he not liking the manner in which the generality of the boys employed their shares, succeeded in prevailing on his two partners to give up their right to participate in the amusements which their allotment might have afforded them. Having thus excluded all claim on the part of any one else, he proceeded to lay it out into a garden, which he cultivated with great assiduity, and this appeared to form the principal part of the general recreation. As the count de Marbœuf was his patron, he supplied him with money for his pocket; but this was not squandered by him on trifles, but in the construction of a strong palisado round his garden, by which he rendered it very difficult of access. Some of the shrubs which he planted were formed into impenetrable arbours, and these contributed to seclude it from the grounds of other boys, and rendered their efforts at intrusion totally ineffectual.

When Napoleon first went to the school of Brienne, he applied himself with the greatest assiduity to the study of the mathematics. To fortification, and all the other branches of military tactics, he applied with increasing ardour; and these, with the reading of history, principally such as related to ancient Greece and Rome, formed one of his most delightful occupations.

pations. In his enclosure he used frequently to shut himself up, and indulge in meditation, walking about with a book of philosophy or mathematics in his hand, which to him was of the highest importance. Indeed, he seemed to look down with a species of contempt on studies of less consequence.

While Bonaparte was at the school at Brienne, it was thought proper that a library should be formed for the amusement as well as the instruction of the pupils, and which was to be entirely under their own direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of the books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, who were chosen by their comrades. Here the studious disposition of the young Bonaparte prompted him so frequently to apply to one of those who was appointed librarian, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper: but Bonaparte was not the less patient, nor the less positive, and would occasionally extort submission by blows.

Bonaparte here spent the hours of vacation between his attendance on the preceptors of the academy, in his garden, which he cultivated with such assiduity and success, as to preserve its interior in a state of order and cleanliness superior to those of his school-fellows. Its boundaries became impervious, and enclosed a retreat which might have been coveted even by a religious recluse. Here, when his horticultural labours were finished, he retired to its arbours, and, surrounded with his mathematical and scientific works, with several on historical subjects, he meditated the reduction of the military principles he had imbibed to practice. - He planned the attack and defence of fortified places, the arrangement of hostile armies in order of battle, calculated the chances of success on the one hand, and of defeat on the other; altered their position, and formed charges and victories upon paper, and on the ground which he afterwards realized with success when directing the

the evolutions of the armies of France. His military ardour was highly increased by his historical researches; his enthusiasm was excited by the biographical accounts which he perused of those legislators, heroes, and warriors of antiquity, which he found recorded in the writings of the venerable Plutarch. He frequently read the life of the Marshal Prince of Saxony, after a close application to the mathematics. Indeed he persisted in all his studies with the greatest avidity. His comrades called him the Spartan, and he retained that appellation till he quitted the academy.

His attachment to his native country became almost proverbial. It was the custom for the boys, once a year, to receive the sacrament and be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the military school by the archbishop: when he came to Bonaparte, in turn, he asked him, as he did the rest, his Christian name: "Napoleon," answered he with a loud voice. The name of Napoleon being rather uncommon, escaped the archbishop, who desired him to repeat it, which he did with an appearance of impatience. The assistant minister remarked to the prelate, "Napoleon! I do not know that saint." "Parbleu! I believe it," observed Bonaparte; "the saint is a Corsican."

He was frequently irritated by his comrades, who called him a French vassal: on which occasions he would retort with eagerness and bitterness. He sometimes would even declare that he believed his destiny was to deliver Corsica from its dependence on France. He never mentioned the name of Pascal Paoli but with the most profound reverence, and even aspired to the honour of achieving the design which the plans of that great general could not accomplish. Genoa, the country to which Corsica belonged, had added to its calamity by surrendering it to France, and although it gallantly struggled for its independence, the superior force of the French compelled it to submit. To the Genoese, therefore, his hatred

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was inveterate and eternal; and when a young Corsican, on his arrival at the college, was presented to Bonaparte by the other students as a Genoese, the gloom of his countenance instantly kindled into rage; he darted upon the lad with vehemence, twisted his hands in his hair, and was only hindered from using farther violence by the immediate interference of stronger boys, who dragged the lad away from his resentment; but his anger rekindled against this youth for several weeks afterwards, whenever he approached his person.

Baron L——r and Bonaparte were at l'Ecole Militaire at Brienne together, had left it at the same time to go to Paris, and were in the habits of close intimacy while they continued at those seminaries. Bonaparte was a Corsican, an enthusiastic admirer of his country, and, says the baron, he always shewed the most lively interest in the success of the Corsican patriots when in arms: he listened with eagerness to every intelligence from his country. Some of the French officers who had served in Corsica would frequently repair to the military academy at Brienne, and, discoursing of the war, give the most exaggerated accounts of their success against the Corsicans. Bonaparte, however, never interrupted them; but as soon as they had finished their ostentatious stories, would ask some pertinent questions which soon led to a detection, and, on proving their falsity, he would eagerly exclaim, "For shame—for shame;—how can you dare, for a momentary gratification of vanity, thus to calumniate a whole nation? You say, there were six *hundred* of you only in the engagement; I know you were six *thousand*; and that you were opposed only by a few wretched Corsican peasants!" He would then open his journal and maps, and he generally ended his declamation by saying to his friend, "Come, L——r, let us leave these cowards."

While at Brienne he attempted to write a poem, the subject of which was "The Liberty of Corsica." He imagined, that, while slumbering in one of its
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numerous caverns, the genius of his country appeared to him in a dream, and, putting a poniard in his hand, called on him for vengeance. Such was the opening of the poem, and whenever he added any thing to it, he would send for his friend, and enthusiastically repeat the lines he had just composed.

The manners of Napoleon Bonaparte were very remarkable, even at this early period of his life: pride appeared to be the prominent feature of his character. His conduct bore the marks of austerity; and if he committed an error, it was not the fault of a boy, but it was the result of deliberation, and what would, in a person of maturer age, have been deemed a crime. He was so very severe, that he never forgave the offences of his companions. His resolutions were immovable; and his firmness, even in matters of a trifling nature, gave to his behaviour a tincture of obstinacy and eccentricity. As he was frequently engaged in quarrels, so he was often the greatest sufferer, since he generally contended on the weakest side; and although he was mostly singled out as an object of revenge, he never complained to his superiors of ill-treatment. He meditated retaliation in silence; and if he had not the power of inflicting a punishment himself, he disdained appealing to an authority that could enforce it. His school-fellows, however, were gradually familiarized to his temper, and as they found he would not bend to them, they were contented to concede to him; and he accepted this acknowledgement of his superiority without the least appearance of self-gratulation.

Insurrections of the pupils against the masters were not unfrequent, and Bonaparte was generally at the head of each rebellion, or was selected to advocate their complaints. He was therefore mostly selected as their leader, and sometimes suffered severe chastisement. On those occasions he often spoke in vindication of his conduct, but he never sued for pardon. He listened to reproach, to reproof, to promises, and to threats, without betraying the least emotion of fear

fear or surprize. He was never humiliated by the infliction of those punishments that were intended to disgrace him for the part he had taken, and the rail-lery of an ungenerous comrade, or a powerful superior, was alike received by him in sullen silence. In fact, he neither courted the good-will, nor feared the resentment of his fellow-students whose strength and power were superior to his own.

The boys educated at this seminary always had their meetings on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and other officers, and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were chosen by the boys themselves, and were decorated with the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform. These distinctions of rank, conferred by the lads, were generally the reward of some pre-eminent virtue or ability; they were, therefore, considered by those who were so fortunate as to obtain them, as an honourable insignia of merit. Bonaparte was unanimously chosen, and held the rank of captain. He, however, by no means courted their approbation; for it was not long before he was summoned to a court-martial, which was called with all due formality; and, on the charges being proved against him, he was declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised. The sentence disgraced him to the lowest rank in the battalion, and he was stripped of the distinguishing marks of his command; but he disdained to shew that he was in the least affected by the disgrace which had been put upon him. The younger pupils, however, were partial to Bonaparte and his manners, for he sometimes encouraged them in their sports, and occasionally pointed out some advantage which in their warlike plays had been omitted to be occupied; hence he associated with them, and they voted him, by acclamation, the director of their diversions. So that, if he felt regret for the loss of his juvenile military captaincy, he was now recompensed
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by becoming the leader of the lads, who submitted to the authority which they had bestowed on him, and which authority shortly after extended itself over the whole of his fellow pupils. He was not now restricted to observe the rules which were generally laid down as essential to the modern practice of military duty; for he could now, as commander-in-chief of this little band, bring his forces into the field, and direct all their operations. He therefore availed himself of this new command, and disciplined his comrades to an entirely new system of warfare, the result of his own observations.

The young hero divided his youthful comrades into two parties: they were alternately the Romans and the Carthagenians, the Greeks and the Persians. He instituted and encouraged the practice of the ancient warfare, because that of the moderns could not be so well conducted by his juvenile bands; he excited the enthusiasm of his soldiery by his speeches and his actions; he led on one party against another, and the victory was often disputed with an obstinacy that would have done honour to a more important struggle. If his troops fled, he recalled them by his reproaches; by exposing himself to danger he revived their ardour, and supported their intrepidity by his own bravery. These conflicts among the boys were often repeated, and the field of battle was disputed with more firmness on every succeeding occasion. At length, the games, which began only in sport, seldom closed till the wounds of the combatants proved the earnestness with which they contended. This occasioned the superiors of the academy to take notice of it, and when they interfered, they reprimanded the young general Bonaparte, and a renewal of these battles was entirely forbidden.

But although he was commanded to give over the only exercise to which he was so much attached, Bonaparte was not depressed in his spirits, but sought retirement in his favourite garden, where he resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among

his comrades until the winter of the year 1783. By the severity of the weather he was driven from his retreat; the snow lay very thick on the ground, and a hard frost set in. Ever fertile in invention, Bonaparte now determined to open a winter campaign on a new plan. The modern art of war succeeded to the ancient. Having been deeply engaged in the study of fortification, it was natural that he should be desirous of reducing its theory to practice. He called his fellow-students around him, and collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to procure large quantities of snow, which they brought to particular spots in the great court of the academy, under his direction. During the time they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification; they soon formed entrenchments, and afterwards eagerly engaged in erecting forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow. They laboured with the utmost activity, and Bonaparte superintended the whole of their exertions. All these works were soon completed according to the exact rules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even of strangers, was excited by the reports of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them, and eagerly enquired who was the operator. On the occasions of battle, Bonaparte headed by turns the assailants and the opponents: he united address with courage, and directed the operations with the greatest applause. The weapons of the contending parties were now very different from what they were in their former exploits—they were snow-balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manœuvre, which always surprized, if it did not astonish even their masters, who stood by observing the dexterity and admiring the skill of the youthful general. The encounters between the parties were equally earnest with those of the summer campaign; but, as the arms were different, less mischief was likely to ensue. The superiors
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of the academy now gave great encouragement to these sports of the lads, by praising those who distinguished themselves, but more particularly their youthful commander, under whose direction these games continued all the winter; and it was not till the sun of the month of March, 1784, liquified the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable. These circumstances pointed out young Bonaparte as a lad of great military knowledge; and his superiors, though they complained of his morose disposition, yet gave him the highest praise for his scientific learning.

The violence and impetuosity of Bonaparte's temper was displayed in a singular manner on the following occasion: The pupils of the military academy were permitted every year, on the day of St. Louis, (August 25,) to give themselves up to pleasure, and the most noisy demonstrations of joy, almost without restraint. All punishment was suspended, all subordination ceased, and generally some accident occurred before the conclusion of the day. Such pupils as had attained to fourteen years of age, an old custom of the college had allowed the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gunpowder, and, for a considerable time before the day arrived, these youths would assemble to prepare their fireworks. They were also permitted to discharge small cannon, muskets, and other arms, when and as often as they thought fit. It was on St. Louis' day, 1784, the last year that Bonaparte continued at Brienne, that he affected an entire indifference to the means which his comrades used for its celebration. They were all animation and hilarity, activity and spirit: he was all gloom and taciturnity, thought and reflection. He retired the whole day in his garden, and not only did not participate in the general rejoicing, but continued his usual study and occupations, without being disturbed by the noise. His comrades were too much engaged in their own amusements to think of interrupting him, and would only perhaps have smiled at his strange behaviour on this occasion, if an uncommon circumstance had not

drawn upon him their general resentment. Nearly at nine o'clock in the evening, about twenty of the young pupils were assembled in that garden which adjoined to his, in which the proprietor had promised to entertain them with a sort of show. This consisted of a pyramid composed of various fire-works: a light was applied; and, unfortunately, a box, containing several pounds of gunpowder, had been forgotten to be removed. While the youths were admiring the effects of the fire-works, a spark entered the box, which instantly exploded; some legs and arms were broken, two or three faces miserably burned, and several paces of wall thrown down. The confusion of course was very great, and some of the lads endeavoured to escape through the adjoining fence: they broke the pallisades, and Bonaparte was seen, stationed on the other side, armed with a pick-axe, and pushing those back into the fire who had burst the fence; and the blows which he inflicted on the unhappy fugitives, encreased the number of the wounded and maimed.

It was but a short time after this occurrence, that the annual examination of the pupils by the royal inspector-general, M. le chevalier de Renault, took place. This officer, when he examined Bonaparte, found him exceedingly well versed in the art of fortification, and as he himself owed his preferment and his fortune to his talents, and to the universal testimony of an honourable conduct, he knew well how to estimate the ingenuity and ability which are the result of enquiry and reflection, and he adjudged that Bonaparte's proficiency in military knowledge entitled him to be sent to *L'Ecole Royale Militaire*, at Paris. His masters, however, represented to the inspector, several occurrences unfavourable to his promotion, but without effect, and Bonaparte arrived at the military college at Paris, on the 17th of October, 1784, not quite two months after the disastrous day of St. Louis.

We have before observed, that while Bonaparte continued at *L'Ecole Militaire* at Brienne, he seldom courted

courted the acquaintance of his fellow-students, nor was induced to leave his retreat either to afford or receive any of those little offices of kindness which are congenial to the disposition of youth. If at any time he quitted his professional duties or studies for the company of his comrades, it was principally to check the exuberance of their playfulness, or to condemn the objects of their solicitude. His aversion to social intercourse was greatly increased by his excessive indulgence in habits of suspicion; but if he feared treachery, he took care to avoid the possibility of being betrayed: he bestowed no confidence, nor accepted any favours. His temper being rather overbearing and irritable, he often endeavoured to controul the actions of his fellow-pupils. Sometimes he excited their indignation by his sarcasms; but he neither feared their vengeance, nor shrunk from their efforts to punish his ill-timed interference: he bore their attacks with firmness, and repelled them with equal violence, and with various success. No threats, either from his equals or his superiors, nor any impending danger, appeared to appal him; and he seemed as unconcerned at their applause as at their displeasure. He was, in fact, completely of an independent mind.

But to proceed. It was the principal object of Bonaparte to complete his knowledge of the mathematical sciences at *L'Ecole Militaire* at Paris. Here he laboured with unwearied diligence under the instructions of the celebrated Monge. The corps of artillery and the corps of engineers were, at that period, the only corps in France where merit was certain of promotion, and in which interest could have no influence, and into one of these he determined to enter so soon as he had passed the requisite probation.

At this period there were about three hundred pupils at the Royal Military College at Paris, and from them he selected Lauriston, a youth rather of a phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and fearless young man, for his intimates. He had made one friendship at Brienne, but he never allowed it to interrupt

interrupt his professional avocations: this was with Faucalet de Bourienne, who was, like himself, a student of the mathematics, but remarkable for the placidity of his manners.

While at the military college at Paris, Bonaparte generally spent his leisure hours in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "*Lieu Brune*," which had been erected for the use of the pupils. It was there that he was often seen with the works of Vauban, Muller, Cohorn, and Folard, open before him, drawing plans for the attack and defence of this little fort, according to the rules of the military art laid down by those authors and his own observations.

Professor Monge, by his care and information, had so well qualified Bonaparte, that, on his first examination, he passed with praise, and was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *de la Fère*, in garrison at Auxone, as lieutenant, in July, 1785, and he immediately proceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was as unremitting as ever: he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and passed most of the day in contemplating and examining the fortifications of the garrison.

General count Marbœuf died in the year 1786, and thus was Bonaparte deprived of the protection and influence of that great man. The advantages that he derived from that officer's pecuniary assistance were no longer attainable, and his pay as a lieutenant was scarcely adequate to support the appearance his rank required. His dissatisfaction was increased by the narrowness of his income, and the numerous factions which at that time disordered all ranks of society in France, induced him to await with complacency for some terrible convulsion of the state that might open a path to his military activity and advancement.

One day, as he was walking in the *Champ de Mars* with some young officers, the conversation, as usual, turned upon the state of affairs. Bonaparte was born in Corsica, and had early imbibed democratic

cratic principles, consequently he declared against the king. The dispute ran high, and he defended his opinion singly and with great firmness against them all. In a moment of enthusiasm the young men seized him, and were about to throw him headlong into an adjoining stream, when a momentary reflection made them perceive the great inequality of their number, and they released him. By degrees he declined their company altogether, but never altered his sentiments; for it was extremely easy for a person of a deeply reflective mind, like Napoleon Bonaparte, to perceive that a great change in the affairs of that country must take place; and as even the energies of power as well as its abuses were, when he felt or witnessed either, the objects of his resentment, every circumstance which tended to counteract the operations of the government he rightly considered would hasten the event he so ardently wished for.

“What hand,” asks a celebrated author, “shall venture to commit to the page of history the events of the French revolution? what historian will collect the innumerable facts, even as annals? There is no man in our own times the value of whose labours would be appreciated by the present generation, for they need no solemn record of what they have seen and heard; and the service he would intend to posterity would be received with ingratitude.”

It was about the period that the Notables met, in the year 1787, that the discontents in Paris were considerable; but they increased with rapidity till the year 1789, when the taking of the Bastile, which we have mentioned before, by the Parisians, commenced the revolution.

Not any well-informed and thinking person in the kingdom of France could by any means remain regardless of its affairs; and many, who were neither natives nor inhabitants of that nation, partook, either by education, or by the possession of property in that country, or by acquaintance or relationship with some of its inhabitants, or from other causes, a lively concern

cern in the misunderstandings between the government and the people; and a great number, who were either desirous of calmly observing, or of facilitating or retarding the important events that were daily expected, hastened to the spot, as they were respectively prompted by their interest or their curiosity.

There can be little doubt but some of those people, who had early crowded to Paris, expected to derive advantage from an open rupture with the court; and, perhaps, Napoleon Bonaparte was of the number. He had left the regiment of artillery *de la Père* soon after the death of his patron, general count Marbœuf, and retired to his paternal home in Corsica; where he found his mother a widow, in very indigent circumstances, and with several children dependent on her exertions for support.

During the time that Bonaparte continued with his mother, he applied himself as closely as ever to his studies; he returned to his books with increased ardour, because the experience he had had in his military capacity had confirmed his attachment to his profession: he laboured with the same unremitting attention that he had done in his noviciate at L'Ecole Militaire at Brienne. Notwithstanding the exercise and amusements in which he afterwards took an active part, his constitution had suffered considerably from long inaction during the first years he was at school: his frame, it is true, was calculated to resist fatigue, and possessed much strength; but he had always the appearance of a weak and delicate habit of body. His apprehension that it was not likely that he should find promotion in the king's army heightened the melancholy of his general appearance; but the decisiveness of his character imparted a sternness to his countenance that was less agreeable than remarkable in a person so young as he was.

From the political principles which Bonaparte had early imbibed, and which he had often avowed, it was natural to expect that he would declare against the king. But as he was always unalterable in his attach-

attachment to military glory, he did not allow so favourable an opportunity as the popular discontents at Paris afford him, of signalizing himself, at least by his decided tone in favour of some one party. A person possessed of a mind like him will force himself into notice when placed in difficult situations. The danger of an early declaration, even in the beginning of the disturbances, Bonaparte disdained to shun: he seized, with every appearance of enthusiasm, the sense of that decree which abolished all distinction of rank, although some persons might have then rationally conjectured that such an avowal was more likely to injure than promote his future advancement.

Possessing these sentiments, Bonaparte could not consider Louis the Sixteenth as the father of his people, and especially when he knew that the throne of that unhappy prince was surrounded by a set of sycophants, who were interested in supporting the most flattering abuses; that royal favour had become in France the only road which led to high military preferment; and that weak and corrupt ministers, and an effeminate court, opposed an insurmountable barrier to genuine merit when it ventured to approach the throne. He had, therefore, to expect, in common with every other subaltern officer who did not possess influence at court, or who had not a sufficient fortune to purchase influence, very little regard or distinction. A long and faithful service was often rewarded with a cross of St. Louis—an empty and a paltry honour, which docketed indiscriminately a faithful defender of the state, or the parasite of a needy courtier. But Bonaparte was not singular in his attachment to the popular cause; for, from similar motives, a vast many were induced to desert the cause of monarchy. It was not, however, these considerations merely that induced others to adhere to the rising opposition, and to increase its numbers by their example and their influence.

Bonaparte remained at Paris till the year 1790, when the discontents in Corsica occasioned an organization

nization of the troops in that island, and he was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and had the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, his native town: there was little service, however, required of these levies, and Bonaparte had ample leisure to continue his military studies. The war which ensued between France and the combined powers opened a wide field for his observations: the operations of the contending armies, which were so admirably detailed at that period, afforded him an opportunity, which his advantageous situation enabled him to improve, of examining, correcting, and maturing that system of warfare that afterwards, by its activity and resources, assisted in subjugating some of the most ancient kingdoms and provinces of the European continent. The allies, by their obstinate adherence to the old system of military tactics, displayed their ignorance of the inefficiency of the application of an old principle to a new practice. But the penetration of Bonaparte quickly remarked this circumstance, and he improved it to advantage.

On the second expedition fitted out against Sardinia, he embarked with his countrymen, and landed in the little island of Maddalena, which he took possession of in the name of the French republic; but finding the troops that had been got together for this expedition neither possessed organization or discipline, he returned to the port of Ajaccio, whence he had set out.

In the mean time, a scheme was forming for the annexation of Corsica to the crown of England; and the cabinet acceded to a proposition which, while it diminished the wealth, contributed but little either to the honour or advantage of this country. Bonaparte had a difficult part to act on this occasion: he was personally attached to the friend of his father, general Pascal Paoli, as we have before observed; he resented the treatment he experienced during the reign of the Terrorists, and actually drew up, with his own hand, the remonstrance-transmitted by the municipality of Ajaccio,

Ajaccio, against the decree declaring that general an enemy to the commonwealth. Indeed he was supposed to be so intimately connected with him, that a warrant was actually issued by Lacombe de St. Michel, and the two other commissioners of the convention, to arrest young Bonaparte. Notwithstanding this, he was resolutely bent to remain faithful to his engagements; and learning that the English fleet in the Mediterranean had sailed for the purpose of seizing his native island, he embarked with his family for the continent, and settled within eighteen leagues of Toulon.

Toulon being now in the hands of the allies, the French, in course, laid siege to it. Barras and Freron, commissioners from the convention, superintended the arrangement of an immense body of artillery, which was opposed to the great naval arsenal of the south. The conquest or surrender of this arsenal, it was determined, should be obtained at any rate. The importance of the service required that it should be committed to the management of an engineer every way worthy of the occasion; and the deputies deliberated with caution before they ventured to nominate a person to the appointment.

At length, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had re-entered the corps of artillery, and served in it as a lieutenant, was recommended by his countryman, Salicetti (as mentioned at the close of the last chapter, p. 143), the deputy from Corsica, and one of the commissioners from the convention with the army at Toulon, to Barras, who immediately promoted him to the rank of general of brigade, and gave him the command of the artillery destined for the reduction of that arsenal. The event justified the prudence of the appointment; for young Bonaparte contributed, by his extraordinary military talents, greatly to decide the fate both of Toulon and all France.*

General

* Previous to his being advanced to the rank of general, the deputies Barras and Freron observed a young officer extraordinarily

General Bonaparte's first military operation was decisive of success. Perceiving that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, he opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. General O'Hara, governor of Toulon, observing the necessity of taking immediate measures for the security of so important a post, determined to destroy the new works, which were termed the Convention Battery, and carry off the artillery. Accordingly he procured a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet; to defend a post from which he proposed to withdraw some British soldiers. At five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, a corps of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spaniards, and four hundred French, in all two thousand three hundred, marched from the town, under the command of Sir David Dundas. Notwithstanding they had to cross the new rivet, on one bridge only, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds intersected by stone walls, and to ascend a very considerable height cut into vine terraces, they succeeded in surprizing the redoubt; but, instead of forming upon and occupying the long and narrow summit of the hill, agreeable to orders and military prudence, after having effected all the objects of the expedition; they followed the French troops impetuously, de-

scended

narily busy in directing the corps of the artillery that was under his command, at the attack of the redoubt of Fort Faron. Calm and intrepid, amidst a thousand dangers, he was every where in an instant, displaying at once the greatest coolness and activity. At last, his wounded cannoniers scattered around him and swimming in their blood, he was seen serving, almost by himself, a large piece of artillery, charging, loading, ramming, in fact, undauntedly performing the whole duty of his men. Upon enquiry, this young officer was found to be Lieutenant Bonaparte. He was immediately taken notice of and rewarded.

scended

ascended the heights, ascended other distant heights, and at length were compelled to retreat by the French, who suddenly profited by the confusion they were thrown into, and obliged them to relinquish the advantages they had at first obtained. General O'Hara, who had ascended the battery directly after the French were dispossessed, and when he supposed the victory obtained, arrived in time to witness the sudden reverse, and to be wounded and made prisoner by the French. His wound, though not dangerous, had bled much, and, added to the exertions he had before made, he was so far weakened, that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers, who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to take measures for their own safety.

The French, elated by this event, began to make nearer approaches to the town; and by means of their batteries, under general Bonaparte, not only attacked important posts, but threatened a general assault. General Bonaparte, although a mere youth, displayed on this occasion, the most cool and undaunted courage. It was of great advantage to their cause, that the French relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, and at two o'clock in the morning of December 17, they opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave; and from these and three former ones, continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which destroyed many of the troops as well as works. The weather proving rainy, they secretly assembled a large body of forces, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets, on that side which was defended by the Spaniards; upon which the British and other troops were compelled to retire towards the shore of Balequer. At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed, however, on the east side, by about seven hundred men, under the command of colonel Jarmagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who was killed on the occasion;

occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although it was one thousand eight hundred feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In this day's fight the French, invigorated by their enthusiasm, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The deputy Arena, who was a Corsican, headed one of their columns; and general Cervoni, a subject of the king of Sardinia, particularly distinguished himself. The new general, Bonaparte, signalized himself on every occasion by a promptitude of exertion, which marked him for one of the ablest candidates for military glory and renown. It is stated, that, in the midst of the engagement, Barras found fault with the direction of a gun, which had been pointed under the order of Bonaparte: to which the young general, in perfect conformity with his character, is said to have replied: "Do your duty as a national commissioner; I will do my duty according to my own judgement, and be answerable for the consequences with my head." It was not in the power of friend or foe to induce him to forego any purpose of which he had previously laid the plan.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault for five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France. The besieging army had provided 4000 ladders for an assault; but, on the evacuation of the place, they entered at seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th of December, 1793. The French gained from the allies more than one hundred pieces of cannon, four hundred oxen, sheep, and hogs, together with vast quantities of forage, and every species of provision in abundance.

The genius and talents of Bonaparte were developed by this siege: it was a stage worthy of his action; and the remembrance of his exertions at this important period was extremely serviceable to his future advancement in the armies of the republic.

From Toulon, the heroic general Bonaparte set off for Nice, where he was put under arrest as a terrorist,
by

by the counter-royalist Bessroi. On this occasion his papers underwent the most rigorous examination; but they were found to consist only of a familiar correspondence on different subjects, plans and remarks on the war, and letters breathing a spirit of patriotism and honour. He was accordingly set at liberty.

An attempt being afterwards made to remove him from the corps to which he had done so much honour, and place him in the infantry, he repaired to Paris to remonstrate against this act of injustice. The representative Aubry was then at the head of the military department of the committee of public safety; and general Bonaparte, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, gained no redress. Disgusted at the little attention paid to his complaint, he asked leave to retire to Constantinople; but that was also refused him.

Thus have we laid before our readers a succinct, though particular, account of the early life of Napoleon Bonaparte, and although it abound with a species of eccentricity, yet the military officer will see much to commend, though, doubtless, there may be some circumstances which will not merit his approbation. Upon the whole, we may venture to assert, that very early in life he exhibited marks of the greatest military genius; and that upon his superior knowledge of the mathematics, as connected with fortification and military tactics, he principally owed his preferment.

CHAPTER VI.

THE English in the Mediterranean were now employed in the reduction of Corsica. An armament under lord Hood attacked the town and forts of Bastia, after the acquisition of San Fiorenzo; the seamen and soldiers co-operated with emulous zeal; and the place was taken with a trifling loss. General Paoli

Paoli having exerted his influence over his countrymen, they voted, in a regular assembly, June 14, 1794, that the sovereignty of the island should be transferred to the king of Great Britain. Sir Gilbert Elliot, in the name of his British majesty, accepted the offer, with an engagement for the maintainance of that constitution which was then framed by the national representatives. The strong town of Calvi was still possessed by the French; but it was at length reduced by the valour of the British forces. Corte was made the capital by the English; but they did not long retain their sovereignty in that island, for, on the 22nd of October following, it was found necessary to evacuate it, and it again reverted to France.

The war, on the side of Spain, produced nothing of importance; and in the mountainous country of Piedmont it went on slowly. Nice and Chamberry were still retained by the French; but more terrible scenes were acting in other quarters. In la Vendée a most bloody war was persisted in by the royalists. In that quarter of the country the language of the rest of France is little understood; the people were superstitious, and had acquired little idea of the new opinions which had lately been propagated in the other parts of that country; they were chiefly headed by priests, and regarded their cause as a religious one; their mode of warfare usually was, to go on in their ordinary occupations as peaceable citizens, and suddenly to assemble in immense bands, insomuch, that at one time they were said to amount to one hundred and fifty thousand men. They besieged Nantz and the city of Orleans, and even Paris itself was not thought altogether safe from their enterprizes. The war was inconceivably sanguinary, neither party gave quarter; and la Vendée proved a dreadful drain to the population of France. On the 28th of June, the conventional general Biron, drove the royalists from Lucon; and Nantz was relieved by general Beysser. After some success, general Westerman was surprised

surprized by them, and compelled to retreat to Parthenay. In the beginning of August, the royalists were defeated by Rossignol; but, on the 10th of that month, under Charette, their commander-in-chief, they again attacked Nantz, but suffered a severe repulse.

To give a minute detail of this obscure, but cruel war, would be tedious and uninteresting. The royalists were often defeated, and seemingly dispersed, but as often arose, in crowds, around the astonished republicans. At last, however, about the middle of October, they were completely defeated, driven from la Vendée, and forced to divide into separate bodies. These royalists had long expected assistance from England; and an armament, under the earl of Moira, was actually fitted out for that service, but it did not arrive till too late, and returned home without attempting a landing. As usual, here the Mountain party disgraced their successes by dreadful cruelties. Humanity is shocked, and history would almost cease to obtain credence, were we to state in detail the unrelenting cruelties which were exercised against the unfortunate royalists, chiefly by Carriere, a deputy from the convention, sent into this quarter with unlimited powers. Multitudes of prisoners were crowded on board vessels in the Loire, after which they were sunk. No age nor sex were spared; and these executions were performed with every circumstance of wanton brutality and insult.

On the side of the Rhine, a great variety of events occurred during the months of August and September. Several engagements took place, in which the French were successful. In September, however, Landau was invested by the combined powers; and it was resolved to make every possible effort to drive the French from the strong lines of Weissembourg. On the 13th of October, the Austrian general, Wurmser, made a grand attack upon these lines, and took them after an obstinate resistance. The French retreated to Haguenau, from which they were driven on the 18th;

and suffered two other defeats on the 25th and 27th. The principal citizens of Strasbourg now sent a private deputation to Wurmser, offering to surrender the town, to be preserved for Louis XVII. Wurmser refused to accept it upon these conditions, insisting upon an absolute surrender to his imperial majesty. In consequence of the delay the negotiation was discovered, and the citizens concerned in the plot were seized by St. Just and Lebas, commissioners from the convention, and brought to the scaffold. Prodigious efforts were now made by the French to recover their ground in this quarter. General Irembert was shot at the head of the army on the 9th of November, upon a charge of treachery in the affair of the lines of Weissebourg. On the 14th, however, Fort Louis was taken by the allies, not without suspicion of treachery in the governor. But here the success of Wurmser might be said to terminate.

On the 21st, the republican army drove back the Austrians, and penetrated almost to Haguenau. An army from the Moselle now advanced to co-operate with the army of the Rhine. On the 27th, the Prussians were defeated near Saarbruck. Next day, their camp at Bliescastle was stormed, and the French advanced to Deux Ponts. On the 29th and 30th, the French were repulsed with great loss in two violent attacks made on the duke of Brunswick near Lautern. But it now appeared, that the French had come into the field with a determination to conquer, whatever it might cost. Every day was a day of battle, and torrents of blood were shed on both sides. In military skill, the French officers and those of the allies were perhaps nearly equal; but the French army was by far the most numerous: the system of military tactics adopted by the French was greatly superior to that of their enemies, and they derived no small superiority from the enthusiasm with which their troops were animated. On the 8th of December, under the command of general Pichegru, the French carried the redoubts which covered Haguenau by means of the bayonet.

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The bayonet, a modern instrument of destruction, against which no defensive weapon is employed, is always most successful in the hands of the most intrepid; and it was now a dreadful engine in the hands of the French. The finest troops that ever Europe produced were unable to withstand the fury of the republicans, which seemed only to increase in proportion to the multitude of companions that they lost. On the 22d, the allies were driven, with terrible slaughter, from Haguenau, notwithstanding the immense works they had thrown up for their defence. The entrenchments on the heights of Reishoffen, Jaudershoffen, &c. were considered as more impregnable than those of Jemappe. They were stormed by the army of the Moselle and the Rhine, under generals Hoche and Pichegru. On the 23d and 24th, the allies were pursued to the heights of Wrotte. On the 26th, the entrenchments there were forced by the bayonet, after a desperate conflict. On the 27th, the republican army arrived at Weissembourg in triumph. Wurmser retreated across the Rhine, and the duke of Brunswick hastily fell back to cover Mentz*.

* The Austrian and French armies had been engaged for five days successively; and the Austrians retreated to Balberotte.

Dontzel, representative of the people at Landau, announced, on the 30th of December, the raising of the blockade of that town, which had lasted nearly four months. The Austrians were entirely defeated, and driven from the camp of Balberotte, to which they had retreated after their flight from the lines of Weissembourg, and they now fled in all directions. Barrere then reported the correspondence between the garrison and the Prussian general, prince Hohenloe, wherein the latter endeavoured to seduce and corrupt the French commandant Labaudiere. The garrison spurned the terms proposed, received twenty-five thousand bombs, and lived three weeks on horse-flesh and cats. Their only bread was rye and peas. Wheat bread was become so scarce, as to be sold for fourteen livres a pound; sugar was eighty livres; and eggs were sold at one hundred livres each. Notwithstanding the privations, and distress to which the garrison was reduced, they disdained to submit, and were at length victorious, preserving Landau for the republic.

Fort Louis, now named Fort Vauban, was evacuated by the allies, and Kaiserslautern, Germerheim, and Spiers, submitted to the French. During this last month of the year 1793, the loss of men on both sides, but more particularly on that of the allies, in this quarter was unexampled in the history of modern war.

Efforts of the most violent nature were in the mean time making at Paris by the new administration, established under the auspices of the Jacobin club, and of the party of the Mountain. The new republican constitution had been presented to the people in the primary assemblies, and accepted. The business, therefore, for which the convention was called together, that of forming a constitution for France, was at an end; and it was proposed that they should dissolve themselves, and order a new legislative body to assemble, according to the rules prescribed by that constitution. This was, no doubt, the regular mode of procedure; but the ruling party considered it as hazardous to convene a new assembly, possessing only limited powers, in the present distracted state of the country. Committees of its own body were selected for the purpose of conducting every department of business. The chief of these committees was called the committee of public safety. It superintended all the rest, and gave to the administration of France all the secrecy and dispatch which have been accounted peculiar to a military government, together with a combination of skill and energy hitherto unknown among mankind. A correspondence was kept up with all the Jacobin clubs throughout the kingdom. Commissioners from the convention were sent into all quarters, with unlimited authority over every order of persons. Thus a government possessed of infinite vigilance was established; and the whole transactions and resources of the state were known to the rulers, and to them only.

At this period the laws of requisition, and rising *en masse*, which had been at first very feebly executed,

cuted, were urged with greater vehemence, and enforced by every means in the hands of government. All church-bells, save one for each parish, were cast into cannon. All apothecaries, surgeons, and physicians, were put in requisition for the service of the army; and the commissioners sent to the different troops, were invested with unlimited powers. To prevent the disbanding of corps on the expiration of their term of service, Danton obtained a decree denouncing punishment of death against every soldier who quitted his colours without permission. All other modes of recruiting being found ineffectual, the committee of public safety were diligently occupied in giving effect to the project for a levy *en masse*. Preparatory to the presentation of the report, Barrere composed an address to the people, which in energetic terms excited them to arms, and invoked the destruction of the invaders. In a week afterwards he produced his report, which analysed the principle of calling the whole country into a state of requisition, by obviating objections, and shewing the superior advantages of that plan to every other. A decree was obtained amid loud applauses, comprised in a variety of articles.

All workmen in iron, masons, tilers, carpenters, cartwrights, turners, and founders, and all lead and iron in the hands of dealers, save only the quantity necessary for the reparation of water-pipes, were also put in requisition by the council-general of the commune. Every shoemaker was compelled to furnish every ten days, five pair of shoes of a certain shape which soldiers alone were permitted to wear, and a proportionate number for every apprentice he employed. All salt-petre, and materials for making it, were put in requisition; and the pretence of searching for such materials formed the means of great plunder, vexation, and tyranny. The manufacture of cannon soon proceeded with astonishing rapidity and success; in little more than two months the establishments at Paris promised to produce a thousand muskets a-day; the

the cannon-foundry at the Luxembourg had issued a hundred and four pieces; that of the Square of Indivisibility a hundred and thirty-four; and Carnot boasted that France, which had hitherto been dependent on her enemies for the first articles of defence, would soon supply the rest of the world from the superfluity of her stores. Rigorous measures were also adopted to prevent evasions of the requisition; those who fled from their places of abode were to be treated as emigrants, and their relations punished for their fault. No plea of ill health was admitted except on the certificate of a medical professor; and a false certificate subjected any of these to imprisonment.

In order to insure prompt and vigorous exertions in the field, great severities were denounced against the generals who failed in enterprises, or incurred suspicion of treason; and a great number of cruel examples were made. The adherents of Dumourier were speedily sacrificed; Lanoue and Stengel were executed immediately after his flight. Miranda, though his opponent, was pursued with great rancour; and after being once acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, was again imprisoned, and kept in daily alarm for his fate. Miacinski, a Polish soldier of fortune, much attached to Dumourier, was sentenced by the revolutionary tribunal and executed, after a mean attempt to save himself by pretending to disclose important secrets. Devaux was also put to death, though he pleaded that his disobedience to Dumourier would have occasioned his being delivered up to the Austrians, from whose service he was a deserter. Lescurer suffered death for attempting to influence his detachment near Valenciennes to assist in arresting the commissioners: before his death he left a denunciation against Ferrand the governor of that fortress, which occasioned his imprisonment, and early in the ensuing year his execution. Custine, after every human exertion to enforce discipline and vigour into the army he commanded, was inhumanly sacrificed; a number of other officers shared a similar fate; twenty-one

one of the Girondist party, among whom were Brissot and M. Bailly, were massacred on the 21st of October; and the executions of 1793 closed with that of Philip Egalité, *ci-devant* duke of Orleans, who was charged with having aspired to the sovereignty from the beginning of the revolutionary proceedings*.

The convention then turned its authority towards extirpating every vestige of religion from the churches and people of France. Many shocking decrees were obtained even against the conforming clergy, and more against those who had resisted the marriage of priests; yet many of that body were sufficiently base to shew a dishonourable zeal in complying with these commands, and even led their wives into the hall of the legislature, to receive fraternal embraces. A committee was formed for the purpose of forwarding the schemes of this deistical government, by being directed to prepare a new calendar for the French republic, in which the division of the year into months and weeks, as acknowledged by the whole Christian world, was abolished, in hopes of obliterating every trace of Sundays, holidays, festivals, and fasts. The report made from the committee of public instruction is generally attributed to Fabre d'Eglantine, who was the inventor of this new calendar, which was adopted by the conven-

* The execution of the duke of Orleans, latterly known under the fantastical and almost ludicrous title of Philip Egalité, appears to have produced scarcely any sentiments either of horror or commiseration in any party; so completely, though perhaps almost insensibly, does a profligate life excite the indignation of mankind. Yet Egalité in some instances had evinced himself the friend of liberty; and, however contemptible his general conduct in life, his death was heroic. He was included in the general decree which removed the Bourbon family to Marseilles, and he was brought to Paris in the beginning of November, to be tried before the revolutionary tribunal. He was accused of having aspired to the sovereignty from the first of the revolution; but how far the charge was substantiated, it is impossible to determine. He was conveyed in a cart, in the evening of the 6th of November, to the place of execution, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace.—*Annual Register*, 1793, p. 201.

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tion, after some debate and a few alterations. By this new computation of time, the year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days.

More effectually to suppress the catholic religion, every effort was made to increase the popular contempt of the order of the priesthood. All priests and nuns who had not taken the oaths to the republic, were deprived of certificates of residence, and declared suspected persons; the sale of images, rings, chaplets, and rosaries was prohibited; and the popular clubs refused to all priests certificates of admission into their halls. These efforts might be considered as directed against the Roman catholic religion in particular, by which the minds and consciences of men were held in complete subjection, but not entirely hostile to the general principles of the Christian faith: a new measure of the commune, however, rendered the object indubitable. Fouché, being on mission at Nevers, issued a decree on the 17th of October, that all religious signs of angels, saints, &c. should be annihilated, and priests prohibited, on pain of imprisonment, from appearing any where, except in their temples, in the clerical garb. The reformed churches were unmolested. Every citizen deceased was, within eight-and-forty hours after his death, to be interred, without ceremony, in a burial-place common to all persons, planted with trees, under the shade of which was to be an image representing *Sleep*; and on the door of the inclosure an inscription, "Death is an eternal sleep."

The Jacobin club having voted an application to the convention to make all priests give up their letters of priesthood to be burnt, many anticipated the decree by a voluntary sacrifice. These enemies of the catholic religion obtained a complete triumph on the 7th of November, when the constituted authorities of Paris, accompanied by their bishop and several *curés*, attended at the bar. Momoro, one of the administrators of the commune, introduced the members of the clerical body, declaring their intention to divest them-

themselves of the character with which superstition had clothed them; the great example would be followed by their colleagues, and no other worship acknowledged but liberty, equality, and eternal truth. Gobet, bishop of Paris, on this day completed his apostacy, by renouncing his function, throwing off his clerical vestments, and, together with his vicars, depositing on the desk their letters of priesthood. They were invited to the honours of the sitting, and received the fraternal embrace; and most of the clergy in the convention, as Lindet, Coupé, Villiers, Julien, Chabot, Gregoire, and the celebrated Sieyes, followed the example of Gobet. Letters were daily received from the departments, announcing the apostacy of the catholic priests; and frequent deputations attended at the bar with the remaining spoils of churches and shrines. When we consider, however, the shameful manner in which the consciences of men were held by the church of Rome, we confess, we are scarcely surprized at their going from one extreme to the other.

But notwithstanding the cruelties and diabolical requisitions exercised by the new order of government, the pressure of scarcity had been severely felt both in the capital and in the departments, almost during the whole of the year 1793; and heart-piercing complaints were daily presented from the poor, who were famished for want of bread; and from proprietors of grain, sugar, soap, and other necessities, who were plundered by the mob. The measure most popular, and less calculated to remove these complaints, was that of establishing a maximum, or fixed price, at which every farmer and proprietor should be obliged to sell certain eatables, and other articles of consumption, which were denominated "*of the first necessity.*" These laws, however, which were very numerous and severe, proved only the means of diffusing terror, and facilitating murder and robbery under colour of law. One sort of bread alone was ordered to be baked in Paris, called *pain de l'égalité*: for a

scanty supply of this the poor besieged the doors of the bakers for several hours in a morning, and were often plundered of it when obtained: and the convention, unable to satiate their hunger or appease their clamours, resorted to doubtful and distant expedients, such as the draining of fish-ponds to plant grain and nutritious vegetables, and the conversion of pasture and pleasure ground into arable.

One of the great causes of distress, however, was the want of cash, and the depreciation of assignats, which were issued with such profusion, and so often copied, that people were averse to selling their property for paper of such uncertain value. To enforce the receipt of this medium on equal terms was the object of many severe but impracticable decrees. Jobbing was forbidden under penalty of banishment, and refusals to receive assignats in payment were made punishable by fine and imprisonment. Yet the spirit of speculation could not be suppressed, nor the confidence of the people conciliated. Assignats were sold at reduced prices, and every new emission rendered the receipt of them additionally difficult.

But in obtaining supplies government was more successful, as the means employed were more cogent. After many other expedients had been discussed, a forced loan of a thousand millions of livres (43,750,000*l.* sterling) was decreed to be raised by a tax on property. Terror impelled the inhabitants of the departments to throw their gold and silver into the public coffers, happy to escape with their lives from the rigours of greedy perquisition. Yet the quantity of cash which was obtained was insufficient, and government decreed the confiscation of all ingots of gold and silver, and a resumption of all grants of national domains, the treasury refunding all the money which had been paid, in assignats at par. By these and other extortionate means Combon boasted of having raised between thirty-eight and forty millions of livres (about 1,700,000*l.*); and he boasted the effects of terror, in making men who had concealed their money bring

bring it into the treasury. The production of money to the state was considered a legitimate end of criminal law; and Barrere, with savage sort of pleasantry, termed the guillotine the national mint. Such were the means adopted by the Mountain party to open the campaign of 1794, which was done with the greatest vigour.

It was early in the year that the convention received intelligence that three of their ships of the line had made prize of fifteen English vessels in the Irish sea; and they listened with applause to a report from the committee of public safety, that they had augmented their fleets, and adopted a plan of naval tactics whereby they had resolved to conquer on the sea. With this confident hope, the French fleet boldly sailed out of Brest harbour, under the command of admiral Villaret Joyeuse, whose flag was hoisted on board the *Montagne*, of 120 guns; and he immediately sailed in quest of the English squadron, commanded by lord Howe. Villaret's fleet consisted of twenty-six sail; the English commander had twenty-five, but a great inferiority of metal. On the 1st of June, the two fleets came to close engagement, each ship being regularly opposed by another as fast as they could get into action. After an hour's close and uninterrupted fighting, in which little manœuvre was displayed, the French admiral gave way, and was followed by all the ships in the van whose condition enabled them to carry sail, leaving ten or twelve crippled ships surrounded by the English. Part of these were, however, dextrously brought off by those which had been less damaged in the action; but seven remained in the hands of lord Howe, though one of them sunk before it could reach a British harbour. The *Vengeur*, a seventy-four, sunk during the action.

In giving an account of these events to the convention, Barrere shewed considerable dexterity. He considered the whole event as a victory on the side of the French, because a large fleet, of nearly two hundred sail of ships from America, had got safely into port,

which was laden with vast quantities of flour, and other necessities, that France was greatly in want of. He affirmed that the English was superior to the French by fourteen sail of the line; that ten had been dismasted in the action, and three had foundered. He could not entirely conceal the disaster; but he palliated it by saying, they had left seven dismantled ships at sea, which he feared were lost.

After this defeat, the national convention affected to consider their exertions on the ocean of far less importance than the campaign on the frontiers of France, towards which important object all eyes were turned, as affecting the general fate of the civilized world. Jourdan, though successful in raising the siege of Maubeuge, was dismissed from the army of the north, and replaced by Pichegru, who was for that purpose transferred from the army of the Rhine. The allies were still in possession of Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and many other places; and were encamped in all points on the territory of the republic. But the hopes of France were founded less on the valour of their troops, than on the probability of being able to dissolve that alliance, which, if unbroken, must ultimately have exhausted all their means of opposition, and compelled them to expend their strength in an unavailing contest. Divisions and jealousies were said to be already prevalent between the emperor and the king of Prussia, and to them were attributed the disasters which attended the close of the late campaign on the Rhine. The duke of Brunswick quitted the army in disgust. The emperor, on the other hand, removed Wurmser from the command; but avowed his jealousy of a secret negotiation between Prussia and France. The Prussian cabinet also affected to suspect that Austria and England were disposed to negotiate separately with the republic, and that the emperor saw with jealousy the portion assigned to the house of Brandenburg in the partition of the unfortunate territory of the Poles.

The

The elector of Mentz now received the declaration of the king of Prussia, which stated, that he could no longer sustain the expences of the war; that indemnities were due to him from the empire; and that the circles must provide for the maintenance of his troops, or he must withdraw them; and he speedily notified his intension to furnish only his contingent as elector of Brandenburg, ordering general Mullendorff, who had succeeded the duke of Brunswick, to fall back with his army on Cologne, and leave near Mentz only twenty thousand men, under general Karlsreuh. He was, however, induced by the negotiations for a subsidy from England, and by the repeated solicitations of the states of the empire, to continue his troops in their former station; which was considered as a great acquisition, though it might have been foreseen that little advantage would be derived from so capricious an ally.

Previous to the termination of these disputes, the French opened the campaign by attacking the Austrian posts at Chateau Beauvais and Solesmes, on the 29th of March; which they had carried; but the Imperialists rallying, obliged them to retreat with the loss of six hundred men killed and wounded. Some jealousies which still prevailed in the allied army, obliged the emperor to take the chief command in person; and he commenced the siege of Landrecy, which was afterwards committed to the hereditary prince of Orange. To raise this siege, an attack was made on the advanced posts of the prince of Cobourg, at Blocus and Nouvion: at the former the French were defeated, and the town was obliged to surrender to the allies. Pichegru collected in the mean while, in Cæsar's camp, a force of thirty thousand men under Souham, and twenty thousand under Moreau, for the purpose of making a detached invasion of West Flanders. General Otto being sent to reconnoitre them, an engagement ensued on the 23d, in which the French were driven into Cambray with loss; but the defeat did not prevent their persevering in their original

nal enterprize. While the subordinate generals were employed in this incursion, Pichegru advanced in five columns, drove in all the outposts and piquets of the besieging army, attacking along the whole frontier, from Treves to the sea; but in the progress of the day he was utterly defeated, and pursued to the gates of Cambray with great loss, both in men and artillery. Pichegru, however, returned to the charge on the 29th, assailing an almost impregnable post, defended by general Clairfait, at Mécron, and by his success retrieved the disaster of his former conflict, besides animating his troops with the confidence resulting from a first victory. Courtray was taken at the same time; and the next day Menin, no longer tenable, was evacuated, after a siege of ten days only. Pichegru afterwards projected a combined movement with the army of the Ardennes; and, taking Beaumont, made some incursions between the Sambre and the Meuse.

A vast number of skirmishes took place during the early part of May; and, on the 10th, an attack was made on the duke of York near Tournay, in which the French were defeated, and three thousand killed. General Clairfait, at the same time, attempted to drive them from Courtray; but a reinforcement was judiciously thrown into the town; and in an engagement which took place the ensuing day, Clairfait was driven back into his original position at Thielt. During this conflict, the left wing of the army of the north, united to that of the Ardennes, crossed the Sambre, and took momentary possession of Fontaine l'Évêque and Binch, which they were obliged to relinquish on the appearance of an Austrian force. The armies of the North and Ardennes were at this time under the commissioners St. Just and Le Bas, who stimulated the troops to exertion by perpetual threats of execution in case of failure. Pichegru had formed plans for passing the Sambre, and besieging Charleroi; but they were frustrated by the precipitation and ignorance of those who controuled him, and superseded the authority he held.

The

The principal object of the allies was now to expel the French from Flanders; and for this purpose, after many skirmishes, in which Lannoy, Turcoing, Roubaix, Mouveaux, and all the great posts in the road from Lisle to Courtray, were taken by the duke of York, a general attack was made, March 17, under the eye of the emperor himself. This attempt was rendered unsuccessful by delays in two columns. Early in the ensuing morning, the republicans attacked, in great force, the post at Turcoing. Two battalions of Austrians, detached by the duke of York to make a diversion, failed in returning to him, and thus left an opening on his right. The French, pouring in torrents of troops, had completely surrounded the British battalions; but these cut their way through, and effected a retreat, though with the greatest difficulty, and considerable loss.

General Pichegru, believing the allies to be destitute of artillery, made a general attack on their right wing, with a hundred thousand men, intending to force the passage of the Scheldt and invest Tournay. The attack began at five o'clock in the morning of the 22d, and the French, continually bringing up fresh troops, continued it the whole day. About three o'clock the right wing of the allies began to give ground, when the duke of York detached seven Austrian battalions, and the second brigade of British infantry, to their support. This decided the fate of the day. They stormed the village of Pont Achin, rushed with fixed bayonets into the heart of the French army, and threw them into such confusion that they retreated to Lisle. On the same day general Beaulieu took the town of Bouillon by storm, and gave it up to plunder, as a punishment to the inhabitants for firing on the Austrian troops.

But in the mean time the French army had repassed the Sambre, recaptured l'Eveque and Binch, and partially invested Charleroi. They were, however, again routed by general Kaunitz, on the 24th of May, with the loss of five thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners,

ers, and fifty pieces of cannon. This loss was compensated on another side, where a portion of the army of the Moselle was placed under Jourdan, and received the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. This force, consisting of forty thousand men, invaded the duchy of Luxembourg, took possession of Arlon, and obliged Beaulieu to fall back on Marche, in order to cover Namur. The duke of York's position at Tournay was thus rendered for several days very precarious, as a great portion of the allied army was obliged to fall back to cover Brussels and Ghent, and prince Cobourg marched the principal part of his army to their relief.

The French armies continually increased, and their resolute pursuit of their object gave a gloomy aspect to the affairs of the emperor. The principality of Liege had shewn such marks of favour to the republican cause, that a proclamation was judged necessary, by which the place was put under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg, and all gunsmiths and other persons were enjoined to deposit their arms and ammunition in the town-house. The progress of the French increased the spirit of disaffection; and, when they had cut off all communication from Brussels to Charleroi and Luxembourg, menacing the investment of Charleroi and Ypres, the malcontents at Brussels publicly avowed themselves, and planted the tree of liberty. The emperor quitted the army, and returned to Vienna, with a view to obtain further supplies, which his army stood much in need of.

Ypres, the key of West Flanders, was blockaded by the French on the 5th of June, their besieging army amounting to thirty thousand men, and their covering army to twenty-five thousand. Clairfait, having advanced to relieve the place, was attacked at Rousselaer and Hoogleden; but he drove back the assailants. Having received reinforcements from prince Cobourg, he became in turn the assailant, and had some hopes of success; but, overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to fall back to Thielt, while general Hamerstein

Hamerstein retreated to Bruges. During the three ensuing days, he made perpetual efforts, and fought several skirmishes; but on the fourth he was attacked by an army of republicans, and driven to Ghent, which he reached with great difficulty, and found the communication with Oudenard entirely cut off. Ypres immediately surrendered; general Walmoden found himself no longer able to retain Bruges; and the duke of York, evacuating Tournay, retired to Renaix, hoping to support Oudenard, which the French had summoned to surrender, and the duke's efforts were rendered ineffectual.

In the mean time, the army of the Sambre and Meuse had joined that of the North, so often defeated before Charleroi; and having taken Dinan, again crossed the river in the face of the Austrians, and began to reconstruct the works for prosecuting the siege. They were, however, again defeated, and driven beyond the Sambre; but Pichegru, who commanded them, in two days resumed his station, confident of gaining his point, and determined at all events to succeed. The prince of Cobourg on this occasion abandoned Tournay, leaving the defence of the Scheldt to the duke of York, and withdrawing all his posts from before Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and the other French towns in his possession, he attempted the more important task of succouring West Flanders. He made a general attack on the posts of the enemy on June 26; but, after a long and very severe action, the allies were defeated in every point, and forced to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the field of battle, with the loss of many thousands of their men. This decisive action was fought on the plains of Fleurus, and confirmed the fate of Flanders. Charleroi had surrendered the preceding day; and the prince of Cobourg was compelled, on the approach of the republicans, to retreat from Halle, leaving Brussels to its fate. The allies were thus obliged to forego all hopes of retaining possession of Flanders, as their force, which consisted originally of a hundred and ninety thousand

men, was reduced, by the various battles they had had with the French, to eighty thousand; while that of the republicans was increased to a much greater number.

About the same period, earl Moira, arriving at Ostend, with seven thousand men, found Ypres and Thorout on one side, and Bruges on the other, in possession of the French; and, despairing of rendering effectual assistance in any other quarter, pressed forward to join the duke of York, taking his route through Bruges to Malle. General Vandamme was in the neighbourhood with twenty thousand French, and would have fallen on the English force, but for an ingenious deception of major-general Doyle, the British quarter-master-general, who made the burgo-master of Bruges believe the army consisted of fifteen thousand men, and that as many more would arrive the same evening; which intelligence was conveyed to the French general, and prevented his attacking the English troops. But this junction was not effected for several days, during which the French took possession of Ostend, and marched towards Ghent. The prince of Cobourg being again defeated, they gained possession of Mons. The duke of York was obliged to retreat from Renaix to Gramont, and subsequently to Malines and Konticq; while Ghent, Oudenard, and Tournay, surrendered to the republican forces.

The French army of the Sambre and Meuse, in conjunction with that of the North, pressed their advantages on every side, and, after a series of skirmishes, possessed themselves of Brussels. They were thus enabled to establish positions reaching from Liege to Antwerp; while the Austrians defended the banks of the Meuse from Ruremond to Maestricht. The troops of England and Holland retired beyond Breda, and a corps was posted at Ludhoven to keep open the communication between the armies. Malines, Louvain, Judoigne, Namur, Antwerp, Tongres, Liege, St. Amand, Marchiennes, Chateau, and several other places,

places, had already been evacuated; and Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Landrecy, abandoned to their own strength, were invested by the republicans, who were fortified by the additional terror of a barbarous decree of the convention, forbidding them to give quarter to any of the garrisons, unless they surrendered on the first summons.

And fortune was equally favourable to the republicans on the Rhine, where their career was exceedingly prosperous. The resignation of the duke of Brunswick was preceded by the capture of Spire and Kaiserslautern, and followed by the evacuation of Fort Faubon, after an ineffectual attempt to blow it up by springing of mines. Several skirmishes afterwards occurred, but no action of importance till the king of Prussia had consented to continue the alliance. Then marshal Mullenberff, who succeeded the duke of Brunswick, surprized the French in their entrenchments at Kaiserslautern, put them to the rout with great slaughter, and captured many prisoners and some artillery. But no attempt was made to prosecute this success with further advantage. The month of June passed only in skirmishes; and early in July, the French, by great reinforcements, having acquired a superiority in numbers, attacked the allies at Edikhoffen, and after an obstinate engagement, which lasted from the 12th to the 15th of July, drove the Austrians in every direction across the Rhine, and compelled the Prussians to retreat rapidly towards Mentz. This action decided the fate of the campaign in that quarter: the allies evacuated twenty leagues of the French territory, and enabled the republicans to invade the electorate of Treves. Thus the arms and enthusiasm of the French republicans became victorious and insurmountable in every quarter; while the army of the allies was defeated, broken, and more than half destroyed; but from the wide-extended and relentless devastations of this sanguinary campaign, the reader must be constrained to turn his eye to the still more sanguinary and cruel scenes which degraded and purpled the streets of Paris.

It will not be expected, however, that we can enter into a recapitulation of all the horrors which took place in every part of the republic where the narratives of them call our attention; or that we can pursue the detail of half the crimes committed under the appellation of law: suffice it to mention the principal instruments, and the most prominent of their deeds of inhumanity. Those who claim the highest celebrity for their fertile invention of new modes of barbarity, were Jean Bon St. André, Treilhard, and Léquino, at Brest and L'Orient; Beaudot, St. Just, and Le Bas, in the departments of the Lower and Upper Rhine; Fouché in the department of l'Allier; Fréron, Barras, Robespierre junior, Salicetti, and Isnard, at Marseilles and Toulon; Maignet, an ex-priest, in the department of Vaucluse, and particularly at a village called Bedouin; and Joseph Le Bon, at Arras. All these seemed to contend with each other for the palm of superior cruelty; they left far behind all the inquisitors and destroyers of the human race who had ever gone before them, or who acted in other places. But all these, and even Carrière himself, were eclipsed by Collot d'Herbois, who exercised at Lyons the most unspeakable and dreadful tortures against the wretched inhabitants who had dared to express their attachments to the house of Bourbon. The number of Frenchmen who fell by various means of destruction, on the scaffold, in the waves, and on the field, by the hands of Frenchmen, is estimated at nine hundred thousand; of whom fifteen thousand were women, and twenty thousand children; and more than twenty thousand dwelling-houses were destroyed and razed to the ground.

Early in the year 1794, Robespierre made a report to the convention on the nature and operations of the revolutionary government, in which he contrived to impress on its members the great necessity of carefully avoiding the two dangerous extremes of imbecility and temerity; or of suffering men to live, whose plots and well-known defection were so dangerous to a well-disposed and moderate government. Thus his arbitrary will became superior to all controul. The pri-

prisons of Paris were rapidly filled with victims of every rank and class in life, and from all parts of the republic. Dwellings originally erected for prisons were soon found incapable of containing the crowds put under arrest; and the palaces and houses of princes and noblemen, which were confiscated but not sold, were converted into jails. Rigorous decrees were multiplied against the devoted prisoners; nor were their friends permitted to see them. New decrees daily pointed out new objects of suspicion; and the victims of private resentment or former grudge were sent indiscriminately to the Conciergerie, and then distributed into others, or sent to the place of execution without delay; thus falling a sacrifice to the resentment and caprice of those who held places or appointments. Fourteen young ladies from Verdun were led to the scaffold, charged with dancing at a ball with some Prussian officers, and giving them treasonable information against the state. Twenty women from Poitou, mostly poor peasants, who had afforded refuge to Charette, were likewise destroyed together: their looks were expressive of no intelligence on the fate which threatened them. While conducting them to the scaffold, several women died in the cart, supposed from hunger and fatigue; but their carcases were guillotined by the executioner.

From the lower order of sufferers, the decrees now passed to the class of superior victims; and, by a law of the 10th of June, juries were authorized to pronounce sentence without any evidence but their own internal conviction of the prisoners' guilt. The course of destruction was thus rendered extremely rapid. The numbers marked out for each day's execution were called *batches*; many of them were composed of persons whose only crime was their birth or accidental station in life. Nobles, priests, *fermiers-généraux*, members of the parliament of Paris, or even of the constituent assembly, were doomed to general destruction; and a relationship with them, or even an appearance of commiseration, was considered so dangerous, that engravers broke the copper-plates on which like-
nesses

nesses were engraved, lest they should be brought as evidence of counter-revolutionary projects. "I saw, (says Riouffe,) five-and-forty magistrates of the parliament of Paris, and thirty-three of that of Toulouse, go to the scaffold with the same dignity that they formerly displayed in public ceremonies. I saw thirty *fermiers-généraux* march out with a firm step and unruffled countenance: and I saw five-and-twenty of the most respectable merchants of Sedan go to death, without expressing a regret, except for ten thousand labourers whom their murder would deprive of employment." Entertaining counter-revolutionary projects, favouring the projects of the enemy, degrading the national representation, or creating conspiracies in the prisons, were the most frequent grounds of accusation; but a word or a look was sufficient in this day of terror to insure condemnation. The early operations of the revolutionary tribunal instituted by Robespierre sent only ten or fifteen daily to the scaffold; but the carts were subsequently loaded with forty or fifty. Still the prisons were more and more crowded, and it was even intimated, that the suspected would be shot, by a thousand at a time, in the *Champ de Mars*. The princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. now fell a victim to this revolutionary tribunal. Her whole life had been exempt from reproach, and remarkable only for benevolence and piety. She was brought before the court on the 10th of May, and charged with having encouraged undue distinction to her nephew the dauphin, and directed his attention to such topics as were calculated to re-establish royalty. She was condemned to death, with twenty-four other persons, who were all convicted as accomplices in this pretended conspiracy. The princess was executed last, and bore her fate with a serenity of countenance which shewed she was unconscious of having committed a crime against the state.

M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes had been considered by all parties as one of the best and most enlightened men in France; but his last public act, that of appearing as counsel for his sovereign, now pointed him out

out to the French government as a fit object of persecution; he was arrested on a charge arising out of letters which had been sent to him during the trial of his august client, of having corresponded with the enemy. At the age of seventy-four he was immured in a loathsome prison; and on the 22d of April he was found guilty and executed, with his whole family. D'Estaing, who had so nobly fought for France in his early life; the duke de Biron, who had been entrusted with a command in La Vendée; Thouret, who had shewn a desire to accommodate himself to the prevailing opinion, whether for monarchy or a republic; and d'Esprémenil, once the idol of the people for his strenuous persecution of the late king, now all perished on the scaffold at the same time.

Now, in most of these executions, some forced plea of policy might be alleged; the influence, political talents, or former popularity of the sufferers, might afford a motive for their destruction; but, in some instances, exclusively of the poor women, persons seem to have been sacrificed merely because they were celebrated. Such was doubtless the case with the unoffending Lavoisier, the famous chemist: he petitioned only for a few days respite, to witness the result of some experiments; but the request was denied with a brutal reflection, that the republic wanted good citizens, and not good chemists. Roucher, author of a poem called "*Les Mois*," was condemned to death on a false accusation. Equally cruel was the fate of baron Trenck, who, after astonishing the world with accounts of his sufferings in his own country, found his death in France, where he expected an asylum under the fostering wings of a philosophical republic.

While, however, the wantonness of these sacrifices shocked the minds of all men, a sensation widely different was excited when those who had been most forward in promoting these acts of cruelty came, in their turn, to feel the pain and punishment which they had, in their day of exultation, so unsparingly inflicted on others. A dissention was beginning to rise between the

the clubs of Jacobins and Cordeliers; and Robespierre, who had resolved on the destruction of the Cordeliers, as well as of Danton and several other of his colleagues, observed with satisfaction, that their division would render them the instruments of mutual destruction. He determined to get rid of Hebert, who was at the head of the Cordeliers, and his associates, first, as the most daring and dangerous.

Hebert, alarmed for his safety, took advantage of Robespierre's illness, and attempted, by means of the Cordeliers, to excite the people against the Jacobins, but in vain. The section of Marat declared itself in a state of insurrection; but the rest of the city would not follow the example. Hebert, from the tribune of the Cordeliers, declared that tyranny existed, and caused a veil of black crape to be thrown over the Rights of Man. This measure only precipitated his ruin: he was arrested, together with Ronsin, Vincent, and several associates, and conducted to the Conciergerie, tied hand and foot. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, together with nineteen others, viz. Ronsin, Vincent, Momoro, Ducroquet, Kok, Laurun, Bourgeois, Mazuel, Laboureau, Aneard, Leclerc, Pereira, Latreille wife of Quetineau, Anacharsis Cloutz, Desfiaux, Descombes, Armand, Dubuisson, and Proly.

These men were charged with a conspiracy, of the existence of which there was not a shadow of proof; but that, however, did not prevent the jury from finding all the parties guilty, except Laboureau. Hebert, petrified with terror, did not say a word in his defence. Cloutz alone, of all this devoted band of blood-thirsty wretches, seemed to retain his resolution and principles. The night which preceded their execution was passed by the rest of the condemned in complaint and mutual recrimination, till Cloutz exhorted them to die with resolution, and endeavoured to confirm their atheistical opinions, and stifle the reproaches of conscience. They went to the guillotine with the heartfelt joy of the terrified inhabitants of Paris, who hoped

hoped to gain a respite from the sanguinary and disgusting scenes which they had so long excited and applauded. The club of Cordeliers, after a vain attempt to conciliate the Jacobins, now sunk into insignificance, and fell into contempt.

But the triumph over the Cordeliers was not confined to the destruction of those men who had rendered themselves odious by the various cruelties they had been guilty of; the more respectable division of the club, those who had shewn some talent, and had even rendered important services to Robespierre, were also marked for destruction. Herault de Sechelles, Julien of Toulouse, Fabre d'Eglantine, and some other members, were arrested by order of the committee of public safety; and soon after the death of Hebert and his party, to the surprize of every body, a decree of accusation went forth against Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Lacroix, and some other members, as accomplices in plots against the sovereignty of the people and safety of the republic. All of these were sanguinary, rapacious, and profligate, but all had rendered services to the revolution, and all had been invariably ranked among the most vigorous enemies of the court, the firmest friends of the people, and the political adherents of the party who now doomed them to destruction. Camille-Desmoulins felt indignant at the treachery of Robespierre, who had been his fellow-collegian, and who spoke to him the very evening before his arrest with more than usual appearance of cordiality, friendship, and regard.

From a report read by St. Just to the convention the act of accusation was framed; and Fabre d'Eglantine, Delauny, Chabot, Camille-Desmoulins, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Bazire, Herault de Sechelles, and Danton, deputies, together with d'Espagnac, a contractor, two brothers named Frey, also contractors, natives of Moravia, Gusman, a Spaniard, and Diedericksen, a Dane, were brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Fabre d'Eglantine appeared in great agony, and had a chair allotted him; but the lofty courage of Danton

imparted spirits to the rest. He said his abode would soon be in a state of non-entity, but his name would be found in the pantheon of history. He refused to answer interrogatories, unless confronted by Barrere and Robespierre his accusers; and amused himself while at the bar with shooting paper bullets in the face of the chief judge. The president was obliged to dispatch a messenger to the convention, to obtain a decree empowering the jury to pass sentence on refractory prisoners; but Robespierre and Barrere refused to attend, on pretence that there was a plot to assassinate them. Though Danton had no hope of saving his life, he made a defence, that it might be transmitted to posterity. In vain the president endeavoured to silence him; his Stentorian voice drowned the tinkling of the bell. "Prisoner, (said the magistrate,) do you hear the bell?"—"President, (answered Danton,) the voice of a man defending his life and character ought to silence your bell." The people, unused to such boldness, expressed their disapprobation in murmurs: "People," he cried, "form your judgement of me when you have heard me. What I say ought to be heard, not only by you, but by all France. Before six months are past, you will tear to pieces those who now sit in judgement on me, as well as the scoundrels by whose orders I am brought to trial. They have reduced you to slavery, and are sacrificing you by piecemeal." He was at length prevailed on to retire, under pretence of taking some refreshment; and in his absence condemned, by virtue of the decree against contumacious prisoners, which was now just obtained from the convention.

Sentence of death was passed at three o'clock in the afternoon of April 5, and at six the whole party was carried to the guillotine. Danton submitted to his fate with fortitude, and even affected an extraordinary degree of pleasantry; he quibbled with Fabre d'Eglantine, the poet, on the word *VERS*, which signifies worms as well as verses. "*Nous allons tons être poètes. car nous ferons de VERS,*" was his pun. He conversed

versed cheerfully as he sat in the cart with his fellow-sufferers, and answered the insults of the mob by looks of sovereign contempt and indignation. His boldness in meeting death procured respect, and even sympathy, which his general character would not have excited, and which was assiduously kept alive by his friends. Camille-Desmoulins suffered with equal firmness; and his young, beautiful, and innocent widow, was shortly afterwards sent to the scaffold, as a pretended accomplice in a conspiracy with general Dillon, in which Gobet, the apostate bishop of Paris, was also included.

When these leading members of the revolution were thus disposed of, and with a view to conciliate the regard of the more moderate and sensible part of mankind, Robespierre bent his thoughts to the recovery of France from the odious state of avowed atheism into which she had been plunged by the Cordeliers, making his proceedings towards that end equally conducive to his popularity and revenge. He yielded to the popular fury so long as the disqualification of priests promised a saving to the state, or the plunder of shrines gratified the national avarice by new acquisitions of gold and silver; but when oppression was no longer profitable, and profaneness so flagrant as to grow disgusting, he checked their career, and in the jacobin club, over which he had long ruled, he declared that "those who wished to prevent the ceremony of the mass were greater fanatics than those who performed it; and that, under pretence of destroying religion, a faction was endeavouring to make a religion of atheism itself."

After overthrowing the faction he had thus for a time sustained, Robespierre began in apparent earnestness to execute his plan of restoring religious freedom, by delivering in the convention a long report, in which he ascribed many of the plots against the republic to atheists; and procured a decree, which, in comparison to the late proceedings, might be deemed

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favourable to religion, though, viewed separately, it would appear more calculated to found a new species of idolatry. It formally acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and that the best worship consisted in practising the duties of man, and provided for the freedom of religious worship: but it also decreed, that, on each decade, festivals should be celebrated; the first to the Supreme Being; others to the human race, or particular classes, as the French nation, and the martyrs of liberty; sometimes virtues were to be idolized, as Modesty and Integrity; and many such nonsensical trash. So grateful, however, was the acknowledgement of a Deity and the immortality of the soul, in contradiction to the opposite doctrines which had been advanced, that Robespierre's report was ordered to be translated into all languages, and printed and distributed throughout the various kingdoms of the world.

But previous to the day appointed for the festival in honour of the Supreme Being, which was the 8th of June, Robespierre got himself elected president of the convention; a nomination which was opposed by only three or four voices. Robespierre harangued the people in the gardens of the Thuilleries, and then proceeded to the Champ de Mars, where, among other devices, an artificial mountain was erected, to the top of which he climbed, while the rest of the convention gained inferior heights; here he made another harangue to the people, and the day terminated with hymns and choruses to the honour of the Supreme Being. In all parts of the republic the authority of Robespierre was now acknowledged; the committee of public safety was devoted to his orders; the convention in general moved only by the dictates of his will; his name gave authority and sanction to every act of government; and to him were more abject compliments, and a greater profusion of homage paid, than to all the crowned heads of Europe. He was

was styled "the glorious incorruptible Robespierre, who covers the republic with his virtues and talents as with a shield!"

To strengthen this pre-eminence, and completely overthrow all who could hope to rival him in the public favour, nothing appeared to be wanting but a relaxation of the system of terror, and a return to the long-neglected forms of justice and humanity; hopes were entertained that such a reform was intended. When the celebration of the grand festival was marked as a day of mercy, the sittings of the revolutionary tribunal were suspended, the operations of the guillotine stopped, and all arrests forbidden. The next day but one, however, crushed all these hopes; when Couthon, in the name of the committee of public safety, obtained a decree extending beyond conception the description of counter-revolutionary crimes, abrogating the necessity of proofs, depriving the prisoners of official defenders, and augmenting the number of judges and jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal. This decree did not pass, as all others had for a long period, without debate or animadversion. When it was read, Ruamps exclaimed, "If this passes into a law, nothing remains for the deputies but to blow out their brains." Lecontre of Versailles, Bourdon de l'Oise, and a few others, claimed an adjournment of two days; but they were over-ruled by the art of Barrere and the violence of Robespierre, the latter of whom insisted that he had defended the adherents of the Brissotine party from the daggers of those who now affected to oppose a decree not more extensive than many others which they had sanctioned without hesitation. Notwithstanding their defeat, the new opposition party returned to the attack the next day; and Bourdon, Merlin of Douay, Charles de Lacroix, Tallien, and some others, objected to one of the offences in the decree, by the title of "depraving the public morals." They were again violently assailed by Robespierre: Bourdon de l'Oise, who led the opposition, was driven to shifts and explanations; Tal-
lien

lien was publicly reproached with being the patron of criminals; and Lacroix was driven to the necessity of withdrawing his motion for an explanation of the moralizing words in the decree.

Robespierre's victory over this infant opposition might, if he had conducted it with prudence, have rendered his supremacy completely unassailable. Had he caused them to be instantly arrested, no portion of the public would have been interested in their fate; but his first aim was to let all his associates imbrue their hands in blood and crimes, so as to render themselves odious to mankind; then suddenly appearing himself as the only advocate of humanity, to have united round him all the friends of the Gironde, all the supporters of the Christian faith, and the great mass of people whom oppression had wearied and disgusted. By such measures his intention to establish himself as supreme dictator could hardly have failed of success.

But for the execution of this project he wanted vigour. As a preparatory step, he withdrew himself from the deliberations of the committee of public safety for four decades, during which period the laws of blood and plunder were executed with redoubled fury. Impelled by Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, and St. Just, the guillotine worked with incessant energy, and the crowds in the prisons were still augmented: the labours of the revolutionary tribunal were reduced to the mere ceremony of reading lists of names, and deriding the prisoners; while crowds of women placed in the streets, and paid by government, pursued the victims to the scaffold with screams, reproaches, and insults.

During the time that Robespierre absented himself from the committee of public safety, it was supposed that he was arranging with his brother, Couthon, St. Just, and a few more confidants, his future measures, and marking for his last victims Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and a few members of the committee of public safety, with Tallien, Vadier, and some others of the most sanguinary individuals in the convention.

It

It is said that a list of these victims had been disclosed to the committee of public safety; but, without fixing extraordinary credit to this fact, it may be supposed that those against whom he had lately shewn a violent animosity, could not without alarm view his mysterious behaviour, and must conclude that it betokened some dreadful design. A party was therefore formed against him, who intended, if other means failed, to assassinate him in the convention. But Robespierre seemed now to have lost his vigour; for, while he saw on every side the friends of Danton, the individuals who were alarmed for themselves, and those who longed for change, as portending no possibility of greater evil, forming leagues against him; while anonymous letters threatened, and secret information pointed out, dangers; he was harassed by remorse and fear, and lost all presence of mind.

Robespierre's ingratitude was now, however, severely punished in the loss of three adherents whom he had sacrificed. The energy and resolution of Danton, the eloquence of Camille-Desmoulins, and the address of Fabre d'Eglantine, were ill supplied by the brutality of Henriot, and the vulgarity of Couthon and St. Just; or the assistance and services of Sieyes, by La Clos. Yet the habitual deference paid to the dictator, the strength of his party united by fear, and the disunion of his opponents occasioned by terror, rendered the event of a contest extremely precarious. He possessed an unlimited influence over the national guard; and the camps in the vicinity of Paris were devoted to him. The party in opposition did not know their own strength; for many who inwardly hated the tyrant, and saw in his destruction their only hope of safety, externally paid him the most servile homage, and, as well in his absence as in his presence, made his praises their favourite topic.

At length, on July 26, 1794, he threw down the gauntlet; and appearing in the tribune of the convention after a long secession, in a prolix but ill-connected speech, he complained of the treatment he received

received from intriguers and calumniators both abroad and at home. His eye penetrated so strongly some of the members of the convention, that several rose to exculpate themselves. Lecoindre de Versailles moved that his speech should be printed; but Bourdon de l'Oise required a previous reference to the committees, against the members of which many of its charges were directed. Cambon and Vadier complained of its insinuations against themselves, and accused Robespierre of intending to destroy the patriots, and of paralyzing the whole convention. A tumultuous debate occurred on this occasion; but, in the end, the matter took a favourable turn for the usurper, and the printing of his speech was ordered unconditionally, but its transmission to the communes was not decreed.

From the convention Robespierre hastened to read his speech at the Jacobin club, where it excited a general enthusiasm in his favour. Couthon denounced the two committees as traitors; Coffinhal, a judge of the revolutionary tribunal, proposed the purification of the convention, which was well understood to import the destruction of all the members, except those devoted to his patron; and David, embracing Robespierre, promised if he drank hemlock to share the potion.

But the near approach of danger did not yet arouse the opponents of Robespierre to decisive conduct. The convention met the next day, and business was proceeding in its usual channel, till St. Just, instigated by his evil genius, and inflamed by some reproaches directed against him by Collot d'Herbois, ascended the tribune, and, after stating that the committees of government had directed him to make a report on the state of the country, asserted, that their remedies were insufficient for the existing grievances, and he would speak to the convention from himself. This exordium was considered as the presage of destruction: Tallien, gaining courage from the emergency, pushed the reporter violently from the tribune, complained

complained of the audacity of individuals in attacking the government, and demanded that the veil should be instantly withdrawn. He was presently interrupted by Billaud de Varennes, who, from his seat, demanded an unequivocal explanation. He stated, that the convention hung upon two precipices; the public force was in the hands of a man denounced by the committee, but who was retained in his post by an individual: that individual had plotted, for more than a month, the destruction of the convention; and that individual was Robespierre. He deprecated his tyranny, and would put the question, whether any individual would wish to live under it?

Robespierre, at first thunderstruck, endeavoured to exculpate himself; but was prevented by the fiery menaces of Tallien, who, drawing a dagger, and brandishing it in the eyes of his colleagues, said he would instantly destroy him, unless the convention delivered him up to the sword of justice. After the first emotions of this violent eclaireissement had subsided, Tallien moved that the sitting should be declared permanent. His efforts were seconded by Delmas and Barrere, by Billaud de Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, who was president.

A decree was now obtained for arresting Henriot, d'Aubigni, Lavalette, Dufraisse, all the staff of the national guard, and a man named Sijas; but they had not courage to seize the tyrant himself. While the president was arranging these decrees, Robespierre got possession of the tribune; but the convention would not permit him to utter a word; "Down with him!" resounded from every quarter. As he persevered in his efforts to obtain a hearing, a member said to him, "Robespierre, you shall not speak; the blood of Danton is upon your head; it flows into your throat; it chokes you!" "Ah, ah!—(exclaimed he, gnashing his teeth, and foaming with rage,)—ah, ah! villains! it is Danton then!"—He was heard no more. Vadier, interrupting him, made a speech to unfold his iniquities: this blow at once overpowered him; he cast

a look of piercing indignation towards the Mountain, sitting silently aloof, and reproached their defection; and he is even reported, in his extremity, to have turned to the other side to solicit their protection, but in vain.

Tallien and Billaud poured fresh accusations on his head, while fresh charges were brought against him by others with unceasing assiduity. The tyrant now perceived that he should be speedily swept away by the besom of destruction. "Well! (he exclaimed, in a tone of desperation,) lead me, then, to instant death." "Execrable monster!" retorted Dumont, "thou hast deserved it in an hundred forms!" The decree for his accusation was immediately put, and carried unanimously; and Couthon and St. Just were added. The younger Robespierre and Lebas, insulting the convention, and threatening some of the members, were also included in the decree of accusation. The officer who was ordered to take them into custody, impressed with the habitual fear excited by the presence of Robespierre, hesitated to obey the commands of the president, and would not receive the prisoners till their chief made a sign expressive of his obedience to the law, when they were all led out.

The rumour, however, of what was passing in the convention immediately spread all over Paris; and Robespierre's partizans lost no time in endeavouring to repel the rising storm. The Jacobins assembled in their hall, and sent to put the sections of Paris in a state of insurrection. The tocsin was sounded, the Grève covered with armed men, and several pieces of artillery were planted on the Quai Pelletier, which threatened the hall of the convention; the barriers were shut, and Henriot, who had been arrested and had escaped, was indefatigable in collecting an armed force to resist the execution of the decree.

The keepers of the various prisons, participating in the general dread excited by the name of Robespierre, had refused to seize him and the other deputies, who were now speedily rescued from their guard; and
having

having opened a sitting at the Hotel de Ville, proceeded to outlaw the national convention. After spending much time in debate, they at length sent an armed force, with Henriot at their head, to dissolve the convention. But that body, convinced that they were struggling for their lives, had concerted measures for their safety. Legendre had dispersed the Jacobin club; seven deputies were sent into various parts of the city with a proclamation explaining the true state of things; a decree of outlawry was passed against the commune; and when Henriot made his appearance in the court-yard of the Thuilleries, they put him also "out of the law." The effect operated like electricity: his soldiers, panic struck, refused to obey him; the people demanded his arrestation; and he, confused and abashed, hastened to the Hotel de Ville, to inform his colleagues of his ill success. The convention, seeing the operation of things in their favour, proclaimed sentence of outlawry against Robespierre and all his associates, and set a price on their heads.

The seven deputies* soon succeeded in raising a party of the armed inhabitants of Paris in their favour; and with these, reinforced by some soldiers who remained faithful to the national representation, they found themselves able, between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 28th of July, to march against the commune; having first persuaded the cannoneers at the Quai Pelletier to resist the commands of Henriot, and to join them. The Hotel de Ville might have made a powerful resistance, and perhaps have turned the tide of success; but the soldiers of the national guard, hearing that the commune and the deputies there assembled were outlawed, refused obedience; the cannoneers were differently disposed; but the mob had obtained possession of the gun-carriages, and

* These were Bourdon de l'Oise, Freron, Beaupré, Lesnard Bourdon, Ferrand, and Rovere; with Barras, as provisional commander-in-chief.

were using them as ladders to enable them to look into the windows of the Hotel de Ville, to see how the conspirators behaved in this emergency. Bourdon de l'Oise, having appeared at the Place de Grève, and read the proclamation of the convention, then rushed into the hall of the Hotel de Ville, armed with a sabre and pistols, and was followed by a considerable force. The insurgents were completely deserted, and now endeavoured to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre the elder discharged a pistol in his mouth, which, however, failed of its effect, and only wounded him in the jaw, while he received another wound from a *gens d'armes* in the side. The younger Robespierre threw himself out of a window, and broke a leg and an arm. St. Just, too pusillanimous to effect his own destruction, besought Lebas to shoot him: "Coward, (answered Lebas,) I have something else to do;" and immediately blew out his own brains. Couthon stabbed himself twice with a knife. It was in vain that Henriot, from one of the windows of the hotel, harangued the soldiers, and endeavoured to recal them to the assistance of his associates; for Coffinhal, a member of the municipality, who had been seduced into the insurrection by the persuasion of Henriot, at the desire of some of the persons below, threw the miscreant out of the window, and he was mortally wounded. Coffinhal himself escaped, but was afterwards betrayed by an intimate friend, and delivered up to judgement. The remaining adherents of Robespierre were taken without difficulty.

Maximilien Robespierre was taken before the committee of general security in an arm-chair; and a message was sent to the convention, to know if he should be brought to the bar; but the members unanimously exclaimed, that they would no more suffer their hall to be polluted by the presence of such a monster. He lay for some hours in an anti-chamber of the committee of general security, stretched on a table, motionless,

tionless, apparently insensible of corporal anguish, though the blood flowed from his eyes, mouth, and nostrils; but torn with racking reflections, and abandoned to remorse and despair, he appeared wholly overwhelmed with convulsive agony. After enduring, in this situation, the taunts of all who approached him, he was replaced in the arm-chair, and carried to the Hotel Dieu, where his wounds were dressed, which only prolonged the pains of existence; and from thence he was conveyed to the prison of the Conciergerie. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal the same day, together with his accomplices; and, as they were all out of the law, the identification of their persons alone was necessary, and sentence of death was demanded against them by their former passive creatures, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, (the 28th,) they were conveyed from the palace of justice to the place of execution, amidst the acclamations of numerous spectators, who considered the procession before them as the earnest of future peace and security. During this fatal progress, Robespierre, pale and disfigured, held down his head, and never looked up, except once, when a woman, decently dressed, approached the cart, and uttered those deep-drawn maledictions, which put it beyond conjecture that she was a mother whom his cruelty had deprived of a son, or a widow from whom he had dragged and murdered a husband. At hearing her horrible denunciations, Robespierre lifted his eyes languidly towards her, and shrugging up his shoulders fetched a bitter sigh. He suffered the last but one: when he was about to be tied down, the executioner snatched the dressing from his broken jaw, which immediately fell, and a profusion of blood gushed out; the chasm occasioned by the width of his mouth, owing to this accident, rendered his head, when severed from his body, and held up to public view, a most terrible

terrible and disgusting spectacle*. On the ensuing day, July 29, the triumph of the convention was completed by the execution *en masse* of the sixty-two members of the commune, who had also been decreed out of the law.

Thus, in a moment, when least expected, perished Maximilien Robespierre, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. His life had been long a series of perpetual provocations to an incensed Deity; and the circumstances of his death afford a most ample vindication of eternal justice. He was cut off in the prime of life, and at the height of unequalled exaltation, meditating new crimes, and unrepentant of those already committed. Thus he who had shed blood with unexampled profusion, now went to the scaffold of his own erecting, overwhelmed with insult, scorn, reproach, and contempt. As his whole life had been a scene of the most atrocious perfidy and cruelty; so the manner of his death was the fulfilment of a just retribution, in which an awful example was made to mankind, and an useful lesson to all those who had so often with him imbrued their hands in innocent blood.

The partizans of the late system of terror, deprived of their principal leader, were soon taught to tremble

* The persons who suffered on this occasion with Maximilien Robespierre were, George Couthon, aged thirty-eight years, born at Orsai; A. St. Just, twenty-six years, born at Lisere; A. Robespierre the younger; F. Henriot, thirty-three years, commander general of the armed force of Paris; L. Lavalette, forty years, born at Paris, ex-noble; R. Dumas, thirty-seven years, born at Lussu, president of the revolutionary tribunal; J. R. Lescot Fleuriot, thirty-nine years, mayor of Paris; N. Vivier, fifty years, late judge of the criminal tribunal of the department, president of the Jacobins in the night between the 9th and 10th Thermidor, (27th and 28th July;) C. Bernard, thirty-four years, ex-priest; Geucy, thirty-three years; Cooper Gobeau, twenty-six years, substitute of the criminal tribunal; A. Simon, fifty-eight years, shoemaker; C. Laurent, thirty-three years; Wamee, twenty-nine years; J. Forestier, forty-seven years; P. Guerin, receiver of rents; Lezard, hair-dresser; Loche Fer, upholsterer; Bougon and Quenet. The twelve last were members of the commune of Paris.

for their safety by the fate of Carriere, the deputy who had deluged La Vendée, and the neighbouring departments with blood, after the insurrection in those parts had been suppressed. Among the captives set at liberty after the death of Robespierre, were ninety-four inhabitants of Nantes, who had been forwarded to Fouquier Tinville by Carriere, charged with favouring the progress of federalism, and who were intended for speedy execution. When these persons had obtained their freedom, they were encouraged by the opposite party to inform against their persecutors, and for the space of three months new facts of increasing horror and atrocity continued to be disclosed. So that whichever faction obtained the ascendancy, terror seemed to be the order of the day.

The convention, on the 29th of October, decreed that Carriere and his accomplices should be brought to trial; and, contrary to their practice in the case of Robespierre and his adherents, allowed them every means of defence provided by law for deputies in a state of accusation. The accomplices of Carriere were first impeached; but the general indignation pointed out the futility of wreaking vengeance on these subordinate agents, while the principal was left in triumphant impunity: the question was referred to a committee of twenty-one members of the convention; and, in pursuance of their report, Carriere stood to be tried at the bar of the revolutionary tribunal. The horrible facts disclosed against him, produced in the bosom of the audience every extreme of passion and sensation which such narratives are calculated to excite; but astonishment was less fixed on the atrocity of the crimes attributed to him, than on the bold and intrepid manner with which he defended, and even gloried in them. "I have extinguished, said he, the torches of fanaticism, which were spreading conflagration through several departments: but six months ago my brows were bound with well-earned laurels; now accusations are thundered against me! The convention, at that time, approved my conduct, which,

which had no motive but the welfare of my country. And those who accuse me, what would they have done in my place? Was it in the power of man—was it even in the power of the convention, to prevent the excesses which were committed at Lyons and at Toulon, in Aveyron and La Lozere, shaken as they were by the fury of political tempest? Yet I have terminated a terrible civil war, which with gigantic feet threatened to trample down the whole republic. I had sworn, with my hand spread on the altar, to save my country; and I have kept my oath. I have preserved Nantes to the republic: I calmly faced the furnace of Scævola, the hemlock of Socrates, the death of Cicero, the sword of Cato, the scaffold of Sydney; I will endure their pains, if the good of the people requires it: I have lived only for my country, and for her I am ready to die." These assertions, though absolutely true, could not, however, counteravail the mass of evidence which was adduced; and Carriere, with Pinard and Grand Maison, two of his principal satellites, was sent to the scaffold on the 26th of November; the others were acquitted. Carriere maintained his confidence in affirming to the last his innocence, and even his merit. When going to the place of execution, he exclaimed, "I die a guiltless victim; I have done nothing but execute the orders of the committees of government; my last prayers are for the republic, and the welfare of my fellow-citizens."

Carriere was a strong republican, and does not appear to have been guilty of the crimes mentioned in the charges brought against him, any other than as the servant of government. He was sent out to La Vendée with full powers to crush the rebellion, which he performed to the satisfaction of the convention. Had he done otherwise he would have been executed for a traitor. They had now done with him. For that which he did he had the sanction of the decrees of the convention; and the boldness with which he defended himself, though it fully convinced the revolutionary

tionary tribunal, yet it was not calculated to operate in his favour*.

The seventy-three members who were imprisoned for subscribing the protest against the transactions of the 31st of May, 1794, still remained in confinement, and their friends had no appeal in their favour but through the medium of the press, because the ruling party continued to speak of the event which caused their ruin as one of the glorious days of the revolution. Penierès had already moved that those under arrest should be enlarged; but, after an animated discussion, he could only obtain an order for referring their case to the committees. The alarm excited by the Jacobins had probably some effect in the decision, though it was not immediately satisfactory to their hopes: they were restored to liberty on the 2nd of December, 1794, but their right of voting was suspended; in a few days, however, they were reinstated in their seats, and soon afterwards were permitted to resume all their legislative functions, as it was thought their influence would counteract the

* Carrière was a person of a whimsical sort of gaiety, which manifested itself upon a variety of occasions. When, upon the change of parties, he was put upon his trial, he considered himself as a worthy man and a good patriot who was about to be sacrificed to what was then called the Thermidorean re-action. "When the wind shifts," said he to his advocate, "the tiles may fall upon your head." Being asked by the latter, how he could have the heart to drown children only five or six years old? he said, "Their fathers, their mothers, their tutors and teachers, were all royalists: while destroying the old wolves, how could I let the young wolves escape." Nothing could be more astonishing than his tranquillity and *sang froid* on hearing that he was condemned to die. On the very day of his execution, he gave an early breakfast to several of his friends; eating little himself, drinking only one glass of wine, and passing the whole time in giving a description of his journey from the prison to the scaffold, and of the manner in which he should be received by the spectators. "Some," said he, "will cry out, There goes the villain who put so many innocent people to death in La Vendée! what an ugly wretch he is! but others will reply, It was not he who did all the mischief." He was executed at Paris, on the 17th of December, 1794.

furious Jacobins, and insure peace to the legislature. They were, however, no sooner re-admitted than they required a repeal of the decree of outlawry against the fugitive Brissotines, and appealed to the public against the celebrated revolution of the 31st of May, 1793.

In the interim, the partizans of Collot d'Herbois and the Mountain were labouring to avert that investigation of which they had every reason to dread the result. The Jacobins, though excluded from their hall, held secret councils, endeavoured to agitate the public mind, and distributed incendiary writings among the poor, attempting to persuade them that the dreadful famine which still prevailed in Paris proceeded from a conspiracy of the aristocrats, for the purpose of compelling them to consent to the re-establishment of royalty. The Jacobins were, however, opposed by men who knew their principles, and dreaded not to arraign their crimes. The conduct of Billaud de Varrenes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier, was submitted to the immediate examination of a committee of twenty-one members.

It may not be improper to mention, by way of exposing the villanies practised by the Roman catholic priests, that, on the 4th of December, 1798, a relic, said by the priests to contain some of the blood of Jesus Christ, and to have the power of curing lameness, deafness, blindness, and barrenness in women, was deposited by the national deputy Couthon on the table of the convention. Upon being analyzed, it was found that the blood was nothing but ferebintheri gum diluted with spirits of wine! So much for sacerdotal charlatanism!

On the 1st of March, 1794, the convention received a well-attested detail of the crimes which these persons were said to have committed. No one raised his voice in favour of the accused parties, and their arrest was decreed by an immense majority. The trial of these four accused persons was ordered on the 22d of March; but, previous to that period, Vadier had made his escape. The others rested their defence upon this
2 ground,

ground, that although members of the committee of safety, they had no power to resist Robespierre; and that they were not more culpable in having acquiesced in his tyranny than the other members of the convention, who had all been overpowered by the knowledge that instant destruction awaited every man who should dare to oppose his measures. Even in the case of the cruelties committed by Collot d'Herbois at Lyons, as well as in the other parts of it, this defence was by no means destitute of foundation. It had much weight also with the nation at large; in whose eyes it tended not only to exculpate the three persons now accused, but to criminate and degrade the character of the whole convention.

Several leading members of the Jacobin party, (particularly Carnot, Lindet, Cambon, and others,) defended the accused persons with great vehemence; and, on the morning of the 1st of April, they proceeded to an open insurrection. An immense multitude having assembled in the suburbs, proceeded to the hall of the convention. A real or fictitious scarcity existed at the time. Taking advantage of this circumstance, they pretended they were going to petition for bread; and this pretence drew numbers along with them who had no share in their designs. Boissay d'Anglas, a conspicuous member of the moderate party, was addressing the convention upon the means of removing the scarcity when the insurgents arrived, drove the centinels from their posts, and suddenly filled the hall. They tumultuously demanded "bread and the constitution." The Jacobin party supported the insurgents; and one of the multitude, in a vehement harangue, exclaimed, "We are men of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, and of the 31st of May." He demanded that the convention should change its measures, that the people should no longer be the victims of mercantile rapacity, and that the accused patriots should not be sacrificed to the passions of their antagonists. The convention ordered the tocsin to be rung, and the people of Paris to be
 2 D 2 called

called to arms. Pichegru was in Paris at the time; and, upon the motion of Barras, he was appointed to the command of the military.

The Parisians, who remembered with horror the domination of Robespierre, and now saw themselves menaced by his adherents, instantly assembled for the protection of the convention, to the amount of twenty thousand men. Till that time the assembly had remained under no small embarrassment, surrounded by the insurgents, and insulted by the speeches of the Jacobin party. The convention was now, however, rescued from this state of constraint; and, on the motion of Dumont, it was decreed that Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, should be transported to Guiana, in America.

The following day the convention decreed the arrest and confinement, in the castle of Ham in Picardy, of several others of the most odious of the Jacobins. Among these were Leonard Bourdon, Duhem, Charles, Choudieu, Ruamps, Foussedoire, Huguet, Bayle, Lecointre, Cambon, Thuriot Maignet, Heutz, Crassous, and Levasseur*.

This victory was followed up by the convention with the popular measure of preparing for its own dissolution, by endeavouring to frame a fixed constitution for the republic. The constitution which had been decreed in 1793 under Robespierre was considered as impracticable, and a committee was appointed to report upon the measures which ought to be adopted. This committee consisted of Sieyes, Cambaceres, Merlin of Douay, Thibaudeau, Mathieu, Le Sage of Eure and Loire, and Latouche. On the 19th of

* By departing from the punishment of death, and adopting that of banishment, the convention expected to diminish the ferocity of the contending factions in the state, by rendering the result of a political defeat less fatal than before. The design was good; but, in attempting to accomplish it, they established the pernicious precedent of inflicting punishment without a trial, which could scarcely fail to prove highly dangerous, if not ultimately fatal, to all their prospects of a free and equitable government. This is called by the French writers the *insurrection du douze Germinal*.

April,

April, Cambaceres reported, that it was the opinion of this committee that a commission should be appointed to frame an entirely new constitution. The convention accordingly appointed the following persons to this important office: Le Sage, Louvet, Boissy d'Anglas, Creuze, Latouche, Berthier, Daunow, Baudin, Durand, Maillane, Languinais, La Reveilleire-Lepaux, and Thibaudeau. All other citizens of every description were at the same time invited to communicate projects upon the subject, and the committee was required to select the best of them to be printed.

Fouquier Tinville, the president, and the principal judges and jurors of the late revolutionary tribunal, were next brought to trial. They were accused of barbarous perversions of justice; contempt of form, of feeling, and of manifest innocence; inhuman pleasantries, and immodest ribaldry. The whole population of Paris were at once the accusers, witnesses, judges, and jury, in this remarkable prosecution. Fouquier maintained an undaunted countenance, and his colleagues in guilt were not behind him in audacity; they cross-examined the witnesses, and made a defence replete with ingenuity. Fouquier, whose conduct attracted the greatest attention, was observed, during the time the accusation was read, and the public accuser was reciting facts in support of it, to appear as if writing; but his eyes wandered incessantly in piercing inspection of the president and the whole court, the witnesses, and even the audience. His defence formed an astonishing production of impudence and dexterity. The number put on trial exceeded thirty. The individuals condemned were Fouquier Tinville, public accuser under the revolutionary tribunal; Scellier, the president; Foucault and Garnier-Delaunay, judges; Leroi, called *Dix Aout*; Renaudin, Vilatte, Prieur, Châtelet, Girard, and Boyenval, jurymen of that court; Benoist, agent of the executive power; Lasne, assistant commissioner in the civil administration of the tribunals; Verney, keeper of the prison of the Luxembourg; Dupommier, administrator of police; and Hermann,

Hermann, president of the revolutionary tribunal. The trial lasted twenty-four hours; and they were all executed the next morning, May 7, 1794.

The Jacobins, however, by no means considered themselves as subdued; on the contrary, they meditated a new insurrection, and fixed upon the 20th of May as the day of revolt. Thuriot, and Robespierre's financier Cambon, had found means to escape from the castle of Ham, in Picardy, and were come to Paris. They concealed themselves in the suburb St. Antoine, and there urged the flame of discord. The price of bread had increased, and advantage was taken of this circumstance. On the evening of the 19th, a paper was distributed accusing the convention of withholding bread: it declared insurrection to be the duty of the people; and called upon the citizens of Paris to proceed in a mass to the convention, to demand bread and the establishment of Robespierre's constitution, with a new election of national representatives.

On the 20th, the tocsin was rung, and drums beat to arms in the suburbs of St. Antoine, which had always been the quarter of the city in which the Jacobins possessed the greatest strength. Upon this alarm the convention assembled; general Hoche was appointed to command the armed force, and the citizens assembled in the defence of the convention. In the mean time the multitude surrounded the hall, and by their superior numbers they soon overpowered the guards, and burst into the midst of the assembly. After some fruitless efforts to restore tranquillity, Vernier, the president, resigned the chair to Boissy d'Anglas, who remained in it with much firmness during the day. The whole strength of the insurgents now entered the hall with cockades, on which was written, "Bread, and the constitution of 1793." A citizen of the party of the convention rashly tore off the hat of one of the insurgents, and was immediately assaulted with swords by the multitude; he fled towards the president's chair, and was killed at the side of it by a musket shot. Ferand, one of the members, having at-

attempted to rescue him, was also attacked; he escaped into one of the passages, where he was also killed, and his head was brought into the convention upon a pike. The members now gradually departed, and left the hall in possession of the insurgents, who proposed a variety of laws favourable to the Jacobins, which were instantly decreed. Duroc, Duquesnoi, Bourbotte, and Goujon, were the members who stood forward on this occasion, and appeared as chiefs of the insurrection. But their triumph was rash and transitory. In the evening a large body of citizens joined the military, and restored the powers of the convention. The Jacobins did not yet give up their cause.

On the following day they again assembled in the suburbs, and marched with some pieces of cannon, which they pointed against the hall of the convention. The assembly, alarmed and unprotected, attempted not to subdue, but to flatter, the insurgents. A deputation of the members was sent out to fraternise with them, and to carry forth two decrees passed at that instant, which ordained that bread should abound, and that Robespierre's constitution of 1793 should immediately be put in force. The insurgents, in return, sent a deputation to the convention, to express their satisfaction with the decrees, and to demand the release of the imprisoned patriots. They then, on the 22d, convened a large meeting of the Jacobins in the suburb St. Antoine, who were occupied in consultations for new movements. But on the following day the citizens assembled at their sections, and hastened from thence to the Thuilleries, to defend the legal assembly.

In the mean time, considerable hodies of the military were collected, and the assembly now resolved to act with vigour. A decree was passed, declaring, that if the suburb St. Antoine did not instantly surrender its arms and cannon, together with the murderer of Ferand, it should be considered as in a state of rebellion. The insurgents, invested on every side, were compelled to surrender. Several soldiers found
among

Among the prisoners were instantly put to death; and six members of the convention were tried and condemned by a military commission. Three of these perished by suicide, and three were executed. The convention, elated by this victory, ordered back Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrere, to take their trial; but the two former had escaped before the arrival of the courier. Barrere only remained, and he was brought back and imprisoned. This is called by the French writers, *Insurrection des premiers jours du Prairial*.

Robespierre and the Mountain party being now fallen, it might have been expected that the rigour with which the innocent and unsuspecting dauphin had been treated would have been softened: but virtue and humanity had yet no share in the councils of the republic. Four months after the destruction of Robespierre, Lequinio pronounced that France would never be at peace while the offspring of Capet remained among them; and moved that the committee of government should devise means of sending the son of Louis out of the French dominions. This was decreed; but no subsequent measures were publicly adopted. At length death delivered the legislators from their embarrassment, and their victim from his woes. As suspicions were entertained that his fate had been accelerated by poison, three surgeons (Dussault, Doublet, and Choppart,) were commissioned to examine his body; and they made a report, that he died of a scrofulous complaint; which entirely exculpated the rulers from the base imputation. The dauphin died on the 9th of June, 1795.

While the struggles of these contending factions thus operated in the capital, the progress of the French arms was attended with the most brilliant success. General Hoche was now released from prison, and placed instead of Rossignol at the head of the army in La Vendée. He soon restored discipline to his forces; and by his conciliatory disposition, as well as by his exertions in the field, he promoted a treaty, which

which guaranteed to the Vendéans freedom of worship, an exemption from requisitions, and even from taxes, for a certain number of years, and held out to them illusory promises of repairing the devastations committed by the republican forces.

After the re-conquest of Toulon, the troops employed in that expedition directed their exertions against the Spaniards, whose progress in the Pyrenees gave so much alarm to the southern departments. General Dugommier commanded in the eastern division, and was opposed by the count de l'Union, with the flower of the Spanish force. The superior genius of the French, however, soon gave a decided superiority to the republican cause. Bagnols was taken from the Spaniards by a feint. The French general employed great labour and expence in forming a road to the right of their army; but when he had drawn the attention of his adversaries to that quarter, and they had weakened their other points to provide for its defence, he suddenly fell upon their centre, broke their line, and put the whole army to flight. This brilliant engagement, which took place on the 1st of May, 1794, received its name from the town of Ceret, near which it took place. The republicans gained from the Spaniards all their magazines, tents, camp equipage, two hundred pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners.

The success of the French opened a way for the re-conquest of Collioure, Port Vendre, and St. Elmo; but for these operations a flotilla was judged necessary, and while waiting for its equipment, general Augereau, by order of Dugommier, drove the Spaniards from Arles, Prats de Molo, and St. Laurent de la Cerda. When the flotilla arrived, the siege of Bellegarde was undertaken at the same time with those of Collioure and Port Vendre. Augereau obtained possession of the foundry of St. Laurent de la Monga, the only one in Catalonia, and acquired great quantities of bombs and balls; and the sieges being pressed with additional vigour, the Spaniards began seriously to prepare for a retreat. They had sent off their most

valuable effects by sea, before the arrival of the French flotilla; and, in the night of the 25th of May, evacuated the forts of St. Elmo, with the redoubts and posts adjacent to Collioure and Port Vendre. The garrisons laid down their arms, accepting an humiliating capitulation, by which they were made to acknowledge the emigrants traitors to their country, and that the forts on the French territory had been gained only by treachery. The southern departments of France felt unbounded joy at this auspicious event; and the convention decreed the erection of a column on the spot, with this inscription: "*Here seven thousand Spaniards laid down their arms before the troops of the republic.*"

The Spaniards, however, persevered in maintaining Bellegarde; and having a powerful force to relieve this town, a sanguinary engagement took place on the 13th of August, 1794, in which they were defeated with the loss of two thousand five hundred killed, besides a great number of wounded and prisoners. But the garrison held out a month longer, because the French general, Dugommier, cautiously avoided every measure which could damage this important frontier town. His prudence was rewarded with complete success. After a short correspondence, the Spanish commander surrendered at discretion; the garrison, in number a thousand, were made prisoners of war, and the fortifications were in the highest state of improvement.

After this success, Dugommier commenced an invasion of the Spanish territory, but found himself opposed with more than usual obstinacy. He strove to quell this fury of resistance by means of terror; burning the town of Castella, granting quarter to none, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, October 23. But he did not long survive this act of severity; his camp was attacked in the night of the 18th of November, and, while rallying his troops, he received his death from a shell which fell perpendicularly on his head. General Perignon, his successor, immediately

tacked the Spaniards, who were said to be between forty and fifty thousand in number, on strongly fortified mountains, in the neighbourhood of Figuiere, defeated them after an obstinate engagement, took their artillery, forced an entrenched camp to which they had retreated, and compelled them to fly six or seven leagues from the field of battle. The fort of Figuiere was then invested, and, though garrisoned with ten thousand men, and abundantly victualled, held out only two days, the garrison yielding themselves prisoners of war. After these successes, the French proceeded to the siege of Rosas, which was formed amidst many difficulties; but they soon made a practicable breach in the walls. The garrison, fearing the town would be taken by assault, evacuated it in the night, and embarked on board vessels in the bay, leaving only five hundred men, who opened the gates as soon as their comrades were out of danger. The French now extended their requisitions throughout Catalonia, threatening Gironne, on the river Terisse, and Tortosa on the Ebro.

In the Western Pyrenees the war was conducted, during the same period, with no less success. The mildness of the winter favoured the enterprising genius of the French, and they laboured with the greatest earnestness to strengthen their positions on the side of St. Jean de Luz, which they greatly extended, and in proportion straitened those of the Spaniards. At length a general assault was made by thirteen thousand Spanish infantry, seven hundred cavalry, and a numerous artillery, on the whole line from Calvaire to the Bidassoa, as well as on the Croix des Bouquets. The French, though at first thrown into confusion, rallied, and contested the day with great gallantry. Some fault in generalship, and a want of vigour in some points of attack, were prejudicial to the assailants; and, after an arduous conflict of seven hours, the French retained all their posts, though the Spaniards retreated in good order. The French brigadier l'Espinasse particularly distinguished himself in this en-

gagement; and the convention elevated him to the rank of brigadier-general, in reward of his valour.

Early in the summer, the general success which crowned the French arms animated the soldiers on the Western Pyrenees to attempt various exploits, without waiting for fifteen battalions promised from La Vendée. They pressed their commander, general Muller, to lead them into the territory of Spain. Urged by their valour, the general divided his force into three portions, to penetrate by different routes to invest Pampeluna. Two thousand three hundred men, under general La Victoire, moved on the 2d of June towards Berdaritz; fifteen hundred troops directed their march across the mountains, through a narrow pass; while eight hundred threatened the Aldudes through the vale. The Biscayans, with La Victoire at their head, having reached the mountain of Ouriaca, pressed boldly forward; but their ardour was allayed by a violent discharge of musketry and grape-shot, which killed general Victoire. The French, however, descended impetuously from the mountain, and by a spirited exertion gained the redoubt. The Spaniards took shelter in the Casa Fuerte; but, finding the cannon of the redoubt turned against them, surrendered at discretion.

General Le franc led another column of two thousand men against the Straits of Ispeguy; and, though opposed by numerous difficulties, and two lines of redoubts, they carried their point, having wounded the Spanish general and killed a hundred men. A column of four thousand, under general Suzamicq, was employed in keeping the Spaniards in check on the side of Altobiscar; while general Castlevert, at the head of fifteen hundred men, penetrated without opposition through the Strait of Mayo. The Spaniards immediately abandoned their redoubt, while the French burnt the village of Aldudes, having thus gained the entrances of the valley of Bastan, which opened their way to Pampeluna.

Although

Although considerably dispirited, the Spaniards made a vigorous attack on the French on the 23d of June: eight thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry descending rapidly from Vera, made themselves masters of the rock of Urrugna; but the republicans speedily rallying, drove back the assailants, with the loss of five hundred killed and wounded.

The king of Spain, contrary to the opinion of his general, don Ventura Caro, placed his principal hopes on the defence of the valley of Bastan, and sought to animate his army by a proclamation, calling to mind the glorious achievements of their ancestors in defending that territory against Louis XIV. But Caro, distrusting the effect of this appeal, solicited his recall; and with him vanished all the spirit, enterprize, and resolution, which the Spaniards had hitherto displayed. General Urrutia, who commanded in the valley of Bastan, endeavoured to amuse the French by frequent movements and exhibitions of a pretended force; but they, despising finesse, made a spirited attack on the 10th of July, on the camp of the emigrants on the mountain of Arquinzu, killed a great number, wounded their leader the marquis de St. Simon, and took a number of prisoners, whom they executed as traitors.

The French, flushed with success, on the 26th of the same month, took possession of the fertile valley of Bastan, after a slight and ineffectual resistance on the part of the Spaniards. Such was the terror of the inhabitants, that the French found it almost deserted; they declared the property of the fugitives subject to the laws respecting the property of emigrants, and employed commissioners to get in the harvest for the benefit of the republic.

The day following, the centre of the French army, under general de la Borde, attacked the Spanish intrenchments extending from Biriata to Vera, which were strongly fortified and valiantly defended; but the republicans surmounted every obstacle, forced the intrenchments, and captured Vera and Lesaca on the other side of the Bidassoa. After this success, four bat-

battalions, on the 4th of August, took possession of the valley of Lerins, leading from Elizondo to St. Estevan, along the Bidassoa; while two other battalions gained the heights of Almandoz. The Spaniards left in St. Estevan only a few volunteers, who, on the approach of the French, blew up their magazine, and abandoned the place.

In the mean time, general Moncey having quitted Elizondo, joined de la Borde; and with their united force, amounting to twelve thousand men, marched to attack a Spanish camp on the mountain of Aya, which covered the rear of Irun. They reached their place of destination on the ensuing day, and, contrary to all expectation, the Spaniards precipitately retreated, without resistance. At the same time the French general Fregeville took a position deemed almost impregnable on the mountain of St. Michael; while Dessein, crossing the Bidassoa, the Spaniards fled in every direction, and the French became completely masters of the river. Irun fell into the power of the victors; and Garreau, with a few troops, seizing the favourable opportunity, summoned Fontarabia, which, being incapable of defence, surrendered with the castle of Figuières, which commands the harbour. In these enterprizes the republicans took two thousand prisoners, with a vast quantity of ammunition and stores.

The French general next attacked St. Sebastian, and employed Latour d'Auvergne to arrange the capitulation, which was signed on the 4th of August by the governor and alcades, to the great regret of the garrison, who complained of being betrayed. They were seventeen hundred in number, and made prisoners of war. All the shipping in the harbour was given up to the victors, who increased their booty by a general requisition, and by obliging the people to take assignats at par. The provincial assembly of Guipuscoa, sensible of the perilous situation of the territory, met at Guetaria, and offered a capitulation, by which their province should be considered as a free and neutral state,

state, and should not afford succour either to France or Spain. Pinet, the French deputy on mission, rejected this proposition with disdain, issued a decree for annulling the states, and the French troops took possession of Guetaria*. Général Muller, from some pique, now resigned his command, universally regretted, and was succeeded by general Moncey. The army was shortly afterwards reinforced by fifteen battalions, part of the corps which had fought under the unfortunate Custine.

The valley of Roncesvalles being occupied by twelve thousand Spaniards, general Moncey formed a plan for surrounding them, and pushing forward to make an impetuous attack on Pampeluna. His project appears to have been well conceived, but failed in its object from an unexpected resistance, and some mistakes by the commanders of different divisions. The Spaniards, though not surrounded, were defeated: their loss was estimated at fifteen hundred killed and prisoners; that of the French at no more than five hundred. The frontiers of Euguy and Orbaicet were destroyed, and the victors gained fifty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions and forage. This was on the 16th of October.

After this rencontre, the French remained some time inactive; but at length prepared to attack Pampeluna, though they were not sufficiently provided with requisites for a siege. As a preparatory measure, general Marbot assailed the Spaniards at all points, on the 24th of November; but met with an unexpected resistance, which augured a defeat. Night closed the engagement, and the Spaniards renewed the contest the next day under the most favourable auspices. But a battalion of Biscayans, detached from Zubiri, crossed

* The inhabitants were immediately made to feel the oppression of Gallic domination. A guillotine was erected in the new square of St. Sebastian; all the nobles, priests, and persons of distinction in the province, were arrested; requisitions were rigidly enforced, the churches shut up, and the miserable inhabitants obliged to quit their homes, and seek refuge in the interior of Spain.

the

the mountains, and took them in the rear; confusion and defeat ensued; more than six hundred Spaniards were left dead on the field; no quarter was given, and the few who were made prisoners were, in pursuance of a decree of the convention, to retaliate for some atrocities committed by the Spaniards, put to death. The inhabitants of Pampeluna, in consternation and despair, now expected every hour to see their habitations destroyed by the victors. But the French were not in a condition to pursue their success; their wants were multiplied by the number of their victories; they could not maintain their positions on the mountains; the roads were bad, provisions short, and the soldiers, worn down by fasting and fatigue, were rendered unhealthy by drinking corrosive waters. At length general Moncey retreated to Tolosa, where he established his quarters for the winter.

The armies of the Alps and Italy were equally successful. The French being masters of the county of Nice, resolved to wrest from the king of Sardinia the city of Oneglia, the only port through which he could communicate with the English, or with the island of Sardinia. They advanced without hesitation to the attack of the desired port, on the 6th of April, 1794; and, having dislodged a body of troops posted on the heights of St. Agatha, the Sardinians in a panic abandoned Oneglia to its fate, and retired in disorder to the straits of the Apenines. Such was the terror excited by the French, that upwards of forty thousand people abandoned their dwellings; and the republicans passed through many villages in the fertile valley of Oneglia where no human being was to be found, except a few women, children, and old men.

The Piedmontese, intrenched on the highest Alps, were next attacked throughout their whole line. General Bagdelonne, advancing by Mount Valaisin, captured Little St. Bernard, and drove the Piedmontese into Aosta, on the river Doria. The centre of the French army now prepared to attack the strong position of Mount Cenis, and took fort Mirabouck on the

11th of May, which opened an easy road to Pignerola; while a division of three thousand men seized Oulx, mentioned by Cæsar in his Commentaries under the name of *Oscellum*, and pressed forward to the walls of Exiles. General Bagdelonne put in execution his attack of Mount Cenis on the 22d of May. The Piedmontese defended themselves with unusual firmness, but were obliged to yield to the impetuous valour of the French, who charged them in all their strong holds with the bayonet, and thus drove them from the mountains, seizing their superb train of artillery, equipages, and provisions. They established advanced posts at Ferrieres and Novalesse, within two leagues of Suza; and the right wing, commanded by general Vaubois, passing the strait of l'Argentiere, possessed itself of the valley of Stura and the post of Barricades, thus establishing a communication between the army of the Alps and that of Italy.

Thus, at the period of Robespierre's overthrow, the French were masters of the summits of the Alps in all parts accessible to man, as well in Savoy as the county of Nice. But still it was not easy to penetrate into Piedmont; for, if the attempt were made by the Col di Tende, it would be necessary to take Coni or Suza, the difficulty of which was well known; and the approaching season, when the snow would begin to fall, forbade the undertaking of a long siege. If the essay was made by the Col d'Exiles, it would be no less hazardous and difficult. The republicans therefore determined to follow the line marked by the sea on the coast of Ponente, to seize the marquisate of Finale, though it belonged to the Genoese, and penetrate into the heart of Piedmont by Mount Ferrat. This passage, though apparently more eligible than the others, was not free from great difficulties; and the emperor of Germany having sent considerable reinforcements to the king of Sardinia, the French, though they made some progress in their enterprize, found they could not penetrate into Piedmont during the present campaign.

paign, and contented themselves with preserving their elevated conquests in the Alpine mountains.

These successes of the republican armies were crowned by the brilliant advantages which attended the armies of the North and Sambre and Meuse, acting against the allies in Flanders. During the career of victory already described, general Moreau, on the 18th of July, 1794, captured the town of Nieuport, garrisoned by Hanoverians; and, like a generous and manly soldier, he had the virtue to risk his life rather than tarnish his fame by putting in execution the savage decree of the convention, which was, to give no quarter; he did not, however, extend the same humanity to several hundred emigrants, who, being found in the garrison, were all put to death. Shortly afterwards he executed one of the boldest enterprizes which distinguished the campaign. The French having resolved to besiege Sluys, it became necessary to gain possession of the island of Cadsand, at which there was no way of arriving, but by a causeway inundated on both sides, and commanded by fourteen pieces of cannon; or by throwing a bridge over the strait of Coschische, which he could not effect for want of pontoons. He had no resources but a few boats, in which some of the troops passed, while others even swam across; and, forming in the face of a superior enemy, and of numerous batteries, he captured the island, and took ninety pieces of cannon, a great quantity of ammunition, and several hundred prisoners.

Meanwhile Sluys made a gallant resistance; but the French were encouraged by the surrender of Quesnoy, which opened its gates on the 15th of August, after a spirited, though ineffectual, opposition. The French, eager to strike terror by means of the decree for giving no quarter, summoned the garrison before they had time to make any regular approaches; but the valiant commander would not submit to the infamy of such a surrender, and, in his offer of capitulation, only solicited the usual terms, for his brave followers; offering his

his own life as a sacrifice to the rage of the victors. The convention, under the new system, thought fit to renounce the sanguinary decree of the former government, and it was determined that no more blood should be unnecessarily shed. But the duke of York was compelled to retreat to the plains of Breda, establishing his head-quarters at Oosterhout, and taking so strong a position that he felt secure from an assault, till the Dutch should have had time to put the garrison in a state of defence. General Pichegru, though extremely anxious to besiege Breda, was prevented by many unfavourable circumstances. At length he was enabled, by the fall of Valenciennes and Condé, which yielded, on the 26th and 27th of August, to muster a hundred thousand men, with which he meditated an attack on the duke of York's army, now reduced to about thirty-five thousand men; intending to force them beyond the Meuse, and prevent their junction with the imperial forces. He drove in the British outposts, with an intent to turn the left of the army, and cut off the retreat to Bois-le-duc; but the British commander effected a retreat, and encamped on a large plain seven miles beyond Bois-le-duc, establishing his head-quarters at the village of Udden.

In the interval, Sluys had surrendered to general Moreau, after enduring a vigorous siege. But while Moreau was thus meriting the applauses of his country, he experienced only its savage ingratitude. His father belonged to the robe, and, falling into the suspicious description of *noble*, was assassinated by the revolutionary tribunal on the 25th of August, the very day his son captured Sluys. It is even said that the general himself was marked for destruction by Robespierre; but the death of that tyrant ensured his safety.

The besieging army, exhausted by fatigue and illness, could not immediately be employed; and as the battering artillery was not arrived, Pichegru prosecuted his original plan of hanging on the rear of the duke of York, leaving Breda to itself till he should have made some impression on Holland. He made,

however, a judicious feint of commencing the siege of that place, for the purpose of concealing his force; and, on the 14th of September, he made a general attack on all the out-posts along the Dommel, forcing that of Boxtel, which was defended by the troops of Hesse Darmstadt. In this affair the French behaved with extraordinary valour, swimming across a river to the attack; yet the allies lost upwards of fifteen hundred men. As the capture of this important post would prevent the duke of York from maintaining his position, he retreated across the Meuse, and encamped at Wichen.

The French army of the North took a position behind the river Aa, and, on the 19th, proceeded to Denter. The pursuit of the duke of York's army was for a short time discontinued, on account of the fatigue of the French troops; but the army of the Sambre and Meuse, agreeably to the orders of Pichegru, attacked and defeated the left wing of the Austrians, and, after a series of well-contested engagements, in which the numbers and enthusiasm of the republicans had always the advantage, the imperialists were compelled to cross the Rhine at Cologne, with the loss of near ten thousand men. The last battle, on the 3d of October, was peculiarly bloody. General Clairfait had chosen his position near Ruremonde with so much judgement, that the French appeared to be squandering lives with unavailing profusion; and their attack must have remained an everlasting monument of their rashness and folly, had the wings of the Austrian army exhibited as much courage and discipline as the centre; but at the moment when Clairfait thought himself certain of complete success, he was informed that his wings were forced, and making a hasty retreat. The French soon afterwards gained possession of Cologne and Bonn.

Crevecœur having surrendered without firing a shot, the republicans became masters of the inundations which constituted the principal strength of Boisle-duc. They were, however, meditating a siege, when

the commander, on the 11th of October, made a voluntary surrender, obtaining for his garrison permission to retire into Holland. The Dutch had also abandoned fort St. André; but, being negligently occupied by the governor, it was retaken by lieutenant-general (afterwards Sir Ralph) Abercrombie, and proved a material impediment to the further operations of the republicans.

On the 19th of October, the duke of York was again assaulted, and compelled to retire. In this engagement a corps of the duke's infantry mistook a body of the French for a party of friends, and being thus surprized, suffered a very heavy loss.

The duke of York next established his head-quarters at Arrheim, and the French prepared to besiege Nimeguen: many skirmishes took place in front of this town; and the British troops under major-general de Burgh, now earl of Clanricarde, made a spirited sortie, and got temporary possession of the works of the besiegers, defeating them with great slaughter. This did not, however, avert the fate of the place: the French opened batteries on the town and bridge, which sunk several of the boats; and had the bridge been destroyed, the whole garrison must have been taken prisoners. The duke of York therefore ordered the British troops to pass the bridge, leaving pickets under major-general de Burgh, who with great difficulty also effected a retreat. The whole Dutch garrison were taken prisoners, November 8. In the mean time, general Laurent had made himself master of Venloo; Kleber took Maestricht; Coblenz and Rheinfeld yielded to the right wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; and Mentz alone remained in possession of the allies on the left bank of the Rhine. Upon the evacuation of Nimeguen, the British army went into cantonments along the Waal, and on the opposite side of the Lech. The weather was unusually severe, the troops sickly, and fatigued with the severe duty of maintaining a cordon of strong piquets along the Waal from Bommel on the right, where they joined

joined the Dutch, to Parmeran on the left, where they communicated with the Austrians. After thus retiring into winter-quarters, the duke of York quitted the army on the 6th of December to return to England, and the command devolved on general Walmoden.

General Pichegru, who had been some time absent on account of ill health, again resumed the command; but the campaign would have been considered at an end, had not a frost of uncommon severity set in, and enabled the French to gain unforeseen advantages. The Dutch government, which, it is said, had relied on an inundation as the last means of defence, saw with alarm the impediment opposed by the weather, and solicited peace; but the French, elated with the prospect of conquest, and encouraged by the powerful democratic party in the country, rejected the terms, though replete with advantage; and even refused an armistice, which was required for the purpose of negotiation. They took possession of the island of Bommel and fort St. André; and, on the 27th of December, 1794, six hundred men crossed the Waal near Tuyl, the ice being sufficiently strong to bear whole regiments of cavalry, with the heaviest cannon. They soon gained the post of Tiel, and were about to be supported by a very large force; but a detachment of British, Hessians, and emigrants, under general Dundas, attacked them with irresistible impetuosity, and forced them to re-pass the river, with great loss of men and four pieces of cannon. Undismayed, however, by this check, a large body of French again crossed the Waal near Bommel, on the 4th of January, 1795. General Dundas, after a smart skirmish at Geldermalsen, fell back upon Beuren, and it was resolved to take a position behind the Lech; but a sudden thaw renewed the hopes of the allies, and orders were issued for taking advantage of it by a combined attack. Unfortunately, the frost recommenced with increased severity; the orders which had been given could not be retracted in time; and an action

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was fought near Eldermassen, in which the allied troops, particularly the British, suffered considerably, every officer in the 27th regiment of foot being wounded.

The republicans, having completed their arrangements, again crossed the Waal on the 10th, and attacked several points at the same time. One column passed at Panneren, and another at Ghent, but were repulsed; a third crossed near Nimeguen, and, in conjunction with two columns which had passed between Tiel and Dodewaert, attacked the whole British line on that side. The Austrians had abandoned Heusden, and passed the Lech; and the Hanoverians, with general Coates's brigade, consisting of the 40th, 59th, and 79th regiments, were obliged to fall back on Lent. The French had all their troops on the opposite side of the river, and, on a signal given, they crossed at once in great numbers, and attacked general Coates's brigade. The 40th and 79th regiments were placed about half a mile in the rear, close to a wood, and the 59th was left to engage, and try to draw them into the ambuscade; but a strong column of the French forced their way between the 59th and the main body. On their falling back on Lent, they found it in possession of the republicans, and in consequence retired across the Lingen, where they maintained themselves behind the river, near Elst. The French by this movement obtained possession of Buren and Culembourg, and prepared to besiege Gorcum, which, from the strength of its works, and the facility of inundation, had been considered as the key and bulwark of Holland. It was the head-quarters of the stadtholder; but the frost rendering resistance impossible, he quitted the untenable fortress, and with his family and suite sought an asylum in England, where they became immediate objects of royal benevolence, and were treated with the respect due to their rank and misfortunes. A pension was offered to the stadtholder by the king of England, and apartments were assigned him in the palace of Hampton Court. The stadtholder

stadtholder escaped from Scheveling in a fishing-boat, on the 15th of January, 1795.

At the time the French troops crossed the Waal, general Bonneau left the environs of Breda, and attacked Gertruydenburg. The British, finding themselves unable to maintain their position in Utrecht, retreated towards Westphalia, after sustaining a severe attack all along their line, from Arnheim to Amerongen. The province of Utrecht now entered into a separate capitulation for itself, receiving the French with great satisfaction; while the retreating army of the British was treated with every indignity. The intensity of the winter increased the miseries of the retreating army, and produced scenes of distress which can never be reflected upon without anguish and commiseration.

A minute detail of the subsequent proceedings of the French armies, would be little more than a geographical description of their passage through the United Provinces, and a repetition of uniform acts of submission on the part of the Dutch. Gertruydenburg having surrendered, the whole province of Holland followed the example of Utrecht, and the French were received in Amsterdam, on the 20th of January, with every mark of friendship. General Bonneau's division, passing the lake of Biesboch, took possession of Dordrecht, Rotterdam, the Hague, and Hielvoetsluys; and General Macdonald entered Naerden. The province of Zealand having also capitulated, the light troops marched into North Holland, and added to the wonders of the campaign the unprecedented circumstance of taking a fleet at the entrance of the Zuyderzee by land-forces, and artillery planted on the ice*.

Overyssel, Groningen, and Friesland, were still in possession of the British; but, diminished as they were in numbers, hostile as were the Dutch towards them, and immensely superior in force as were the French,

* The freezing over of the Zuydersee was a circumstance which had not happened for more than a hundred years before!

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FREDERICK WILLIAM III.
King of Prussia

their situation could not be long tenable. A thaw having commenced in February, the depth of water rendered the passage by the usual route impracticable; and the French under Macdonald having taken a position between Campen, Zwill, and Deventer, while Moreau occupied Zutcher, general Abercrombie became apprehensive that, in case of attack, his retreat would be cut off, and therefore withdrew his troops from the advanced posts, and marched to Bentheim by way of Enchede and Velthuysen. The British headquarters were moved first to Osnaburgh, and afterwards to Diepholt; the republicans being every where received by the United States as friends. The province of Westphalia was occupied by forty thousand Prussians, to protect their frontier along the Ems; while the remains of the British forces marched to Bremerleche, where they embarked for England.

Before the retreat of the English was effected, a great alteration had taken place in the alliance against France. The king of Prussia received 1,200,000*l.* in sterling gold from Great Britain to proceed in the war with vigour, at the very moment that he negotiated a separate peace with France. Thus did Frederic-William king of Prussia, the most ardent and zealous promoter of the war, secede from the grand alliance, and acknowledge the republic of France.

After the surrender of Utrecht, when the stadtholder abandoned his country, and the success of the French republican army was so great that nothing could withstand their impetuosity, many of the Dutch fled from their native country, and sought refuge in England, where they were received with politeness and hospitality. The Dutch, who had viewed the English with an unfriendly eye since the revolution in Holland in 1787, appeared to be highly pleased at this alteration in their affairs. They now treated the British troops with contempt and illiberality, and were not disposed to alleviate, by any act of kindness or compassion, the sufferings of the wounded, or the distresses of the fugitives, who with great difficulty had

effected their retreat to Bremen, after a long and severe exercise of patience and fortitude. The United Provinces being now in possession of the French forces, were revolutionized on the French model, under the name of the Batavian Republic.

The successes of the French in Europe were rendered additionally important by the progress of the republican arms in the West Indies. The English, while relying with security on the certainty of their conquests, were surprized by the arrival at Guadaloupe of two frigates, two fifty-fours, and two transports, with about fourteen hundred troops. The command was given to a military officer, under the superintendence of Victor Hugues, a deputy on mission; but the general dying soon afterwards, the sole command devolved on Victor Hugues. At the period of his arrival, June 3, 1794, general Thomas Dundas was expiring in the yellow fever, which had also made dreadful ravages among his troops; and the people of Guadaloupe were generally disaffected towards the English. The French effected a landing at Grande-terre; and, being joined by swarms of the people of colour, while many royalists abandoned the English standard, they carried fort Fleur d'Épée, after being twice repulsed by lieutenant-colonel Drummond; and Point à Pitre, being considered untenable after this event, was evacuated by the English.

Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis were at St. Christopher's, preparing to sail for England, when intelligence of the above disasters arrived. They immediately repaired to Guadaloupe, and a detachment under brigadier-general Dundas, major Ross, and major Magan, attacking the French with great spirit at their post at Berville, put them to the rout, and driving them into the water; many perished, while a few saved themselves by swimming across the harbour to Point à Pitre. Sir Charles Grey, however, finding it impossible to effect any thing further at that season, re-embarked his artillery, and strengthened his posts at Basseterre, intending, if suitable reinforcements arrived,

rived, to renew his efforts after the hurricane season. In the mean time he retired to Martinique, where a banditti, unchecked by a sufficient force, had commenced terrible depredations.

The French, in the mean time, taking advantage of a dark night, embarked a strong detachment of troops at Point à Pitre and Fort Louis, and, eluding the British shipping, effected two separate landings on Basse-terre. Every exertion was made to fortify the camp at Berville; but the numbers and resolution of the French enabled them to seize Bay Mahault and Petit Bourg, while the English took post at a battery called Point Bacchus. The republicans, at length, after several severe engagements, drove, by means of gun-boats, the English shipping from the harbour of Petit Bourg, stopped the communication between the camp and fleet, and finally (October 4) compelled general Graham, who commanded at Berville, to accept terms of capitulation. The British general vainly essayed to include the French royalists in the articles; his humanity could only save twenty-five, whom he sent in a covered boat on board the *Boyne*; while three hundred, who fell into the hands of their countrymen, were devoted to destruction, and sacrificed without remorse. Fifty fell by the guillotine; the remainder were tied together, by the order of Victor Hugues, and placed on the brink of the trenches they had so valiantly defended, in order to be fired upon by the rawest recruits in the French service, by way, as it was said, of enuring them to become good marksmen. The weight of the killed and wounded drew those who were unhurt into the trench, which was, by throwing in of earth, immediately converted into a grave, where the killed, the wounded, and living, all shared one common destiny!

Basse-terre was now the only place remaining in the hands of the English, and towards that Victor Hugues directed his overwhelming force, burning in his way the beautiful seats of the royalists, and laying waste their plantations. Sir John Jarvis and general

Prescott used their utmost exertions to defend Basseterre, though without much hope of success, as their troops were still diminishing, and the royalists and militia went over to the French. Under all these disadvantages the defence was continued for more than a month; but at length it became necessary to evacuate this untenable position, more especially as the troops were wanted to defend other islands, where the mortality had been no less dreadful than in Guadaloupe. The evacuation was executed with the utmost judgment on the night of December 10, 1794; while the French were so completely ignorant of the movement, that they continued their cannonade till two o'clock the ensuing morning.

As at no other period of the war was the extent of the French conquests so great as at the close of the year 1794, it may not be improper to insert a brief recapitulation thereof. The success of the arms of the republic had put into their possession, the ten provinces of Brabant, Antwerp, Mechlin, Limbourg, Luxembourg, Namur, Hainault, Artois, Cambresis, and Flanders, forming the Austrian Netherlands, and formerly subject to the emperor of Germany.—The seven United Provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overysse, Guelderland, and Utrecht, forming the Dutch nation, and lately subject to the stadtholder.—The principality of Liege, with the cities of Liege and Spa, lately subject to the prince bishop, as sovereign of that country.—The bishopric of Spire, with its chief city, lately subject to its sovereign bishop.—The bishopric of Worms, lately subject to its sovereign bishop.—The duchy of Deux Ponts, formerly subject to the elector palatine.—All the electorate of Treves, on the south side of the Rhine, with the chief city of the electorate, and the city of Coblenz.—All the electorate of Cologne, on the south side of the Rhine, with its chief city.—All the electorate of Mentz, on the south side of the Rhine.—All the dominions of the elector palatine on the south of the Rhine, with Mannheim the chief city.

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—The duchy of Juliers, with its chief city, Aix-la-Chapelle, formerly subject to the elector palatine.—The duchy of Cleves, with the cities of Cleves and Wezel, formerly subject to the king of Prussia.—In the south, the duchy of Savoy, with its chief city Chamberry, formerly subject to the king of Sardinia.—The city and county of Nice, formerly subject to Sardinia.—The principality of Monaco, formerly subject to its sovereign prince.—In Spain, the greatest part of the rich provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, with their important garrisons, cities, and founderies.—To which may be added, what more materially affects England, the whole Dutch navy, with the immense stores of Holland, the depôt of Europe.—The whole of these countries is calculated to contain a population of thirteen millions of souls; so that, by these additions, the whole population of the French republic amounted at that period to the enormous number of thirty-nine millions of people, being half as many more inhabitants than France possessed prior to the commencement of hostilities.

The campaign of 1795 was commenced under circumstances widely different from those which preceded. The French arms were triumphant in every quarter; the grand alliance was broken; and several states which had beheld the republican government with abhorrence, were now leagued with it in bonds of alliance. The grand duke of Tuscany had made his peace before Prussia; and Holland, completely subdued, evinced her politics by taking up arms in favour of the French. The defection of Holland was followed by that of the king of Spain, who, on the 22d of July, 1795, concluded a peace at Basle. This treaty was facilitated by a change in the cabinet of Madrid, where the duke of Alcudia, a new minister, afterwards known by the title of *Prince of the Peace*, presided, and acted on principles directly hostile to the interests of the allies. The treaty was sufficiently humiliating to Spain, who, in compensation for the towns restored

restored by France, yielded up her portion of the island of St. Domingo, (which the Spaniards had possessed ever since the time of Columbus,) and her possessions on the continent of North America.

A treaty of peace was concluded between the French republic and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the 28th of August, on condition that he should lend no more troops to Great Britain for the prosecution of the war. It is not a little singular, that peace was concluded with the elector of Hanover (who, as king of Great Britain, was the most active member of the confederacy against the French republic) at this period, upon similar terms.

Another treaty at this time on foot, ended in the liberation of the last remaining descendant of Louis XVI. After the death of Louis the dauphin, the rulers of France ventured to dismiss their fears; and the convention passed a decree, that, so soon as the minister at war and deputies delivered up by Dumourier, or who had by other means fallen into the hands of the allies, should be restored, the daughter of Louis XVI. should be placed in the hands of commissioners appointed by the emperor of Germany to receive her, and the other members of the Bourbon family should be at liberty to quit the republic. After a considerable time spent in negotiation, she was conveyed to Basle, and there, Dec. 25, 1795, surrendered into the hands of her friends; and the republic gained in return for this last wreck of royalty, Bournonville, Camus, Bancal, Quinette, and Lamarque, who had been seized by Dumourier; Drouot, the post-master of Varennes; and Semonville and Maret, who had been arrested under equivocal circumstances, by order of the governor of Milan. The princess-royal of France was received with the utmost cordiality at the imperial court, and the archduke Charles offered her his hand. But this splendid offer could not divert the mind of the young princess from that which she considered her duty, the accomplishment of a promise made

made by her parents to the count d'Artois, in consequence of which she was married to his son, the duke d'Angoulême.

The cause of royalty excited again those commotions in La Vendée which the republicans hoped either to have totally suppressed, or at least prevented from re-appearing for a considerable period. The peace made with the people of La Vendée in a moment so critical to France was considered only as a matter of policy; and the republican writers admit, that certain men, who were accustomed to regard those provinces as condemned to everlasting proscription, shewed but little delicacy in observing the terms of pacification. Urged by repeated wrongs, and inspired by hopes of ultimate success, the inhabitants of the ancient provinces of Brittany, Poitou, Maine, Anjou, and Normandy, suddenly reared the standard of revolt. Charette commanded the Vendéans; the Chouans and other royalists were led by Joseph count de Puisaye, who held a commission from Louis XVIII. brother of the late unfortunate king; and was assisted by Stofflet, Scepeaux, Sapineau, and many others. Vitré and Grandchamp were their general places of rendezvous; but they seldom appeared as an army. They confined themselves to surprizes and skirmishes, in which they were frequently successful, and did great injury to the republicans.

Charette published a spirited manifesto, on the 26th of June, 1795, declaring the cause of his proceedings; which was reinforced by one from M. de Puisaye, who promised that the king of Great Britain would speedily send to the assistance of the insurgents an army composed of French troops, French officers and soldiers who had for four years fought for their king.

It was confidently expected, and the time was peculiarly favourable to such an exertion, that England would interfere. The emigrants, many of whom had long been fed by the bounty of the British nation, panted for an opportunity to assert in arms the cause to which they were devoted. The English prisoners
were

were crowded with French captives, many of whom professed an ardent desire to join in an expedition to be headed by the princes and nobles of their own country. The English navy rode triumphant in the Channel, where lord Bridport had recently defeated the French fleet, and taken three ships of seventy-four guns. Although no sea-port was in possession of the insurgents, the English fleet found no difficulty in effecting a landing of three thousand troops at Quiberon, on June 27, 1795. A body of republicans who opposed them were easily dispersed; and it is said that the insurgents, apprized of the time and place of landing, favoured the operation by seizing an important battery, and breaking down the bridges which would enable the republicans to unite their corps. Count d'Hervilly, (who had honourably distinguished himself on the 10th of August, 1792,) commanded the emigrants; and, in order to ascertain the disposition of the country, advanced some distance from the place of landing. Great numbers received clothing and accoutrements, and hopes were entertained of establishing a formidable army. The emigrants gained possession of Auray, and were masters of a small tract of country between the lake of Auray and that of Kergourich, to the high road leading from Auray to Hennebont. They also captured fort Penthievre, with six hundred men, whom they sent prisoners to the British fleet.

General Hoche commanded the republican troops in this quarter; but, considering his force insufficient, he retreated to Morbihan, and, evacuating several towns, halted in the midway to Rennes. Soon the arrival of reinforcements enabled him to adopt offensive operations, so that the emigrants were compelled to evacuate Auray, and fall back to the peninsula of Quiberon, under the guns of fort Penthievre. The principal aim of the republican general was to straiten their quarters, as he had no hope of taking the position they occupied by assault; but an act of treachery enabled him to concert a plan of attack which was crowned

crowned with success. Some republican prisoners, who had volunteered in the expedition, having deserted, undertook to guide the republicans by an almost impassable route to Fort Penthièvre, the defence of which was injudiciously entrusted to men of their own description. The enterprize was commenced on a most tempestuous night, July 28, by a detachment of three thousand men, under generals Humbert, Watteau, and Menage. An attack was made along the sea-coast, where the English gun-boats kept up so galling a fire, that the assailants were on the point of retreating, when, to their great astonishment, the tri-coloured flag was seen flying on the top of the fort. This change was effected by a division of three hundred men under Menage, who, marching up to their middle in water through a tempestuous sea, and climbing from rock to rock, had reached the fortress, scaled the walls, and, assisted by the treachery of some individuals in the garrison, made themselves masters of it, after putting all who resisted to death.

Nothing now remained to impede the attack of the republicans on the remaining force of the royalists. The Chouans, with M. de Puisaye at their head, had embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, and were carried to other parts of La Vendée, where they dispersed themselves among their friends. The emigrants, headed by the young comte de Sombreuil, protected the re-embarkation of the aged men, women, and children, who had attended the expedition, and then prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The English brought off as many as could reach the vessels, amounting to about nine hundred, out of upwards of three thousand, of the men who had sailed from England, and fifteen hundred of the inhabitants. A portion of their force had already laid down their arms and gained the republican ranks, protesting that they had only joined the royalists through compulsion. Hoche was rapidly advancing, and had obliged Sombreuil and his followers to retreat to an isolated rock, whence many threw themselves into the sea, and

perished in a vain effort to reach the shipping. The remainder (about four thousand in number) being exposed to extreme danger, desired to capitulate; but Hoche would only promise that they should be treated as prisoners of war, if the convention should approve that indulgence. To this conditional engagement they were compelled to submit. Their submission, however, availed them but little: they were tried by a military commission, and doomed to be shot; a sentence which was executed on all who were captured, clergy as well as laity, and even on young Sombreuil himself.

After this disaster, Charette, Stofflet, and Puisaye, vainly endeavoured to excite the Vendéans to new efforts. Puisaye was obliged to quit the country; Charette and Stofflet, after maintaining a hard conflict at the head of a few followers, and harassing perpetually the armies of the republic, were finally defeated, taken prisoners, and shot at Nantes, in pursuance of the verdict of a military commission*. The British arma-
ment

* M. Charette, the celebrated leader of the French royalists in La Vendée, was born at Machecould, near Nantz, about the year 1764; where, on the 10th of March, 1792, he set up the royal standard, and proclaimed Louis the Seventeenth; himself being then only twenty-eight years of age. He had been brought up to the sea, and was, at the commencement of the revolution, a lieutenant in the royal navy. His army consisted at first of a rude and hardy race of men, called Chouans, who took that name from three sons of a blacksmith of the name of Chouan, near Fougères. These men had been for many years no better than highway robbers, who sheltered themselves in the vast forests of La Vendée, and, as they increased, they supported themselves by smuggling; but now, deeming the present a good opportunity for enriching themselves by plunder, they joined the royal standard under the guidance of Charette. The rugged face of the country, full of impenetrable woods, interspersed with bogs and swamps, always afforded the Chouans and their banditti a secure retreat; and, under the sanguinary government of Robespierre, so many flew to the woods for safety, and joined the Chouans, that they soon amounted to thirty thousand strong: they committed dreadful depredations on the neighbouring districts; and, by the addition of other fugitives, their numbers became prodigiously augmented.

ment remained on the coast so long as a probability appeared of serving the cause in which they were
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mented. Charette himself was a person of a very different description, but in the cause of royalty a perfect enthusiast. The proposals which he made to the three Chouan chiefs were eagerly accepted, and he was speedily at the head of a numerous and powerful army, whom he endeavoured to restrain from pillage. His forces, however, for the most part, were relentless and sanguinary; which may, in some measure, account for the cruelties exercised over them by the republicans when they got them in their power.

It is an absolute fact, that from the beginning of the revolutionary war, in no part whatever were the battles fought with greater obstinacy, nor was more blood spilt by the contending armies, than in La Vendée. Many dreadful conflicts on the frontiers between the French and the allies were but skirmishes compared with those that took place in this part of the country. The origin of the Chouan army gave rise to the stigmatizing appellation of Brigands (robbers). Scarcely did a single action take place in La Vendée, in which one or other of the contending armies was not almost wholly destroyed. The battle of Mortagne cost both sides thirty thousand men: in that of Saumur ten thousand republicans were killed, and fifteen thousand made prisoners; and in that of Mons, the royalists left fifteen thousand dead on the field of battle, while the loss of the republicans was estimated at twelve thousand. Reports made to the directory stated that the war in La Vendée cost the republic near two hundred thousand men. The failure of the expedition to Quiberon, in which Great Britain took an active part, gave a death blow to the exertions of Charette; and his subsequent defeat at St. Christopher's, by Traveaux, put an end to the Vendéan war, and hastened his fate.

The peasants who escaped from the action at St. Christopher's, abandoning him entirely, he remained with about forty men, who would not quit him, either because they were deserters from the republican army, or because they were determined not to break the oath they had taken, not to leave him in any extremity. Charette now came to the resolution of taking refuge in the woods, out of which he never ventured more. The republicans who pursued him marched in small columns of from fifty to sixty men, beating about, particularly in the forests of Jauvoys, of Grala, the woods of Des Effarts, and all those that exist in the commune of Leger. His great knowledge of the country often contributed to save him, no less than the excellent system of tactics which he had adopted. He knew, by means of his spies, the place at which his pursuers were to halt for the night. The next morning he watched the moment of their departure, and the road they
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employed. At length, the French government having again conciliated the insurgents, and formed a new treaty

took, and in that manner followed them till they halted again; so that when they believed they had him in front of them, he was almost always in their rear. It sometimes happened that they pursued him a whole day in the forests of Jauvoys, without being able to discover him, although perfectly sure he was there; while the only way he took to escape, was by keeping the same path as they. The peasants always concealed him, some out of fear, and others from a principle of attachment. Charette, however, was become exceedingly cruel, even towards those who had done him essential services; and has many times been known to murder the peasants who were ploughing their grounds, lest they should betray him and point out his route. In the commune of St. Hilaire, near Paluan, he put to death with his own hand, the father, the son, and the son-in-law, merely upon suspicion! The dreadful cruelties committed by the Chouans in La Vendée upon the republicans, may serve as a colourable excuse for the murders committed by order of Carrière after the Chouan army was destroyed. Charette, finding every thing was lost, now grew exceedingly melancholy; and the idea of his destruction incessantly haunted his mind. At length his evil destiny overtook him.

A republican column was returning to their cantonment at the Chateau de Pont-de-vie, near the town of Poires, four days after they had left it, in order to procure provisions, and take a little rest, when two horsemen, upon the look out, saw the gleam of arms break through the trees. Of this they immediately informed the general, who advanced, without losing a moment, at the head of a few troopers he had with him, and soon perceived that it was the band of Charette, which was defiling two abreast across a heath of small extent. The general rode through the two ranks, in order to discover if their chief was among them; while they, more eager to save than to defend themselves, fired only two or three shot, which took no effect. The general ordered the infantry to attack them, when, out of thirty-seven, only four escaped. The cavalry being dispersed along the different roads in search of the principal chief, a young man without arms, and in the livery of a servant, was perceived by two horse chasseurs coming out of a morass. They rode up to him, and requested him to tell them where Charette was to be found. The young man at first denied having seen him, but a few strokes of the sabre made him confess that the renowned commander of the royalists was in the very morass that he had just left. The chasseurs immediately rode back to convey this information to the general, who ordered three or four soldiers to search the suspected place; and at last Charette was discovered by a corporal of the chasseurs. Traveaux also per-

treaty of peace, Dec. 31, 1795, the British fleet retired to the shores of England.

The naval affairs of the year 1795 were disastrous to the cause of France. Early in the year the exertions of a squadron commanded by lord Bridport (formerly sir Alexander Hood) was attended with brilliant success. That able officer attacked the French with an inferior force, and would probably have captured or destroyed the greater part of their fleet, if the engagement had been more distant from the land; but it occurred near Port l'Orient, and they were consequently favoured by the fortifications of the place. After an action of almost four hours, three of their ships struck, and were secured in spite of all the dangers of a lee-shore.

The above engagement was soon followed by another, alike honourable to the British navy. Vice-

perceived him, and gave orders that not a shot should be fired. The corporal caught hold of him by the skirts of his jacket, and endeavoured to stop him; but Charette, who, at that fatal moment had lost his customary presence of mind, kept running, and dragged the corporal after him, till he came to a hedge, over which he attempted to leap, but fell into the midst of it, and was taken out in a state of insensibility; being entirely exhausted by his long-continued efforts to effect his escape. After a little water had been thrown in his face, he recovered his senses, and the first words he uttered were, "Whose prisoner am I!" "Traveaux," was the answer. "So much the better," said he: "he is the only man worthy to take me." He was armed with a carbine and two pistols, which he had discharged in the previous action. As he was too weak to walk, he was put on a horse, and conducted to the Chateau de Pont-de-vie, where he passed the night in the general's room, under a strong guard. He ate, and conversed all the night; and, in short, supported that character of fortitude which he had acquired in so many trying situations. The next day he was taken to St. Angers, whence he was conveyed to Nantz, and there tried and shot. Before his punishment, the executioner asked him if he would permit him to tie a bandage over his eyes. "No," answered Charette; "I have looked death often enough in the face to be able to brave him." It is said that general Traveaux asked him why he had not emigrated when he had found an opportunity; and that Charette answered, "I had sworn to put the king upon the throne, or perish in the attempt. I have kept my oath."

admiral

admiral Hotham pursued to the coast of Genoa a French fleet, which had sailed from Toulon with troops intended for the recovery of Corsica, and had captured one of his detached ships. With great difficulty he brought the French to a partial engagement, on the 14th of March, and took two sail of the line; but he lost one of the ships of his van, in consequence of the great damage she received in the action.

As vice-admiral Cornwallis was cruising with a British fleet, near the Penmarks, of eight ships, including frigates, he descried a fleet of thirteen sail of French line of battle ships and fourteen frigates. On the 27th of June, the large ships of the French came up in succession, and slightly fired upon some of Cornwallis's vessels. A more serious attack was made upon one which had fallen to leeward; but, even in this ship, it is said that not a single man was killed; though some were wounded. Before sun-set the firing ceased; and the timid French admiral tacked and stood off. The British fleet, by the exercise of a small degree of courage and dexterity on the part of the French, might have been brought to a general action; but it is sufficiently evident that their dominion is not on the ocean: and, as they declined the risk, it would have been an act of desperation in admiral Cornwallis to have attempted to encounter a force so greatly superior to his own. The seamen on board his fleet, however, perceiving the timidity of the French, were eager to engage; but the admiral's opinion was very different: he thought it better to preserve his men and his ships, rather than risk an engagement with a fleet three times the force of his own.

In the month of July, a French fleet was again attacked by vice-admiral Hotham, and a ship of considerable force was taken from them; but this ship shortly after blew up, and about three hundred and fifty of the crew perished.

After some intervening captures on both sides, the French recovered a ship of the line, and took thirty sail of a valuable English fleet returning from the Medi-

Mediterranean. They also made prize of a part of the Jamaica fleet; and, indeed, both in this and the preceding year, the British trade suffered greatly from their attacks; while their own vessels escaped, for the most part, the vigilance and activity of the British cruisers and privateers.

The campaign on the Rhine and the frontiers of Italy, during the year 1795, did not, however, produce events so important as might have been expected. The state of the French finances, the agitations and distractions which embarrassed the government, and the numerous uncertainties attending newly acquired power, prevented more vigorous exertion. The successes of the protracted campaign of 1794, had undoubtedly greatly weakened their armies; the necessity of keeping up such a large force in Holland as would enable them to carry their schemes into the fullest effect, weakened their disposable forces for the field; and they had no hopes, until peace with Prussia, Spain, and other powers, limited their operations to fewer quarters, of being able to carry on effectual hostilities for another year. The Imperial commanders, on the other hand, were equally weakened by the length of the campaign, and the losses they sustained in the various actions; the cabinet of Austria was divided by jarring counsels; and those who were most patriotic in their views for the good of the empire, were filled with consternation at the successes of the French, and the defection of the king of Prussia.

Generals Jourdan and Pichegru, who still commanded on the Rhine, proceeded, after some unimportant skirmishes, to press the siege of the strong town of Luxembourg, which was garrisoned by ten thousand men under mareschal Bender. As no succours could arrive, the mareschal capitulated June 7, 1795, a more early period than was expected; but obtained for his garrison permission to retire into Germany, on condition of not serving again till exchanged. Mentz alone remained in possession of the Austrians on the left bank of the Rhine; but the republicans were

were not yet able to spare a sufficient force for the investment. A long period of inaction ensued; at the end of which the republicans under Jourdan suddenly crossed the Rhine, and attacked Dusseldorf. The Austrians, struck with surprise and alarm at this unexpected movement, abandoned the city, and retreated towards the Lahn, where general Clairfait, who commanded this division, was joined by a considerable force. Soon after Jourdan had effected the passage of the Rhine, Pichegru also passed near Mannheim, and having taken that city, the French became masters of a sufficient tract of country to undertake the siege of Mentz. The Austrians placed their chief hopes on a junction to be effected between the armies of Clairfait and Wurmser. To impede this, Pichegru gave battle to the latter general, Sept. 25, 1795, and had gained the victory; but his troops having dispersed themselves in every direction in quest of plunder, the defeated Austrian cavalry turned on the late victors, killed a great number of men, and drove the remainder into Mannheim.

In the mean time, Jourdan, according to a plan previously arranged, had crossed the Maine, and invested Mentz on the right side of the Rhine. But Clairfait, having received reinforcements, fell suddenly on his rear, captured his artillery, and obliged him to raise the blockade, recross the Maine, and retreat to Dusseldorf; while his rear was constantly harassed by the victorious imperialists. Pichegru was also obliged to retreat to the other side of the Rhine, leaving a strong garrison in Mannheim, and hoping to reinforce the camp before Mentz sufficiently to resist the Austrian army. But before he could arrive the fate of the day was decided: the French were routed; their artillery taken, and they with difficulty effected a retreat. The victorious armies now forming a junction, retook the Palatinate, and the greater part of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle. On the other hand, Pichegru effected a junction with Jourdan; but their utmost efforts could not prevent the

the recapture of Mannheim, though they impeded a project formed by the imperialists for penetrating to Luxembourg.

On the side of Italy, preparation rather than action marked the progress of the year. Scherer had gained some advantages in the straits near the river of Po-nente. The peace with Spain gave reason to hope for ample reinforcements; and the republicans were in possession of all the summits of the Alps, from the borders of the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice. Both parties were occupied in strengthening their positions; the French at Borghetto and Albenga, their opponents at Dego; while general Dewins extended his redoubts over the heights which cover Savona and Vado. Meanwhile Genoa, placed in the centre of hostilities, was a scene of continual negotiation, and the government was threatened by all parties; the ports were blockaded by an English fleet, and all provisions destined for the army of Italy intercepted. The French at length terminated the suspense in which they were involved, by an attack on the whole Austrian line, for the purpose of expelling them from the Genoese territory. This measure was resolved in a council of war held at Albenga; and the republicans were encouraged in their resolution by a knowledge that the Austrian army had suffered much through sickness. The grand attack was made in the valley of Loano, on the 23d of October; and, after a contest which lasted from six in the morning till five in the evening, the Austrians were compelled to retreat upon Garesio, with the loss of eight thousand men killed and prisoners. The next day the action was renewed, and the Austrians were driven towards Savona and Bagniano. Dewins endeavoured to prevail on the senate of Genoa to deliver into his hands the fortress of Savona; but, on their refusal, he was obliged to pass the straits of la Bochetta, to effect his retreat on the side of Acqui. The French thus obtained possession of La Pietro, Loano, Finale, Vado, and considerable magazines which the Austrians had

amassed in Savona; but their wants impelled them to the most wanton and disorderly acts of rapacity and plunder, which disgraced both the French name and their victory. The Austrian army of Italy being thus overthrown, the emperor sent a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men, and the court of Turin six thousand, under general Colli, to defend the Appennines.

At length, after many difficulties, an armistice for three months was agreed to on the banks of the Rhine, 1796, and, though the stipulations were not expressly extended to Italy, the season compelled the observance of a truce in that quarter. Sanguine hopes were entertained that a general pacification was on foot; but the French had only a temporary scheme in view, which was still more to weaken the alliance formed against them, by detaching the king of Sardinia from the common cause.

In the mean time, vigorous exertions were adopted by the government to keep the armies on the alert, and to stimulate the people to furnish cheerfully the necessary supplies. On the 23d of June, 1795, Boissy d'Anglas brought up the report of the committee, containing the plan of a new constitution. It began, like the former, with a declaration of the rights of man; and enacted laws to regulate the territorial possessions of the republic, the political state of its citizens, the primary assemblies, the electoral assemblies, the legislative, the executive powers, the municipal bodies, the judicial authority, the public forces, public instruction, the finances, foreign treaties, the mode of revising or amending the constitution; and, lastly, an enactment, that no rank or superiority should exist among citizens, but such as might arise from the exercise of public functions*.

On

* By this code, every man born and resident, who, after the age of twenty-one, should have inscribed his name in a civic register, and afterwards lived a year on the territory of the republic, and paid a direct contribution, or who had made a campaign in the

On the 23d of August, this constitution was declared to be complete, and ordained to be transmitted to

the service of the republic, without paying any contribution, was declared a *citizen*. Foreigners acquired the same rights by residing in France seven years after making a declaration of an intention to settle there, provided they paid a direct contribution, possessed a real property or agricultural or commercial establishment, or married a French woman. The rights of citizenship, on the contrary, were lost by naturalization in a foreign country; affiliation with any foreign corporation which supposed distinction of birth, or required religious vows; by accepting functions or pensions from a foreign government; or by condemnation to corporal punishment. These rights were suspended in the persons of madmen, bankrupts, and their heirs who retained their property, hired servants, those under accusation, or under sentence of contumacy; and a citizen residing seven successive years out of the territory of the republic without mission or leave, was to be reputed a foreigner. No man could be inscribed on the civic register so as to obtain the title of *citizen*, unless he could read, write, and exercise a mechanical or agricultural profession; but, in favour of the *present* generation, a proviso was added, that this article should not operate till after the twelfth year of the republic.

Primary assemblies were to be composed of citizens domiciliated in the same canton, in number four hundred at least, and nine hundred at most; no one was to appear in arms, and the validity of their operations was to be referred to the legislative body alone. Those assemblies were to accept or reject the constitution proposed to them, and to make the elections which belonged to them in virtue of its decrees. Each primary assembly was to nominate one elector from every two hundred citizens to vote in the *electoral assemblies*, to which no man was competent who, besides the qualifications necessary to a French citizen, did not possess property or a valuable lease, equivalent to the produce of a hundred and fifty, or in some cases two hundred, *days' labour*. These assemblies were to meet on the 9th of April in each year, to terminate in ten days, and in that time to elect members of the legislative body, the court of annulment, high jurors, administrators of departments, officers of the criminal and judges of the civil tribunal.

The legislative body was to be composed of a *council of elders* and a *council of five hundred*, the members of which could hold no public function, save that of archivist of the republic. Each body had a right of police over its own members, but could not pronounce a more severe sentence than censure, arrest for eight days, or imprisonment for three. The sittings were to be public; the votes generally taken by sitting and rising up; but in cases of *appel nominal*, the votes of individuals were to be secret.

to the primary assemblies for their approbation. But previous to this resolution, the majority of the convention

The members of the council of five hundred were, for the present, to be admitted at twenty-five years of age; but after the year seven of the republic, they could not sit unless they were thirty. They were to propose laws, which were to be read three times at intervals of ten days, and printed and distributed two days before the second reading; those which were rejected could not be re-proposed in less than a year, but propositions recognised as urgent were exempt from these regulations.

The council of elders, or *ancients*, was composed of two hundred and fifty men, aged at least forty, married or widowers, and domiciliated in the republic during the preceding fifteen years. They were to approve or reject the resolutions of the council of five hundred, and, like them, to read the laws three times, at intervals of five days; and resolutions rejected by them could not be re-introduced till after the expiration of a year.

The executive power was delegated to a *directory of five members*, nominated by the legislative body, performing the functions of an electoral assembly in the name of the nation. The council of five hundred was to form, by secret ballot, a list of ten times the numbers of the directory to be nominated, and present it to the council of elders, who were to choose, by secret ballot also, out of the list.

The constitution regulated the administrative and municipal bodies, fixed the judicial power, directed the administration of justice to be gratuitous, appointed juries in criminal cases somewhat similar to the grand and petty juries in England, but directed their votes to be taken by secret ballot, and provided a tribunal of appealment.

For public instruction primary schools were established; but the republic provided only for the lodging of the instructors, and superior schools, at the rate of one for two departments. A national institute was also founded, charged to collect valuable discoveries, and improve the arts and sciences for the whole republic.

Finally, this new constitution declared, that the nation would in no case suffer the return of the French who, having abandoned their country since the 15th of July, 1789, were not comprehended in the exceptions made to the laws against emigrants; and interdicted the legislative body from creating new exceptions upon this point. The property of emigrants was irrevocably confiscated to the benefit of the republic. The French nation proclaimed also, as guarantee of the public faith, that after an adjudication legally completed of national property, whatever might have been its origin, the legitimate holder could not be dispossessed of it; but a person reclaiming it might, if there were reason, be indem-

vention had brought forward the grand measure by which they meant to provide for their own safety, and the safety of their friends and adherents, against the change which the public opinion had undergone concerning them. They decreed, that at the approaching general election, the electoral bodies should be bound to choose two-thirds of the new legislature from among the members of the present convention; and they afterwards decreed, that, in default of the election of two-thirds of such members, the convention should then fill up the vacancies themselves. These decrees were transmitted, along with the constitution, to the primary assemblies, to be accepted or rejected by them. Many of the primary assemblies understood, that they could not accept of the constitution without accepting along with it the law for the re-election of the *two-thirds*. The point had, in all probability, been purposely left under a certain degree of ambiguity; and as the people were now weary of this convention, they acquiesced in any conditions that gave them the prospect of one day getting quit of it. But at Paris, and in the neighbouring departments, where the subject was more accurately investigated, the public disapprobation of the convention displayed itself with great vehemence. There was indeed something extremely awkward in the decree about the re-election of two-thirds of the convention. At the meetings of the sections of Paris, the law for the re-election was rejected with contempt, and its absurdity demonstrated with much acrimony. In consequence of the debates which now took place, the minds of men were gradually inflamed, and it became obvious that a political convulsion was at hand. On one side, the convention took care to publish daily

indemnified by the national treasury; and they committed the deposit of the present constitution to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the executive directory, of the administrators and judges; to the vigilance of fathers of families; to wives and to mothers; to the affections of the young citizens; and to the courage of all the French people.

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the approbation of the decrees, along with the constitution, by the majority of the primary assemblies, by most of which the two had been confounded and accepted in the gross. Its committees also called in the troops for its protection. On the other hand, the language of the sections became every day more violent and inflammatory.

Much anxiety prevailed on both sides. Numerous deputations were sent from the sections to the convention to remonstrate against the noxious decrees. But the eagerness with which these remonstrances were made, served only to convince more strongly the members of the convention of the danger to themselves as individuals which would attend a resignation of their power, and confirmed the resolution they had taken to retain it. The sections, indignant at this new assumption of self-created power, prepared to decide the dispute by arms. But the first step taken by them was ill-concerted. A notion was propagated, that as soon as the primary assemblies or sections had chosen the electors who were to choose the members of the new legislature, the national sovereignty became vested in these electors, and that they had a right to assume the government in their various districts. Accordingly, about one hundred of the electors of Paris assembled in the hall of the French theatre in the suburb St. Germain, previous to the day of meeting appointed by the convention. Having chosen De Nivernois (formerly the duke de Nivernois) their president, they began their debates. The convention was alarmed, and instantly sent a body of the military to dismiss the meeting as illegal. This was easily accomplished, as the citizens had not been unanimous with regard to it, and no measures were taken for its protection. Notwithstanding this first advantage on the side of the convention, the sections had a very different opinion of its power, and imagined themselves secure of ultimate success. In every political contest that had occurred since the commencement of the revolution, the immense population of the capital had given a decisive
 sup-

superiority to the faction whose side it espoused. The citizens also regarded with indifference the armed force with which the convention had surrounded itself, from a notion, which they fondly entertained, that the military would in no case be brought to act against the people. The convention itself entertained some jealousy upon this head, and did not account itself entirely safe under the protection of the soldiers. It, therefore, had recourse to a new ally, and called in the aid of those very Jacobins whom it had almost crushed on the 24th of May. Several hundreds of them were dismissed from the prisons, where they had been confined since the two last insurrections, and they were now put in requisition to defend the legislative body.

The sections of Paris beholding the convention surrounded by these fragments of the Mountain party, and by men once the unrelenting agents of the government of Robespierre, now denominated *terrorists*; or *men of blood*, their ardour for action became unbounded. They assembled in arms at their different sections on the 12th Vendemaire (Oct. 4, 1795); and the design of their leaders was to seize the members of the convention, and imprison them in the church of the Quatre Nations till they could be brought to trial. As this would occasion a vacancy in the government, it was resolved that all affairs should be conducted by committees of the sections, till a new legislature could be appointed. General Miranda, a Spaniard, a native of the Caraccas in South America, who had served in the republican armies, was to be named to the chief command of the armed force after the overthrow of the convention. As he entertained some doubts of their success, however, he adopted the timid policy of avoiding the storm, by retiring from the city till the combat should be finished, resolving to return immediately on its conclusion, to share the rewards and the triumph of victory. The convention, in the meantime, resolved to strike the first blow. For this purpose they sent Menou to the section of Le Pelletier to disperse

disperse the citizens, whose greatest force was assembled there. But Menou, disliking the service which he was employed to perform, instead of proceeding to action, began to negotiate with the leaders of the sections, and spent the whole day in fruitless conferences. The sections on their side appointed general Danican, who had distinguished himself in the war against the royalists of La Vendée, to act as their military leader. The convention, on being informed of these preparations for immediate hostility, dismissed Menou, Raffet, and some others, from their stations, and gave the chief command of the troops to Barras. He immediately selected a variety of able officers to assist him; among whom we find the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now recommended to the notice of Barras, to be employed in subjugating the people of Paris.

On the 13th Vendemiaire, (October 5,) from which the insurrection was afterwards named, both parties remained for many hours upon the defensive. At last, general Danican made advances towards an accommodation, by a letter to the committee of public safety; in which he stated, that the only cause on account of which the citizens had taken arms was the dread of a massacre being intended by the armed terrorists who surrounded the convention, and that if these men were removed, tranquillity would be immediately re-established. A civil message was returned; but the convention, now confident of victory, and wishing to strengthen themselves by the defeat and punishment of their antagonists, resolved that the dispute should be decided by arms. It is not correctly known how the contest commenced; but the Jacobins, just before released from prison, are most generally understood to have begun the attack. The citizens on the southern side of the river attempted to reach the convention by the Quay de Voltaire, but were speedily repulsed by the conventional cannon; but on the northern side of the river the combat was extremely obstinate. The cannon were repeatedly seized by the citizens, and repeatedly

peatedly retaken by the troops under Barras. It was not till after a bloody contest of four hours, that the sections were repulsed and driven to the post of St. Roche. This post was also taken after great slaughter, and the sections were driven to their head-quarters at the department of Le Pelletier. After a short interval they were pursued thither by the troops of the convention, who by midnight were masters of the whole city. Thus the legislative assembly became once more triumphant, and proceeded, without further molestation, to enter upon the new plan of administration.

The convention finally terminated its sittings on the 27th of October, and, by its last decrees, a general amnesty was granted for all revolutionary crimes and proceedings. From this amnesty, however, were excepted the emigrants, the transported priests, and all persons concerned in the last insurrection. The members of the convention who had been imprisoned in the castle of Ham since the Jacobin insurrection in May, were now set at liberty. The members of the revolutionary committees, and other agents of Robespierre in Paris and the departments, were all dismissed from their prisons, and many of them advanced to important offices under the new administration.

M. Prud'homme summed up the general abstract of the "Acts of the Convention," and the effects of its existence in the following manner: Its sittings continued thirty-seven months and four days, during which time eleven thousand two hundred and ten laws were enacted, and three hundred and sixty conspiracies and one hundred and forty insurrections denounced; eighteen thousand six hundred and thirteen persons were put to death by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost thirty-one thousand two hundred men; that at Marseilles seven hundred and twenty-nine. At Toulon fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-five were destroyed; and in the ré-actions in the south, after the fall of Robespierre, seven hundred and fifty individuals perished. The war in La Vendée is com-

puted to have caused the destruction of nine hundred thousand men, and more than two hundred thousand dwellings. Impressed with images of terror, four thousand seven hundred and ninety persons committed suicide; and three thousand four hundred women died in consequence of premature deliveries: two hundred thousand are computed to have died of famine, and one thousand five hundred and fifty were driven to insanity. In the colonies, one hundred and twenty-four thousand white men, women, and children, and six hundred thousand people of colour, were massacred; two towns and three thousand two hundred habitations were burnt. The loss of men in the war is estimated at eight hundred thousand; while one hundred and twenty-three thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, who had emigrated in the course of the revolution, were now excluded from the regions of France.

No sooner had the new legislature divided itself into two councils, than it proceeded to the election of an executive directory. Here the genius of intrigue instantly displayed itself. The council of five hundred was bound to present to the council of two hundred and fifty a list of ten times the number of candidates necessary for the office. It fulfilled this duty in the following manner: the majority of the council of five hundred made out a list, consisting of the five following persons, upon whom they wished the election ultimately to fall, viz. Sieyes, Barras, Rewbell, La Revenlere Lepaux, and Letourneur de la Manche. To complete the list, they added the names of forty-five obscure persons, country justices, farmers, and even peasants. Thus there was nothing left to the council of elders but the mere form of an election; and from the want of other qualified candidates, they were under the necessity of nominating to the office of DIRECTORS the five persons at the head of the list presented by the council of five hundred!

The artful Sieyes, however, who had been the adviser of all parties, but the ostensible agent of none, did not yet think fit to venture upon the possession of power.

power. He had disapproved of the constitution which was now put in force, and had framed one of his own in opposition to it, which was rejected by the convention.

The first public act of the new government issued by the directory was a proclamation addressed to the people, professing that the destiny of all republicans should ever remain attached to their own, and that their conduct should be guided by inflexible justice; and the strictest observance of the laws. They promised to wage an active war against royalism, to revive patriotism, repress with a vigorous hand all factions, extinguish all party spirit, annihilate every desire of vengeance, make concord reign, regenerate morals, throw open the sources of fertility, re-animate industry and trade, stifle pecuniary jobbing, give new life to the arts and sciences, re-establish plenty and public credit, restore social order instead of the chaos inseparable from revolutions; and, in fine, procure for the French republic the happiness and glory to which it was entitled.

The new government endeavoured to provide for the exigencies of the war. The assignats had been totally depreciated; a forced loan had failed; and it now remained to try the effect of a new paper currency. This project was offered as resulting from a committee of the council of five hundred, whose resolution, after many debates, was adopted. It allowed the emission of two milliards and four hundred millions of livres (105,000,000l.) in paper to be called *mandats territoriaux*. This new currency was to be received as money, and to be considered as conveying a mortgage with special title to purchase all national domains, inasmuch that the possessor had only to present himself to the administration of the department where the domain he wished to buy was situated, and the contract of sale should be made out in ten days. To reinforce this new project, the directory addressed to the people a proclamation detailing its advantages, and promising the most glorious effects from its suc-

cess; but they soon found themselves under the necessity of applying to the legislature for an act compelling the sellers of every commodity to receive this paper as cash. They ordained the same punishments against forgers of mandates as had been formerly denounced against those who counterfeited assignats*; and those who refused to receive them in payment, or who bought and sold metallic coin, were to be fined for the first offence, and for the second to be imprisoned for four years. Yet, very soon after they were issued, their value fell so much that a hundred livres could be purchased for nine in specie; and after a short period, they could no longer be circulated.

Those who bought national domains with this paper currency, soon found that their purchases were not so cheap as they had expected; for, the necessities of government still continuing, the sales were *revised*, and the purchasers compelled to augment their payments, in order to escape the penalties of confiscation. This measure introduced a new inconvenience. The national woods had been sold with the other domains; and the purchasers, hastily called upon to make good an unexpected payment, felled the timber for such prices as could on the sudden be obtained. A similar fate attended many valuable collections of books, pictures, and gems, which being forced into cash, produced only a small price, and were dispersed in the hands of brokers and speculatists of every description. Recourse was therefore had to taxation, which, though attended with much difficulty, was found to be the only legitimate mode of raising the supplies which were required.

The spirited contests still maintained by the opposition, obliged the government once more to restrain the Jacobins, by shutting up their principal place of

* It may be mentioned, to the disgrace of the English nation, that forged assignats, to a very great amount, were fabricated in London. These were circulated in great quantities on the continent, and tended, among other causes, to bring the assignats into contempt.

meeting

meeting near the Pantheon, and by preventing their secret assemblies in different places; but, at the same time, they closed many churches, theatres, and amicable societies, as if they were desirous to console the Jacobins, and confound all distinctions between them and their opponents. By degrees, however, these fragments of the Mountain party became more dangerous to the peace of the metropolis, and it was found necessary to take measures for preventing their conspiracies, by disarming and dispersing their leaders. Babœuf, who had assumed the appellative of *Gracchus*, placed himself at the head of a new conspiracy; and Drouet, the post-master of Varennes, who had on his return from confinement in Austria, been honourably received in the legislature, was also a conspicuous leader. They had established a committee of insurrection, under the name of secret directory of public safety, which corresponded with inferior committees, dispersed throughout the capital. Funds were supplied for the maintenance of patriots by voluntary contribution, and great numbers daily flocked to Paris, who were considered as recruits. Their plan was, to massacre the five directors, all the legislators who had deviated from the principles of the Mountain party, the ministers, and all the constituted authorities in Paris who should issue orders for resisting them, and all foreigners of whatever nation they might be. The insurgents were then to seize the gates of Paris, the post-office, the treasury, the mint, and all magazines containing victuals or ammunition. The constitution of 1793 was to be proclaimed on the bodies of the victims, and two placards were ready printed which were to be pasted up and profusely distributed.

But whatever appearance of formidable combination this conspiracy may present on paper, it was, in reality, attended with little danger. The directory were apprised of all the circumstances and all the agents, and sent several messages to the councils, and issued proclamations indicating their intelligence, and forbidding alarm. They even permitted the conspirators

rators to proceed till the eve of executing their project, when a proclamation appeared, May 11, 1796, detailing all its particulars. The conspirators were then seized, seals put on their papers, a report made on their treason, and a court empowered to sit at Vendôme for the purpose of trying them. Drouet protested his innocence in vain, and made unavailing efforts to account for his association with the conspirators; he was ordered for trial, but found means to escape from prison. Babœuf, on being apprehended, wrote insolent letters to the directory, inviting them to treat with him as with an equal power, and threatening them with new dangers from the exertions of his party. His letter was treated with contempt; yet, while the high court at Vendôme was proceeding on his trial, a new insurrection was actually excited. It was planned with some dexterity, as white cockades were thrown about the streets, five banners inscribed "Death to republicans," and "Vive le roi," were seized, and placards were posted inviting the people to re-establish royalty. These manœuvres were intended to mislead the attention of government; but the real nature of the project was clearly ascertained, and measures adopted for its frustration. Disappointed in these efforts, the conspirators tried a coup-de-main on the camp at Grenelle, where, after some ineffectual endeavours to induce the soldiery to fraternise with them, they made a desperate attack on Malo, commander of a troop of horse, but were defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners. A military commission condemned twenty-five to imprisonment, thirty to deportation, and thirty-two to death, who were in pursuance of their sentence shot in the Champ de Mars and in the plain of Grenelle, in December, 1796. Babœuf and several of his accomplices suffered under the guillotine in the preceding May*.

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* Amidst their preparations for the approaching campaign, the directory endeavoured to increase their reputation by establishing the *National Institute*, a society of men of letters, constituted on

The British government at this period made an approach towards a pacific negotiation with France. On the 8th of March, Mr. Wickham, the minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss cantons, transmitted to M. Barthelemy, ambassador from the French republic to the Helvetic body, a note containing three questions: Whether France would be disposed to send ministers to a congress to negotiate a peace with his Britannic majesty and his allies? Whether France would be disposed to communicate the general grounds on which she would be willing to conclude peace, that his majesty and his allies might consider them in concert? And, lastly, Whether France would desire to communicate any other mode of accomplishing a peace? The note concluded with a promise to transmit to the British court whatever answer should be returned; but declared, that Mr. Wickham was not authorized to enter into any discussion on these topics.

Barthelemy returned an answer in the name of the French directory, on the 26th of the same month. This answer began by complaining of insincerity in the proposal made by the British court, seeing its ambassador was not authorized to negotiate, and that a congress was proposed which must render negotiation endless. It proceeded to state the ardent desire of the directory for peace; but asserted that it could listen

a plan similar to that of the truly celebrated Royal Academy, and equally under the protection of the government. Into this body were collected the most distinguished literary characters in the nation, such as La Place, Lalande, Fourcroy, Berthollet, Volney, Dolomieu, and others, well known throughout Europe. The first public meeting of the institute was held with great splendour, on the 4th of April, 1796, in the hall of the Louvre, called the Hall of Antiques. The ambassadors of Spain, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, America, Tuscany, Genoa, and Geneva, were present. The members of the directory attended in their robes, and their president made a speech of installation, declaring the determination of the executive power to protect and encourage literature and the arts. Dusaulx, the president of the institute, then declared the resolution of the members to labour to give lustre to the republican government by their talents and productions.

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to no proposal for giving up any territory that had been declared by the constitutional act to form a part of the republic (alluding to the Austrian Netherlands); declaring, however, that other countries occupied by the French armies, and political or commercial interests, might become the subject of negotiation. Upon these points the directory declared its readiness to receive reasonable proposals. To this answer no reply was sent; but the British court published a note, of which copies were presented to the foreign ministers at the court of St. James's; and in it the spirit of the directors' answer was complained of, and also the refusal even to negotiate about the retention of foreign territory, under pretence of an internal regulation. It was added, that while such dispositions were persisted in, nothing was left but to prosecute the war; but that, when more pacific sentiments should be manifested, the king of England would be ready to concur with his allies in taking measures for establishing a just, honourable, and permanent, pacification.

While the armistice was pending, the situation of the imperial and French armies in Germany was as follows: the Rhine separated them from the frontiers of Switzerland to the environs of the town of Spire, where it ceased to be their common barrier; beyond that city, the cantonments they respectively occupied, at the distance of some leagues from each other, extended across the Upper Palatinate, the duchy of Deuxponts, and the Hunspruck. The line occupied by the imperial army passed through the towns of Spire, Neustadt, Kayerslautern, Kussel, and thence crossing the Naye, terminated at the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Baccarach. At this point, that river again became the common separation of both armies, and continued so to beyond Cologne, between the river Sieg and the town of Dusseldorf. The Austrians and French divided between them the whole space between the river and the last-mentioned fortress, before which the army of the latter had an in-

intrenched camp. The imperialists occupied on the Rhine the strong fortresses of Philipsburg, Mannheim, Mentz, and Ehrenbreitstein. The French possessed on the Upper Rhine those of Alsace, and on the Lower Rhine that of Dusseldorf. The French armies commanded by Jourdan and Moreau were estimated at one hundred and sixty thousand men; those under the archduke Charles amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand: so that their respective forces were nearly equal.

One of the conditions of the armistice was, that ten days notice should be given of its termination; and this ceremony having been complied with on the part of the Austrians, hostilities recommenced on the 31st of May, 1796. General Jourdan first made a movement on both banks of the Lower Rhine, and several affairs of posts took place in the Hunspruck. On the right bank of the Rhine, where the imperialists were weakest, the French employed their principal force. Twenty thousand men only defended the Sieg, covered Ehrenbreitstein, and lined the right bank of the Rhine, between the Sieg and the Lahn. This corps, commanded by the prince of Wurtemberg, was attacked by the army of the Sambre and Meuse under general Kleber, and compelled to retire behind the river to the strong position of Uckerath, with the loss of two thousand four hundred men. Before the prince was completely established in this post, the French endeavoured, by superior numbers, to out-flank and turn him; but he fell back on Altenkirchen, where he was immediately attacked, and put to the rout, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon, part of his magazines, and three thousand men. The Austrians were thus compelled to retire behind the Lahn, leaving Ehrenbreitstein uncovered, which was immediately invested by the republican forces.

The archduke Charles, sensible of the necessity of reinforcing the prince of Wurtemberg, renounced a diversion he was making in the palatinate and the Hunspruck, and directing his march towards Mentz,

passed the Rhine, and having secured the defence of the Lahn, proceeded in person against the left wing of the French army, headed by general Lefevre. The archduke pushed forward with the utmost celerity to prevent a junction between Jourdan and Kleber, and caused the right wing of his army to pass the Lahn and the Dille at Wetzlaer. General Werneck, who commanded this division, attacked the French without success; till seven o'clock in the evening, on the 15th of June, when a reinforcement having arrived, the archduke advanced, and surmounting great obstacles, gained a complete victory. The republicans in their retreat took another position equally strong with the former, but were again expelled, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. The French corps which defended the Lower Lahn were obliged to fall back on the Sieg, pursued by the archduke, with the loss of all their provisions, artillery, waggons, and baggage.

But while these events took place on the Lower Rhine, general Moreau commenced the campaign on the Upper Rhine, by two attacks on the position of general Wurmser, on the 14th and 20th of June; but which produced no effect but that of confining the imperialists within their intrenched camp before the fort of the Rhine. Moreau, however, intended them only as feints; for, leaving a small force to watch the Austrian camp, he suddenly marched with the greater portion of his army towards Strasburgh, where preparations were making for an important enterprize.

By reason of the loss of the Milanese, the court of Vienna had determined to send mareschal Wurmser into Italy with thirty thousand men; a resolution which the French had learned by means of their spies before it was communicated to the imperial army, and formed their measures accordingly. The departure of thirty thousand troops from the Upper Rhine, created an opening which the archduke's expedition to the Lower Rhine would not permit him to fill up for some time; and Moreau, taking advantage of the
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critical moment, embarked three thousand men in boats, who landing on some small islands between Strasburgh and fort Kehl, drove in the imperial piquets, who in their flight omitted to break down the bridges which communicate with the right bank of the Rhine. These the French passed, and suddenly attacked Kehl: the Suabian garrison, though assailed only by infantry, made no resistance; and the supineness of the troops in the neighbourhood afforded the republican army sufficient time to strengthen themselves in their new acquisition, as well as to establish a bridge of boats between Kehl and Strasburgh, and spread themselves over the plain, so as to defy any attack from Offenburgh or Rastadt.

On receiving information of these events, Latour, the Austrian general, in conjunction with the prince of Condé, made great exertions to stop the progress of the republicans, but they were too late. Moreau, with eighty thousand men, occupied the best chosen positions, and continued to gain advantages over the Suabians, from whom he took the mountain of Kniebis, and the town of Freydenstadt; while Dessaix, at the head of the left column of the French, defeated Latour at Renchen, and pushed forward to the city of Rastadt. Here Moreau, with a large reinforcement, joined Dessaix; and after a bloody engagement which lasted the whole day, compelled the imperialists to retreat to Eslingen with great loss.

Suspecting the intended movement of the French, the archduke Charles left thirty thousand men under general Wartensleben, to cover the Lower Rhine; and having reinforced the garrisons of Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, arrived with the rest of his army by forced marches on the banks of the Murg, at the moment when Latour was giving way to his opponents. But as soon as the archduke had quitted the Lower Rhine, the army of the Sambre and Meuse resumed offensive operations; Jourdan, passing the river near Nieuwied, surprized the Austrian general Funck, and compelled Wartensleben to retire behind the Lahn, which the

whole French army passed in three columns. In vain did Wartensleben oppose to their force all the efforts of skill and valour; he was unsuccessful in several engagements, and witnessed the capture of fort Kœnigstein, the irresistible advance of the republicans towards Frankfort, and finally, the capitulation of that important town on the 11th of July. He could only hope for safety by retreating towards Wurtzburgh, in order to establish a communication with the army of the archduke Charles.

That brave prince was apprized of the events which had taken place on his quitting the Lower Rhine; and, anticipating the consequences, saw no chance of avoiding the dangers of being placed between the victorious armies of Jourdan and Moreau, but by a battle; for which purpose he posted his right wing near the village of Durmersheim, his centre in front of Esslingen; and his left near the town and mountains of Frauenall. He wished to defer the encounter for three days, to give time for the arrival of reinforcements; but Moreau, penetrating his intentions, suddenly attacked his forces on all points, on the 9th of July, endeavouring to turn their left by getting round the mountains. After four repulses, the French succeeded in this object, and the imperialists were obliged to retreat towards Pfortzheim. The loss of men was nearly equal on both sides; but the republicans had the advantage of detaching the Austrians entirely from the banks of the Rhine, and from the fortified towns of Philipsburg and Mannheim, into both which, however, the archduke prudently threw strong garrisons.

Having remained at Pfortzheim four days, the archduke learnt that the French army were directing their march towards Stutgard; and therefore, to preserve his communication with the prince of Condé, he removed his camp to a position near Vahingen, on the river Entz. The republican army still continuing to advance into the duchy of Wurtemberg, the archduke removed to Ludwisburg, and sent two small corps under general Baillet and prince John of Lichtenstein,

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to post themselves at Constadt and Eslingen. The French entered Stutgard the same day; and the archduke passed his army over the Neckar, and encamped at Feldbach; while the prince of Condé and general Frœlich were obliged to yield up the Brisgau and the country of the Black Forest, falling back to Sigmaringen on the Danube. At the same time general Wartensleben, continuing to give way before the well-appointed army of Jourdan, was rapidly retiring across Franconia, and on his arrival at Wurtzburg found himself on a line with the front of the archduke; from which period the march of the respective armies became more combined.

The French constantly took advantage of their success by levying contributions: from Frankfort they received six millions of livres (267,500*l.*) in specie, and two millions (87,500*l.*) in provisions. The margrave of Baden, the duke of Wurtemberg, the circle of Suabia, and all the petty princes whose estates are comprehended therein, were obliged to purchase a suspension of arms at an enormous price. Their joint contribution amounted to twenty-five millions of livres (about 1,114,584*l.*), twelve thousand horses, as many oxen, five hundred thousand quintals of wheat, rye, and oats, two hundred thousand pair of shoes, and an immense quantity of other necessities. The king of Prussia also entered into a new treaty with the French, the conditions of which were concealed, but its nature appeared in the advantage which he took of the progress of their arms to seize certain territories in Germany, and particularly the suburbs of Nuremberg, under colour of some antiquated title. Spain also entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with France, which was afterwards followed by a declaration of war against the king of England.

Excepting a part of the mountains of Tyrol, three French armies, one under Jourdan, another under Moreau, and a third commanded by Bonaparte, now occupied the whole country reaching from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Adriatic Sea. And now, deserted by

by all the members of the coalition, except Great Britain, the emperor of Germany experienced her liberality in the grant of a loan, which extricated him from his immediate difficulties. Having thus the command of money, he was enabled to send one army after another to oppose Bonaparte in Italy, while he recruited his forces in Germany by extensive levies, and by taking into his pay the troops of those states that had made their peace with the French.

The archduke, having received powerful reinforcements, resolved to make a stand, on the 11th of August, against Moreau, at Umenheim. A severe battle was fought, during seventeen hours, and one of the wings of the Austrian army under general Riese had succeeded in occupying four leagues of territory in the rear of the French army; but the archduke having received intelligence that Wartensleben could not maintain his ground against Jourdan, he thought fit to order a retreat, and adopt new measures. He now conceived the project of leaving a small force to keep Moreau in check, while with the main army he should fall on Jourdan, and overwhelm him with superior numbers. Having formed the necessary preparations, he recalled his troops from the other side of the Danube, burnt the bridge of Donawert, and pressed forward on this expedition. Unexpected circumstances had obliged Wartensleben to retire from the town of Amberg to Schwartzensfeld behind the Naab; and the archduke, advancing more to the right than he had originally intended, arrived at Hemman. General Nauendorf attacked the French division under Bernadotte on the 22d of August, and drove them from the village of Teining. Hotze attacked and pursued them to Altdorf, while squadrons of Austrian cavalry and light infantry occupied the high road to Nuremberg. These manœuvres placed the archduke on the right flank of Jourdan's army, and he concerted measures for a general attack; but the French commander, apprized of Bernadotte's defeat, abandoned all his posts, and retired to Amberg on the 23d. The Austrians pursued, and compelled him to fall back to Sultzbach with

with the loss of nine hundred prisoners, and two battalions of his rear-guard, who were cut to pieces.

General Nauendorf, with ten thousand men, was dispatched to reinforce Latour, and prevent Moreau from taking advantage of his reduced force, while the archduke prepared to expel Jourdan from Franconia. As a necessary preliminary, he sent general Hotze to Wurtzburg, who drove out the French garrison, and possessed himself of the citadel. Jourdan had shewn himself equally anxious to preserve this post, but arrived too late, and failed in a spirited attempt to expel the Austrians. His sense of honour, however, impelled him to risk a battle for the preservation of his conquests, and having selected a most advantageous position, he waited with firmness the approach of his opponent. The archduke, having thrown a bridge across the Mein, divided his army into three columns, the left commanded by general Sztarray, the centre by Wartensleben, and the right by Kray. Sztarray, who was first engaged, was brought into imminent danger by the delay of the other divisions in crossing the river; but the archduke having ordered Wartensleben to ford the Mein with all his cavalry, the timely execution of his command saved him from defeat. When the army had passed the river, a general charge was made, and the Austrians, penetrating through the woods with fixed bayonets, dislodged and drove the republicans in every direction. Jourdan lost two thousand killed and wounded, and upwards of three thousand prisoners, with ten pieces of cannon, and a vast number of baggage and provision waggons, while the loss of the Austrians amounted to about twelve hundred men.

Jourdan then retired to Hamelburg, continuing his retreat towards the Upper Lahn, across the country of Fuld and Weteravia. The archduke dispatched his right wing under general Kray, against Wetzlaer, which the French abandoned. General Hotze, with the left, attempted to dislodge them from Weilburg, but without success. The archduke then prepared to

to attack their centre by a combined operation; but the French evacuated the towns of Dietz and Limbourg, and retired behind the Lahn. After many partial skirmishes, in one of which general Marceau was slain, two divisions of the French army passed the Rhine at Cologne, and the main body reached the intrenched camp before Dusseldorf. Thus ended Jourdan's famous retreat of more than three hundred miles in twenty-five days, during which he is said to have lost nearly half his army. Bournonville was on this occasion promoted to the command of the army in this quarter, instead of the brave but unsuccessful Jourdan.

General Moreau's army, now isolated and cut off from that of Jourdan, was supposed would become an easy conquest. Many attacks were made upon him, but all of them without success; and the imperial generals were at last obliged to give way to him wherever he appeared. In this interval the elector-palatine, terrified at his approach, obtained a treaty of peace, by which, in consideration of six millions of livres (437,500*l.*) three thousand three hundred horses, two hundred thousand quintals of grain, one hundred thousand sacks of oats, one hundred thousand pair of shoes, ten thousand pair of boots, thirty thousand ells of cloth, and twenty pictures to be selected from the galleries of Dusseldorff and Munich, Moreau sold to the elector a neutrality for his dominions in Bavaria, Franconia, and Westphalia.

The French general Moreau, perceiving no probability of being joined either by the armies of Jourdan or Bonaparte, resolved to retreat towards the Rhine through Suabia. He had recrossed the Lech to prepare for this event; but now, suddenly passing it again, as if determined to advance farther into Austria, he drove back general Latour, with great loss, as far as Landsperg. Having thus obtained freedom for his movements, he proceeded between the Danube and the lake of Constance. Latour, however, hung upon his rear. He also found the passes of the Black Forest

Forest occupied by large bodies of Austrians, while generals Nauendorf and Petrarsch harassed his right flank with twenty-four thousand men. He now again turned upon Latour like a hunted tiger, totally defeated him, and took no less than five thousand prisoners, whom he was able to carry to France. He then continued his retreat; his right wing, under Dessaix, keeping Nauendorf and Petrarsch in check, while the rest of the army cleared the passages in front, till he arrived at the *Val d'Enfer*, a narrow defile running between lofty mountains. After this desperate effort he reached Fribourg on the 13th of October, 1796; but was soon compelled by the archduke Charles, who had arrived from the pursuit of Jourdan, to evacuate all his positions on the Suabian side of the Rhine, with the exception of Kehl, and a temporary fortification at Huningen.

The Austrian troops, in the mean time, had taken advantage of the defenceless state of the French frontier to cross the Rhine at Mannheim, and to advance in various detachments to Weissembourg, Seltz, Hagenuau, and almost to the gates of Strasburg. These detachments being now recalled, the archduke resolved to terminate the campaign by the capture of Kehl and the fortification at Huningen. But this proved no easy task. A great part of the winter was spent in fruitless attempts on the part of the Austrians, sometimes to take them by storm, and sometimes to reduce them by a regular siege. Different sallies were made by the French, and immense numbers of men were lost on both sides by the sword, and by the severity of the season. It was not till the 10th of January, 1797, that the French agreed to evacuate Kehl; and the fortification at Huningen was not given up till the succeeding month.

The French army in Italy was commanded by Bonaparte, and opposed by the Austrian general Beaulieu. The French amounted to about eighty-five thousand men. Bonaparte, on his arrival to take the command, found it ill equipped, and the troops muti-

nous for want of necessaries. He addressed them; however, in the style of military enterprize: "If we are to be vanquished, we have already too much; and if we conquer, we shall want nothing;" and ordered them to prepare for immediate action. The Austrian army under general Beaulieu is said to have been greatly superior to the French in number. To these were united the king of Sardinia's army under count Colli, of sixty thousand regular troops, besides the militia of the country, and a small body of Neapolitan cavalry, amounting to about two thousand five hundred men. General Beaulieu made the first movement on the 9th of April, 1796, by attacking a post called Voltri, which the French possessed, within six leagues of Genoa. They defended themselves till the evening, and then retreated to Savona. Next morning Beaulieu, at the head of fifteen thousand men, pressing upon the centre of the French army, was completely successful till one o'clock in the afternoon, when he reached a redoubt at Montenotte, which was the last of their intrenchments. This redoubt contained one thousand five hundred French. Their commander, Rampon, prevailed with them, in a moment of enthusiasm, to swear that they would not surrender; and the consequence was, that they arrested the progress of Beaulieu for the remainder of the day. During the night, Bonaparte stationed his right wing under La Harpe in the rear of the redoubt of Montenotte, which still held out; while he himself, with Massena, Berthier, and Salicetti, advanced by Altara, to take the Austrians on their flank and rear. Beaulieu, in the mean time, had received powerful reinforcements, and on the morning of the 11th renewed the attack on the French under La Harpe; but Massena soon advancing upon the flank of the Austrians and Sardinians, they gave way on all sides. Two of their generals, Rocca and Argenteau, were wounded; and they lost two thousand five hundred prisoners. The number of slain was immense.

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On the 13th, the defiles of Millesimo were forced by the French general Augereau at day-break; and, by a sudden movement, general Provera, at the head of one thousand five hundred Austrian grenadiers, was surrounded, a circumstance which proved not a little embarrassing to the French army; for this resolute officer, instead of surrendering, instantly retired to a ruined castle on the top of the mountain, and there entrenched himself. Augereau brought up his artillery, and spent many hours in attempting to dislodge him. At last he divided his troops into four columns, and endeavoured to carry Provera's entrenchments by storm. The French lost two generals, Banel and Quenin, and Joubert was wounded in this attempt, which proved unsuccessful. Provera passed the night in the midst of the French army, which had been prevented by his obstinate resistance from coming to battle. On the 14th, the hostile armies faced each other, but a division of the French troops was still occupied in blockading Provera. The Austrians attempted to force the centre of the French, but without success. Massena, in the mean time, turned the left flank of their left wing near the village of Dego; while La Harpe, with his division in three close columns, turned the right flank of the same wing. One column kept in awe the centre of the Austrians, a second attacked the flank of their left wing, while the third column gained its rear. Thus was the left wing of the combined army completely surrounded and thrown into confusion. Eight thousand men were, on this occasion, taken prisoners, and general Provera at last surrendered.

On the morning after his fatal defeat at Millesimo, Beaulieu, at the head of seven thousand chosen Austrians, attacked at day-break the village of Dego, where the French reposed in security after their success. He took the village; but the French, having rallied under Massena, spent the greater part of the day in attempting to retake it. They were thrice repulsed, and one of their generals, Causse, was killed.

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Towards evening, however, Bonaparte in person having brought up reinforcements, the post was retaken, and the Austrians retired with the loss of one thousand four hundred made prisoners.

Bonaparte afterwards threw himself between the Austrian and Sardinian armies. By possessing the strong post of Dego, his right was secured against the efforts of Beaulieu; while he was enabled to act with the mass of his force against the Piedmontese. His enterprizes in this quarter were facilitated by the exertions of Augereau, who had opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, where Serrurier's division was approaching the town of Ceva, and near which the Piedmontese had an entrenched camp, defended by eight thousand men. On the 16th, Augereau attacked the redoubts that covered this camp, which induced the Piedmontese to evacuate it in the night; and, on the 17th, Ceva was entered by Serrurier. Count Colli now retreated to cover Turin, making choice, however, of the strongest posts, and fighting in them all. He was able, on the 20th, to repulse Serrurier; but, on the 22d, Bonaparte, still pressing on the Piedmontese general, defeated him with great loss near Mondovi, and entered that place. The retreating army in vain made a stand, with its head-quarters at Fossano, and its wings at Coni and Cherasco. On the 25th, Massena advanced against Cherasco, which was speedily evacuated. Fossano surrendered to Serrurier, and Alba to Augereau.

On the 23d of April, the day after he had been defeated near Mondovi, count Colli wrote to Bonaparte, requesting an armistice, to allow the king of Sardinia an opportunity of negotiating a peace. By this time the French army was within twenty-six miles of Turin; and that prince saw himself suddenly reduced to the distressing alternative of being closely besieged in his capital, or of accepting such terms as the conqueror might think proper to impose. Bonaparte granted an armistice, on condition that the three fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, should be delivered

vered up to him, with their artillery and magazines, and that he should be allowed to cross the Po at Valentia. The armistice was signed on the 29th, and it was followed by a formal treaty with the French republic, concluded at Paris on the 17th of May*.

While the peace was negotiating, the republican army advanced towards the Po. Beaulieu was deceived by the article in the armistice which stipulated, that the French should be allowed to cross that river at Valentia, and made all his preparations for resistance in that quarter. Bonaparte laboured by every means to confirm this error; and while Beaulieu waited for him near Valentia, he advanced hastily into Lombardy, and had proceeded sixty miles to Placentia, where he arrived on the 7th of May, before the direction of his march was known to the Austrian general. He immediately effected his passage without difficulty, there being only a small party of Austrian cavalry on the opposite bank, and they fled at his approach. Beaulieu in the mean while had sent, when too late, a body of six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, to hinder the French from passing the river; but Bonaparte, now on the same side of the river with themselves, met and defeated them on the 8th, at the village of Fombio. Another party of five thousand imperialists, advancing to the assistance of those at Fombio, was met at Codogno, and repulsed by La Harpe; but this officer was killed on the occasion. On

* The conditions imposed on the fallen king of Sardinia were humiliating and severe. He surrendered to France for ever the duchy of Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Jenda, and Breteuil. He gave an amnesty to all his subjects that were prosecuted for political opinions. He agreed that the French troops should have free access to Italy through his territory; and, in addition to the fortresses surrendered by the armistice, he gave up those of Exiles, Susa, Brunette, Assiette, Chateau Dauphin, and Alexandria, to be possessed by the French during the war; and they were authorized to levy military contributions in the territory occupied by them. He agreed to erect no works in future on the side of France, and to demolish the fortresses of Brunette and Susa.

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the 9th, Bonaparte granted an armistice to the duke of Parma, on condition of his paying a contribution of two million of livres, (87,500*l.*) and delivering ten thousand quintals of wheat, five thousand quintals of oats, and two thousand oxen, for the use of the army. This prince also agreed to deliver up twenty of his best paintings, to be chosen by the French. Similar stipulations were ordered to be inserted in every future treaty; by which means the most valuable curiosities of Italy were to be transferred to the French capital. In the above actions the Austrians suffered amazing loss both in killed and wounded.

The Austrians under general Beaulieu being driven from the Po, after their defeat at Fombio, crossed the Adda, and made good their retreat to Lodi, on that river, where marshal Beaulieu concentrated the Austrian forces. On the approach of the French, they abandoned the town with so much precipitation that they had not time to destroy the bridge, which, however, they defended with thirty pieces of artillery; and the imperial troops were drawn up in line of battle, to hinder the passage. On the 10th of May, a severe cannonade took place for some hours; but the shew of resistance made by the Austrians appeared so formidable, that the French generals were for some time undecided with respect to the manner of the attack. To pass the bridge in the face of the Austrian army posted so advantageously, was incurring certain destruction to numbers; and therefore in the deliberations which took place among the French generals, the majority were of opinion that the passage should be attempted at places at some distance, both above and below the town, where the resistance would be considerably weakened, if not rendered ineffective. Bonaparte, however, full of confidence in his soldiers, and feeling that delay would be more injurious to his plan of operations than the loss to be expected by marching up to the Austrian batteries, gave peremptory orders that the attack should be made by the
bridge.

bridge. Accordingly, before day-break, the army prepared for the enterprize, and a column of carabineers, followed by a battalion of grenadiers, passed the bridge half-way before they were discovered by the Austrians. A general discharge destroyed about seven hundred; the advanced body of the column was struck with terror, and stopped short; but animated by the cries of "*Vive la republique!*" from the generals, who saw the danger, and who threw themselves at their head, they rushed forward with impetuosity, seized the Austrian artillery, which the French turned upon them, broke through the lines, and throwing the whole into disorder, ended the contest by dispersing the imperial troops. This exploit has been much celebrated; and it had the effect of producing a great portion of national exultation.

General Beaulieu, being obliged to retire up the Adda, recalled those troops which he had placed on the Ticino and at Milan, which city he evacuated, leaving only eighteen hundred men in the citadel, who capitulated to four thousand French, under Massena, who took possession of the town, and on the following day, May 12, Bonaparte made his triumphal entry. He imposed on Lombardy, as the price of their liberty, a contribution of twenty millions of livres (875,000*l.*), and obtained from the duke of Modena half that sum, and twenty valuable pictures, for a suspension of arms.

General Beaulieu being now too weak to dispute any longer the possession of the Milanese, thought only of covering Mantua, and keeping up his communication with Germany; for which purpose he took a good position on the Mincio; but Bonaparte having forced the passage of that river near Borghetto, and marched a column of his army towards Peschiera and Castelnovo, with the intention of cutting him off from the road to Verona and Trente, the Austrian general was obliged to give up all communication with Mantua, and retreat towards the Adige. Mantua was abundantly supplied with provisions,

visions, and Beaulieu, after placing in it a garrison of twelve thousand men, had only fourteen thousand left, at the head of whom he effected a judicious retreat, traversing the states of Venice, and gaining the narrow passes of the Tyrol, where he intended to defend himself.

The French, thus become masters of Italy, spread themselves in every direction. Terror and dismay went before them, and produced applications for an armistice from the king of Naples, and the pope. The territories of Naples being from the scene of action, were not subjected to a contribution; nothing more was required but a separation of the troops of that country from those of the emperor. The pope, on the contrary, being within the grasp of the republicans, Bonaparte took from him Bologna, Ferrara, and fort Urbino, and the pontiff was promised further forbearance, on yielding to the French those places, and the citadel of Ancona, and on paying twenty-one millions of livres, (947,778*l.*) a hundred paintings and two hundred of the most valuable manuscripts from the public library of Rome.

Having gained these towns, the French obtained sufficient artillery and stores for the siege of Mantua; and, not content with the spoils of Rome, they plundered Milan, Pavia, Parma, and Placenza, of their choicest works. During these transactions, the French made themselves masters of the castle of Milan, which surrendered on the 29th of June.

From the papal territories, Bonaparte advanced to Leghorn, in the neutral state of Tuscany, under pretence of driving out the English, and confiscating their property. By means of unusual speed and activity, the task assigned to Bonaparte was completed by the time the campaign upon the Rhine was begun. Mantua was still indeed in the hands of the imperialists; but it was blockaded, and all Italy was submissive to the mandates of the French republic.

At the commencement of the French invasion of Germany, mareschal Wurmser was sent into Italy to replace

replace Beaulieu, who was removed from his command. On his arrival, he collected the wrecks of the Austrian army, and prepared, till he should receive reinforcements, to confine the French within as narrow limits as possible, by lines drawn from the lake of Garda to the river Adige. At the end of June, however, these lines were attacked and carried by Massena's division, which induced Wurmser to avoid further exertion till he should receive a more adequate force. The first part of the month of July was spent by Bonaparte in pressing the siege of Mantua, which before the close of that month he expected to capture. In this, however, he was deceived. Twenty thousand Austrian troops had been sent from the Rhine; and other reinforcements were marching towards Italy; so that Bonaparte, instead of being able to take Mantua, had to defend himself against the force of a superior army, that approached to raise the siege, and even threatened to drive him out of Italy.

General Wurmser's troops descended from the Tyrol in two divisions. One half proceeded along the east side of the lake of Garda, and the other came by the west to cut off the retreat of the French, who were thus enclosed by the Austrians. On the 29th of July, Massena was driven from the strong post of La Corona, on the east side of the lake, while, at the same time, fifteen thousand Austrians drove the French from Salo, and afterwards took Brescia, with all the magazines and hospitals of Bonaparte's army. There was a fatal error, however, in the general plan of operations formed by the imperialists. Their army united was an overmatch for the French; but they had voluntarily divided it into two weak parts, placing Bonaparte between them. The error was instantly discerned, and taken advantage of by their sagacious antagonist. On the night of the 30th, he suddenly raised the siege of Mantua, and on the 1st of August retook Brescia, with the magazines and hospitals. Having the mass of his army united, Bonaparte surpassed his antagonists in numbers wherever he en-

countered them. He prepared to attack the imperialists on the 3d at Salo, Lonado, and Castiglione, but was anticipated by them. Having formed a large body of his troops into close columns, the Austrians, who were not aware of his mode of tactics, extended their line to surround him; a movement which enabled the republican columns to penetrate the imperial army in all directions, and throw it into complete disorder. The French took four thousand prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon; and the loss in killed and wounded the Austrians severely felt.

On the 5th and 6th of August, Bonaparte attacked general Wurmser, and drove him from Peschiera and the river Mincio. On the 7th, the Austrians were compelled to quit Verona, and to retire once more to the mountains of the Tyrol. This contest, which had lasted six days, cost the imperialists twenty thousand men, fifteen thousand of whom were made prisoners.

The fugitive king of France, (Louis XVIII.) happened to be at Verona only a short period before it was assailed by the French. The senate of Venice was constrained to order him to quit their territories; and the podesta or messenger was dispatched to Verona with this decree. Louis, assuming an air of consequence, informed the podesta, that, as a Venetian nobleman, he had an incontestible right to reside at Verona; but that he would leave the town, as soon as the sword should be restored to him which Henry IV. had presented to the republic, and the golden book brought to him, that he might erase his name from the list of citizens. The podesta replied, that the senate, at his request, would without hesitation erase him from the list; but that, twelve millions being due to the republic from Henry IV. his sword would be kept in pledge until the restitution.

From Verona, Bonaparte thus wrote to the directory.—“ I am just arrived at Verona, but intend to depart to-morrow. It is a large and fine town. I leave a garrison in it, to remain master of the three bridges which it has over the Adige. I have not concealed

ceased from the inhabitants, that, had the king of France not evacuated the town before my passage of the Po, I should have set fire to a city so audacious as to think itself the capital of the French empire. I have just seen the amphitheatre: this remain of the Roman people is worthy of them. I could not but feel humbled at the comparative paltriness of our Champ de Mars. Here a hundred thousand spectators sat conveniently, and could easily hear an orator addressing them. The emigrants are flying from Italy. More than fifteen hundred withdrew five days before our arrival. They are hurrying into Germany with remorse and misery."

The French now commenced the siege of Mantua afresh. The garrison in their absence had destroyed their works, and carried into the city one hundred and forty pieces of heavy cannon, which the French had left behind them, and had also procured a considerable quantity of provisions. The blockade was renewed; but Wurmaer, having received reinforcements, was again enabled to attempt the relief of the place. Bonaparte, having information of his approach, left sufficient troops to keep up the blockade, while he advanced to meet him. On the 4th of September he came up with and drove the Austrians from the passes of St. Marco, and the city of Roveredo, to the pass of Calliano, where they made their principal stand. Here a battle ensued, in which the French killed great numbers of the Austrians, took six thousand prisoners, and entered Trent as conquerors.

Instead of retiring before the conqueror, who might have driven him to Inspruck, and arrived at a critical moment on the Danube, where Moreau had just commenced his retreat, general Wurmaer suddenly threw himself with his vanquished army into Bassano, upon the flank of Bonaparte, and then advanced by forced marches towards Mantua. He made a stand at Bassano on the 8th, but was defeated, and five thousand of his men were taken prisoners. But he had still a considerable body of troops. With

these he pushed forward; and having encountered different divisions of the French at Cerea, Castellano, and Due Castelli, he effected the passage of the Adige at Porto Lègnano, and entered Mantua with the wreck of his army, amounting to no more than about four thousand infantry and four thousand five hundred cavalry. In this enterprize he lost all together upwards of twenty thousand men; but the effect of it was, that it fixed Bonaparte in Italy, where he was obliged to remain watching and blockading the numerous garrison of Mantua. He hoped that its numbers would soon reduce it by famine to the necessity of a capitulation; but in this he was mistaken, as the flesh of the horses carried into it by Wurmser afforded subsistence to the troops during a long period of time.

The Austrian emperor now sent into the field a new army to attempt the relief of Mantua. In the beginning of November a part of it marched under field-marshal Alvinzi, towards Vincenza on the east, seconded by general Davidovich, with another division from Tyrol. Alvinzi crossed the Piava; but was met by the French, and compelled to repass that river. Davidovich, in the mean time, having succeeded in driving the French down the Adige towards Verona, Bonaparte was under the necessity of concentrating his forces. He now adopted his usual expedient of keeping one division of the enemy in check, while he contended with the main body of his forces against the other. He left Vaubois with some troops to amuse Davidovich, while he advanced in person against Alvinzi, who was hastening towards Verona. He met the Austrians at the village of Arcole. To seize this post, which could not be easily turned on account of a canal, the French were under the necessity of passing a narrow bridge in the hottest fire of the Austrians. They made the attempt without success. Their officers rushed to the head of the column, and in vain attempted to rally the troops. Generals Verdler, Bon, Verne, and Laspes, were carried off the

the field. Augereau then advanced with a standard to the foot of the bridge, but the troops would not follow him. At last Bonaparte, who in the mean time had sent Guieux with two thousand men to turn the village at two miles distance, hastened to the bridge himself. Seizing a standard, he advanced at the head of the grenadiers, crying, "Follow your general." They followed him to within thirty yards of the bridge, when they were intimidated by the terrible fire of the Austrians, and their leader found it necessary to retire. Attempting to mount his horse to rally the column, lest the Austrians should advance, he was thrown into a morass, while still under the fire of the troops in the village; but here he again escaped, as the Austrians did not attempt to follow up their advantage. While Bonaparte was thus holding the imperial army in check, the detached division succeeded in crossing the Adige lower down; they made an extensive circuit, attacked the village on a weak point during the night, and made themselves masters of it, with five pieces of cannon and four hundred men.

Alvinzi, advancing with all his forces on the points menaced, promoted the views of Bonaparte, by removing still further from Davidovich; the French, on his approach, evacuated the village of Arcole, and during the two following days severe and bloody battles were fought, which still terminated greatly to the disadvantage of the Austrians, who were compelled to retire in disorder to Bonifacio. The conflict was so obstinate, that fifteen French generals were killed or wounded, and all had their clothes pierced with bullets. The French, however, suffered not more than the Austrians; for though the latter had not so many generals killed or wounded, they lost a far greater number of men.

The Austrians retired to Vincenza, but the French were too much enfeebled to pursue them with vigour; and Davidovich speedily deprived them of many advantages of their late victories, by attacking general Vaubois on the Upper Adige, and driving him with great

great slaughter to Peschiera. Davidovich had by these means advanced within a few leagues of Mantua, when Bonaparte, alarmed at his success, joined Vaubois, and attacked him on the heights of Compara, where Davidovich, being greatly inferior in force, after some resistance, retired to Alla, with considerable loss. The expedition for the relief of Mantua was thus completely frustrated, by the astonishing activity and promptitude of Bonaparte in attacking each division separately, and preventing their junction; so that the new army of twenty thousand men which the emperor had sent into Italy was nearly destroyed. The garrison was, however, supplied with provisions in consequence of a vigorous sortie made by Wurmser; and the remainder of the year passed without any other conflict of importance.

General Bonaparte was still engaged in the blockade of Mantua, while the Austrian government was making vast efforts to recruit the army of Alvinzi after its defeat at Arcole, and to enable that general to make a last and desperate effort for the relief of Mantua. The young men of Vienna were urged to give their assistance on this important occasion, and six thousand of them marched into Italy as volunteers. Alvinzi's army now amounted to nearly fifty thousand men; and he commenced his operations on the 8th of January, 1797, by skirmishing along the whole of the French line, from Porto Legnano upwards to La Corona near the lake Garda. On the 10th, Bonaparte was at Bologna, taking precautions against the escape of Wurmser by that quarter, which, from an intercepted letter, he had learned was in contemplation. But being informed of the approach of the Austrians, he hastened to Mantua, and from thence to Verona, which was the centre of the line of his army that opposed Alvinzi. He arrived at Verona on the morning of the 12th; but as the Austrians continued to make their attacks upon different quarters at once, he was unable to penetrate the design of their leader. On the 13th, the efforts of the Austrians began to assume
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a formidable aspect on the lower part of his line near Porto Legnano; but, on the evening of the same day, he received intelligence that the upper extremity of his line, where Joubert commanded, had been attacked by such an immense superiority of numbers, that there could be no doubt that the mass of the imperial troops was concentrated there. The post of Issa Corona had been forced, and Joubert compelled to withdraw to Rivoli, which he abandoned in a short time.

The Austrians still persisted in their unfortunate plan of dividing their army, that they might have two chances of success. Ten thousand chosen troops, among whom were the Vienna volunteers, were destined under general Provera to penetrate to Mantua by Porto Legnano, at the lower extremity of the French line; while Alvinzi in person advanced with the main army against Joubert at its other extremity. Bonaparte, in the mean time, left Verona in the evening of the 13th, having ordered the whole centre of his army under Massena to follow him to the neighbourhood of Rivoli. Here he spent the night in arranging the order of battle for the next day, and in occupying strong positions. At day-break of the 14th the attack was begun by Joubert's division, to the no small surprize of the Austrians, who were not aware of the arrival of Bonaparte with reinforcements. The battle, however, was long and obstinate. The superiority of numbers on the side of the Austrians enabled them to defeat all the efforts of the French to turn their divisions. They also succeeded in driving back upon the centre the two wings of the French army, in considerable disorder. Alvinzi now attacked the centre, which scarcely maintained its position; and the Austrian wings advancing on both sides, completely surrounded the French army. The victory seemed already won; and it is said that Alvinzi dispatched a courier to Vienna to announce the approaching capture of Bonaparte and his army. The situation of the republican chief was certainly alarming; but from the nature of his order of battle, his troops had

had rather been concentrated than scattered by the repulse they had received, and it was therefore still in his power to make a desperate effort. Having formed three strong columns, he sent them against the Austrian right wing. They succeeded in penetrating it at different points; and it fled in such confusion, that having encountered a party of French that had not arrived in time to join the body of the army, four thousand Austrians laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Night put an end to any farther contest in this part, when Bonaparte instantly flew to oppose general Provera, leaving Joubert to prosecute the victory he had so far gained. This service he performed with great address. A detachment under Murat, having marched all the night of the 14th after the battle, seized Montebaldo, in the rear of the position at Corona, to which a considerable division of the Austrians had retreated; while Joubert, next morning, attacked them in front. Finding themselves thus surrounded, they fell into confusion: six thousand were made prisoners, many hundreds were drowned in attempting to cross the Adige, some thousands were slaughtered, and the remainder fled into the Tyrol.

It was during this sanguinary contest on the upper part of the Adige, that Provera had forced his passage across the lower part of that river at Angiara, and compelled Guieux to retire to Ronco. Augereau collected all the troops in the neighbourhood, and marched to attack Provera; but as he hastened towards Mantua, Augereau could only come up with his rear, of which, after an engagement in which the Austrians suffered severely, he took two thousand prisoners. On the 15th, however, Provera arrived in the vicinity of Mantua. The city, which stands on a lake, was blockaded at the two points by which it had access to the main land, called St. George and La Favorite. Alvinzi was to have formed his junction with Provera at the post of St. George. Receiving no intelligence of him, general Provera summoned the French commander

mander here to surrender; and, on his refusal, endeavoured to carry the position by assault. Having failed in this attempt, he turned his attention towards the post of La Favorite, which he attacked on the morning of the 16th; while Wurmser, who had perceived his arrival, advanced with the troops of the garrison against the same point. But by this time Bonaparte had arrived with reinforcements. Wurmser was repulsed with great loss; and Provera, being completely surrounded by the French, was compelled to surrender his army prisoners of war*.

The pope, who of all the European princes had the greatest reason for disliking the French cause, incautiously persevered in hostility, in the hope that some of the imperial armies might succeed in driving Bonaparte from Italy. Having recovered from the panic which induced him to solicit an armistice when the French first entered Lombardy, he had avoided concluding a treaty of peace, and attempted to enter into a close alliance with the court of Vienna. He procured officers to be sent from thence to take the command of his troops, and flattered himself with the vain hope of being able to make an important diversion in favour of the Austrian forces.

The emperor and the French being now preparing to renew their bloody contest on the frontiers of Germany, it was of importance to Bonaparte to leave Italy completely conquered in his rear. On the 1st of February he sent a division of his army under Vic-

* The result of all these battles was the capture of twenty-three thousand prisoners and sixty pieces of cannon; and thus four imperial armies had perished in Italy in the attempt to preserve Mantua. The capture of this city, however, was now inevitable, in consequence of famine. It surrendered by capitulation on the 2d of February, 1797. Bonaparte on this occasion endeavoured to acquire the reputation of humanity. To allow the French emigrants in the garrison to escape, he consented to an article in the capitulation, that general Wurmser should be allowed to select and carry out of the garrison seven hundred men, who were not to be examined nor considered as prisoners; and the general himself was allowed to depart unconditionally.

tor, along with the Lombard legion, consisting of Italians, to enter the territory of the pope; and, upon the surrender of Mantua, Bonaparte followed in person. The troops of the apostolic see made feeble resistance. The new raised Lombard legion was made to try its valour against them on the river Sens, on the 2d. After storming their entrenchments, it took their cannon and one thousand prisoners. Urbino, Ancona, and Loretto, successively fell an easy prey. From the chapel at Loretto the papal general Colli had carried most of the treasure; but the French still found gold and silver articles worth one million of livres, and the image of the virgin was conveyed as a curiosity to the capital of France. General Bonaparte now proceeded through Macerata to Tolentino. He was here met by a messenger from the pope with offers of peace; and he concluded a treaty with his holiness on the 19th of February, 1797*. Having effected a pacification with the pope, Bonaparte next employed himself in laying under contribution the grand duke of Tuscany, and the republic of Venice. Thus the French made the entire conquest of Italy at the expence of the neutral powers; and during the tremendous conflict, the Austrians are said to have lost nearly eighty thousand men; and the republicans sixty thousand.

The advantages obtained by the French in this quarter are summed up in these terms: Piedmont invaded, and the king of Sardinia forced to an ignominious peace; Lombardy conquered; both banks of the Po republicanized; the king of Naples detached

* By this treaty, the pope gave up to the French Avignon, the Comtat, Venaissin, the duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, and the legation of Romagna; agreed to pay fifteen millions of livres (656,250l.) besides the twenty-one millions of livres, or 918,750l. stipulated in the armistice, of which five millions only had been paid; the French were to retain possession of the citadel of Ancona till a general peace should be established on the continent, and likewise of the provinces of Macerata, Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, till the whole thirty-six millions should be paid. They also confirmed the articles which stipulated the gift of the statues, pictures, and manuscripts.

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from the coalition; the pope deprived of nearly one-third of his dominions; all the north of Italy a prey to the miseries of war, and to political convulsions; that country, but lately so rich and flourishing, robbed of its wealth and splendour; and a hundred millions of livres (4,375,000*l.*) gained from the different countries for the purposes of purchasing peace, ransom, or neutrality.

Thus, by the rapid success of Bonaparte in Italy, he contributed to the restoration of Corsica to France. The fickleness of the Corsicans had given the utmost uneasiness to sir Gilbert Elliot, the British viceroy; and the extravagant expectations of the people had occasioned much unpleasant correspondence from the moment the island was annexed to the British crown: but when Bonaparte was acquiring such splendid honours in Italy, his countrymen could no longer resist the pride of glorying in his fame, and of attaching themselves to his fortunes. Paoli was obliged again to seek refuge in London; and the English agreed to evacuate the island, which the French took possession of, December 22, 1796.

In the year 1795, the French were remarkably successful. The English were divested of St. Lucie, St. Vincent's, and part of Grenada, and the maroons of Jamaica were incited to insurrection. St. Eustatius, which had been taken from the Dutch, was re-captured; Fort Tiburon in St. Domingo yielded, after a brave resistance, to three armed vessels; and the French were unsuccessful only in an attempt on Dominica. To meet this exigency, the British ministry prepared a powerful armament, under admiral sir Hugh Christian, and placed on board a respectable land force, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie. A tempestuous winter prevented the sailing of this squadron till spring, when its operations were mostly successful. St. Lucie was recaptured after a vigorous resistance; St. Vincent's yielded with less difficulty; and the rebellion in Grenada was crushed, though not without a dreadful loss of lives, the people of colour
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having murdered all the white people in their power, and then retired to the woods, where they were exterminated by riflemen.

Holland also, which had declared war against Great Britain, suffered as an ally of France in the West. Demarara, Berbice, and Essequibo, with a vast quantity of produce, were conquered by a naval force under captain Parr, and a military detachment under major-general Whyte, in September, 1796. The progress of British exertion was, however, checked by the prevalence of a disorder dreadfully mortal, called the yellow fever. Guadaloupe still remained in the hands of the republicans, and some advantages gained in St. Domingo did not make amends for the multitudes swept away by this contagious malady. But not in the West Indies alone did Holland suffer; in the East her most valuable possessions were wrested from her. In 1795, Ceylon and Cochin yielded to the English force; and the Cape of Good Hope was also captured. In the ensuing year, Batavia and Amboyna, and the rest of the Molucca Isles, fell under the power of England. The Cape of Good Hope the Dutch wished eagerly to recover; and for this purpose they sent a squadron of seven ships of war, under admiral Lucas, to attempt to reconquer that middle station between Europe and India; but Lucas being no match for the British squadron, the Dutch fleet, without firing a gun, was delivered up to the British.

Notwithstanding the superiority of Great Britain by sea, the French, towards the close of this year, attempted an invasion of Ireland; but, though the plan was well concerted, it proved unsuccessful. The whole conduct of it was entrusted to general Hoche. Eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, twelve sloops, and some transports, having twenty-five thousand troops on board, were employed on this expedition. The fleet sailed on the 10th of December, 1796; but a ship of the line was lost in going out of Brest, and others were damaged. The frigate in which the commander-in-chief had embarked was separated from the
fleet

fleet in a gale of wind; the consequence was, that when the greater part of the fleet arrived at Bantry-bay on the west coast of Ireland, no one had instructions how to proceed. The troops and their officers wished to land, but the admiral, Bouvet, refused to comply with their request. Having remained several days upon the coast, he sailed for France, and arrived at Brest with a part of the fleet on the 31st of December. General Hoche did not reach Bantry-bay till it was too late, and therefore could not land. The French fleet suffered great losses from storms. One ship of the line and two frigates foundered at sea, a frigate was captured by the British, and a ship of the line, after an engagement with two British ships, was run ashore to prevent her being taken.

While these affairs were carrying on, Great Britain had entered into a negotiation with France. Lord Malmesbury arrived at Paris, and began a negotiation with Delacroix, the minister for foreign affairs. Lord Malmesbury proposed, that the principle of mutual restitutions should be agreed upon as the basis of the treaty. After much altercation, the directory agreed to the general principle of mutual restitutions, and required that the object of these should be specified. Accordingly the British ambassador proposed, in two memorials, that France should relinquish the Austrian Netherlands, and offered to give up the French foreign settlements in return. An offer was also made to restore a great part of the Dutch foreign possessions, on condition that the stadtholder's ancient authority should be acknowledged in that country. But the directory would agree to no conditions contrary to what they called the French constitution; and it was added, that his lordship's farther residence at Paris was not necessary.

The French, in opening their campaign of 1797, had been so unsuccessful in their former attempts upon Germany, that they now resolved to make their principal effort from Italy under Bonaparte. For this purpose

purpose the directory detached the veteran troops that had fought under Moreau as secretly as possible through Savoy into Italy. The court of Vienna, however, was aware of the approaching danger, and gave the command on the side of Italy to the archduke Charles. He brought along with him his best troops from the Rhine, and numerous levies were made in all the hereditary states to support him.

The war was now to assume a new shape, and be carried into a territory where the house of Austria had scarcely ever seen a foe. It was necessary that Bonaparte should once more scale the summit of the Alps*. So that, while Bonaparte was securing the territory of Italy, the Austrian army was arranging itself along the eastern bank of the Piava. The French were on the opposite bank, and Bonaparte hastened to join them after he had concluded his treaty with the pope. The beginning of March, 1797, was spent in preparations; but at length the republican troops advanced, and having crossed the Piava on the 12th of March, the Austrians retired, skirmishing for some days, till they had crossed the Tagliamento, where they made a stand with their whole force. Early on the 17th, the French arrived at Valvasone, on the opposite bank, and, after some hesitation, resolved to force the passage of the river. To have accomplished this object would have been difficult, had not a recent frost diminished the stream, by which means the French were enabled to cross it in the face of the enemy in columns at various points. The army of Bonaparte was now

* This immense chain of mountains, which takes its rise in the vicinity of Toulon, at first stretches northward, under the names of Piedmont and Savoy. It then runs towards the east, into the countries of Switzerland, Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola. The three last of these, passing along the head of the Adriatic, form the frontier of the hereditary states of Austria. Between the mountains and the sea lies the level tract of territory which belonged to Venice. It is crossed by many large streams, which are fed by the melting snows of the Alps; whence their nature is, that they are greatest in summer, and their waters diminish during the frosts of winter.

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in three divisions. Joubert, with the left wing, advanced along the course of the Adige into Tyrol, and was ordered to cross over from thence, and to descend along the valley of the river Drave, which is beyond the highest chain of what the Romans called the Noric Alps. Massena, with the centre, after crossing the Tagliamento, advanced into the defiles of these mountains; while the right division, commanded by Bonaparte in person, proceeded along the coast of the Adriatic. After forcing the passage of the Tagliamento on the 17th, the French soon defeated the Austrians on the opposite bank, and compelled them every where to retreat with great loss. The other rivers were easily passed; and, on the 19th, the town of Gradisca, on the river Lisonzo, surrendered to the right wing of the army, and its garrison, amounting to three thousand men, were made prisoners of war. The right wing of the French having forded the Lisonzo near Cossegliano, while their left, under Massena, advanced to Ponteba, the archduke fell back to Vippach.

Bonaparte having thus finished the conquest of Friuli, and driven the imperialists into the hereditary states, Joubert, whom he left in the country of Trent and Tyrol, was now ready to co-operate in the plan of invasion. The French troops which occupied the banks of the Adige as far as Lavis, attacked the Austrians under Kerpen and Loudon, who, being far inferior in number, were defeated with great loss. While retreating along the right bank of the Adige, Loudon was again attacked near Tramen, and, though he bravely disputed the ground, was again defeated with considerable loss, and prevented from joining Kerpen and the main body of the army at Botzen. Kerpen, finding that Joubert was gaining his flanks, retired from Botzen to Clauzen, whence, after a long and obstinate encounter, he was obliged to retreat, and take a position near Sterzingen, the last and strongest post in the Tyrol on the Italian side.

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The archduke's army being entirely separated from that of Kerpen, Bonaparte rapidly advanced into the hereditary states, penetrating into Germany by a road which had not been trod by the French since the days of Charlemagne. The Austrians having evacuated Goritia after the republicans had passed the Lisonzo, Bonaparte marched to that town, while his right proceeded towards Trieste; and on his left generals Guieux and Massena advanced, the one from Cividale to Chiavoretto, and the other to Austrian Ponteba or Pontaffel. Massena was ordered to gain the two passes leading from Friuli into Carinthia across the Alps, to turn the right of the archduke, and hinder him from receiving reinforcements from the Rhine, and even to advance before him on the road leading from Clagenfurt to Vienna, the Austrian capital.

The archduke Charles, however, anticipating this design, formed the bold plan of turning the left of the French, and attacking them in flank. He accordingly united his left and centre, and ordered a division to hasten by forced marches, and to be joined by several battalions and squadrons from the Rhine. But the success of this plan was frustrated by the precipitation of general Ocskay, who, abandoning the defile of Pontaffel, enabled the French to possess themselves of Tarvis, which commanded the road by which two columns under Gontreuil and Bayalich, the artillery of reserve and baggage, were expected to arrive. To re-open this important communication, the archduke ordered Gontreuil and Bayalich to attack the French at Tarvis. Gontreuil drove them from the village of Safnitz, which gave time for the artillery of reserve to arrive; but was afterwards obliged to abandon this position, after having defended himself during the greatest part of the day with less than three thousand men against upwards of ten thousand. It is even thought that he would have maintained his post, had not Massena received reinforcements, while those expected under Bayalich and Ocskay did not appear.

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The archduke arrived during the conflict, and exposed himself to the greatest danger; count Wratislaw was wounded, as was Gontreuil himself. In consequence of Ocskay's having abandoned the defile of Pontaffel, the column which was proceeding to join Gontreuil got entangled in the mountains between the divisions of Massena and Guieux, and were nearly all made prisoners of war.

Having thus failed in hindering the French from penetrating into the hereditary states, the archduke hoped to make them repent of the invasion. He divided his army into three corps, one of which, under general Seckendorf, occupied the road to Laybach, and defended Carniola and the valley of the Saave; the centre, commanded by Mercantin, protected the valley of the Drave and Clagenfurth; and the third, under the prince de Reuss and general Kaim, was to defend Styria, and check the progress of the left wing of the French upon the road to St. Veit, and in the valley of the Muehr. In the mean time Bonaparte's right wing seized Trieste, his centre advanced upon the Saave, and his left to Villach upon the Drave, where it was reinforced by the divisions under Guieux and Serrurier. This corps, consisting of thirty thousand men, led by Massena, after obtaining a slight advantage over the Austrian rear-guard, took possession of Clagenfurth on the 30th of March, while general Seckendorf evacuated Laybach, which was instantly occupied by Bernadotte.

The archduke Charles was now compelled to retire towards Vienna, which was seriously menaced, and in which great consternation prevailed. In fifteen days Bonaparte had taken twenty thousand prisoners, and crossed the Alps; and though the country still presented some difficulties, there was no fortified place capable of resisting his progress towards Vienna. The republican chief did not, however, consider his own situation as destitute of hazard, and therefore seized the moment of unbounded success to make propositions of peace. On the 31st he sent a note to the

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archduke Charles, in which he deprecated the prolongation of the war, and intreated him to interpose his good offices to put a stop to its farther ravages. But this prince, doubting even his own influence at the court of Vienna, returned for answer, that he had no powers to negotiate.

In order to abate the ardour of the people in defence of their sovereign, Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Carinthia, inviting them to amity, promising to protect their religion and property. He then directed his march from Clagenfurth to St. Veit, resolving to attack the archduke while yet inferior to him in numbers, and prevent the junction of a body of troops expected from Suabia. The imperial general, having concentrated his right and centre, marched to Freisach, but abandoned it on the approach of the French, though his rear-guard fought with great bravery, and on the following day they defended with equal valour the defile leading from Freisach to Neumarkt, which was ineffectually assailed by Massena. The archduke maintained these contests chiefly to gain time for general Sporck to join him with reinforcements from Saltzburgh; and having secured the desired communication, he retired in the night to Hundsmarkt, still pursued by Bonaparte, who compelled him to retire successively to Judenburgh, Knittefeld, and Vorderernberg. Bonaparte, occupying all the places abandoned by the imperialists, soon became master of Carinthia, and entered into Styria, while his right wing advanced through Carniola upon the two banks of the Saave, covered by small detachments, which kept pace with it in Istria. On Bonaparte's arrival at Judenburgh, April 7, he was met by generals Bellegarde and Meerfeldt, who had full powers to treat for a suspension of arms; and, after a conference, an armistice was concluded for six days, by which the French were put in possession of a considerable tract of country; their centre extending to Bruck, their right wing between Fiume and Trieste, and their left to Lientz.

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The terms of this truce included the armies of the Tyrol, so that it became necessary to resume the detail of their operations. General Kerpen still maintained the strong post of Sterzingen, while Loudon retired to Meran; but although the Austrians possessed some local advantages, the inferiority of their forces rendered the occupation of their posts extremely precarious. These difficulties were partly removed by the zeal of the Tyroleans, twenty thousand of whom, at the instigation of count Lehabach, rose in a body, and ranged themselves under the standards of Loudon and Kerpen. Joubert had united his forces between Brixen and Botzen, so as to maintain a communication with Bonaparte, and secure himself from the attack of the Austrians in the archbishopric of Salzburg.

During the time that these operations detained the French at Brixen and upon the Adige, general Loudon, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attacked their outposts between Meran and Botzen; and, having gained some ground, renewed the assault on the ensuing day; and compelled them to evacuate Botzen. By this success the Tyroleans were inspired with confidence, and Loudon advanced part of his troops to Deutchenoffen and Branzol, and, bringing the remainder on the rear of the French, drove them from Clausen and Steben, while Kerpen expelled them from Brixen with considerable loss. After retreating along the valleys of the Adige and Puster to Lientz, the French were joined by a corps of cavalry sent by Bonaparte to guard the valley of the Drave, and to establish a communication between the armies of the Tyrol and Carinthia. Kerpen, however, fixed his head quarters at Prunecken, and pushed his advanced posts as far as Lientz; while Joubert took positions constantly connected with the main army.

The French being driven from the German Tyrol, Loudon routed another division near Lavis, driving them successively upon Trente, Roveredo, Torbola, and Riva, on the lake of Guarda, and compelling them to seek refuge in the citadel of Verona. The

Venetians also, not expecting the approach of peace, but hoping that the Austrian general would make further progress, took up arms against the republican troops that remained in their country; and being joined by ten regiments of Sclavonians in the pay of Venice, they, in a barbarous and unexampled manner, put the French to death wherever they were found, without excepting the sick in the hospitals, of whom five hundred were massacred at Verona. These cruelties the French afterwards repaid with interest, giving no quarter, and totally dissolved the Venetian republic.

A party of the imperialists also drove the French garrison out of Trieste, and thus attempted to surround the invading army. Bonaparte, however, knew that the court of Vienna must be at least as much embarrassed as himself. His army at the present time amounted to ninety-five thousand men. It had hitherto proved irresistible; and the Austrians knew, that to surround, was not always to conquer. He therefore continued to advance, till he compelled the Austrian cabinet to treat for peace. On the 13th of April the armistice was renewed. It was followed on the 19th by a preliminary treaty, signed at Leoben; by which it was agreed, that the Austrian Netherlands should belong to France, and that the republic in Lombardy should assume the name of the Cisalpine Republic, which should include the duchy of Mantua, and the territories of Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna. It has been suspected, though there is no authority to make the assertion, that something hostile to the independence of Venice was here also stipulated. Bonaparte agreed to withdraw without delay into Italy, on receiving subsistence for his army during its march; and it was resolved, that all further disputes should be settled by a definitive treaty of peace.

But before the consequences of this treaty can be detailed, it will be necessary to recite the progress of the campaign on the Rhine. After the capture of Fort

Fort Kehl and Huningen, the French were driven from the right bank of that river, which again separated the armies of Austria and Moreau. The Austrian army consisted of one hundred thousand men, occupying the Rhine from Basle to the Sieg, including the garrisons of Philipsburg, Mannheim, Mentz, and Ehrenbreitstein, the fort of the Rhine before Mannheim, and some posts on the Seltz and Nahe in front of Mentz. General Latour, commanding on the Upper Rhine, was opposed by Moreau; and general Werneck, on the Lower, by Hoche, who had assumed the command instead of Bournonville. The French had collectively about one hundred and fifty thousand men, who lined the banks of the Rhine, and guarded the fortresses from Huningen to Landau; garrisoned the strong holds of the Saar and the Moselle, occupied a part of the Palatine, the whole duchy of Deux Ponts, and nearly all the Hundspruck: they had also posts upon the Nahe, and from the mouth of that river edged the left bank of the Rhine as far as Cologne, and the right bank from that town to Dusseldorf. This position was much superior to that of the Austrians, either for attack or defence, which with their greater numbers, gave the French a decided advantage over the opposing Austrian armies.

General Hoche crossed the Rhine at Nieuwed on the 18th of April; and drew up on the plain within reach of the cannon of the Austrians, who were posted between the villages of Hettersdorf and Bendorf. They were strongly entrenched, and defended by good redoubts, but had only six thousand men to oppose thirty-five thousand; Werneck being in the mountains between Altenkirchen and Hachenburg with the main body of the army. General Kray, apprized of the armistice concluded at Judenburg the 7th of April, requested a similar suspension of hostilities to save the effusion of blood; but Hoche, less correctly informed, rejected the proposal, unless the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein and the whole course of the Lahn were put into

into his possession: these terms were refused, and Kray, consulting his courage rather than his force, commenced the combat by a brisk cannonade, which was vigorously returned by the horse-artillery of the French; who now resolutely assailed the intrenchments, and, after an obstinate resistance, entered the two villages, when their cavalry completed the victory. Hoche pursued the Austrians, some to Montabauer and some to Dierdorf; where, having obtained reinforcements, they made a stand, but were driven from both. In the mean time, Hoche's left, consisting of twenty-five thousand men under Championet, marched in two divisions upon Ucherath and Altenkirchen. The Austrian corps warmly disputed the ground, though they were compelled to abandon it with great loss. These successes, and the vast superiority of numbers on the side of the French, rendered it impossible that Werneck could any longer maintain his position in front of the Lahn.

At this period likewise general Moreau was not less successful, though he had more difficulties to encounter. On quitting his cantonments, April 19, he marched towards the Rhine, and began to force the passage with fifteen thousand men, divided into three columns, under Jordis, Davoust, and Duhem. They were vigorously resisted; but by perseverance they passed over all their force, and a most obstinate and sanguinary conflict ensued. Victory was for some time on the side of the Austrians, till night stopped the effusion of blood; and in that interval the French established a bridge of boats, brought over artillery, ammunition, and fresh troops, and before morning were sufficiently strong to defy their antagonists. The Austrians had likewise been reinforced to eighteen thousand men, and commenced a vigorous attack; but were repulsed by the superior numbers and enthusiastic valour of the republicans. The French now obtained possession of the causeway which leads from Kehl to Stolhoffen, and over-ran the plain, where their cavalry completed the defeat of the Austrians, killing
great

great numbers, and taking four thousand prisoners, besides great part of their artillery.

On the same day (April 20,) the French, without firing a shot, obtained possession of Kehl, which but a few months before had maintained a noble defence, and which the Austrians sustained at the expence of so much blood and treasure. The French advanced in all directions, and obtained possession of Stolhoffen, Freydenstadt, Hasleeh, and Ettenheim, when their progress was stopped by messengers sent through Germany by the archduke Charles and Bonaparte, announcing that peace was concluded. These messengers found the army of Hoche violently attacking Frankfort on the Maine, which general Werneck was endeavouring to defend. The news was diffused in an instant through both armies; and the contending troops, throwing aside their weapons, congratulated each other upon the glorious event.

France now held the most elevated rank among the nations of Europe. Spain, Italy, and Holland were held in dependence; while her victorious armies had compelled the last continental member of the coalition to accept of peace from an army that menaced the capital. Of all the adversaries of the French revolution, Britain alone remained in hostility. From her having command over the ocean she was enabled, indeed, to retain the state of Portugal attached to her cause; but on land, such was the uncommon energy of France, that, with this exception, the British trading vessels were to be excluded from all approaches to the continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic.

CHAPTER VI.

WHILE France had been so remarkably successful abroad as we have described in the preceding chapter, the interior of that country was little less agitated than at the most alarming periods of the revolution.

volution. The directory possessed neither the confidence nor the respect of the people; their councils were divided by separate views, and by mutual distrust and contempt; while the dread of new revolutions, and the immediate terror of military force, alone appeared to prevent some violent explosion. The directors, fully sensible of the dangers to which they were exposed, saw with alarm the approach of the period, when, by the new constitution, the people must meet in primary assemblies to choose anew a third part of the representatives, and when one of the five directors should quit his situation by lot.

After several debates on the manner in which the lots should be drawn to create the vacancy in the directory, the business was brought to a decision on the 19th of May. Letourneur was then voted out of the directory. On the 20th, the new third took their seats in the councils, a third of their predecessors having evacuated theirs by lot. But the election of the members of the new third had almost entirely fallen upon men who were understood to be hostile to the directory. Among the new members were generals Jourdan and Pichegru; the latter of whom was elected president of the five hundred; and the ancients hailed his nomination with expressions of respect for his military talents and virtues. They had also chosen as president Barbé Marbois.

The council of five hundred now proposed a list from which to select a new member of the directory; and Barthelemy, ambassador to the Swiss cantons, was selected by the council of ancients by a great majority. The people of Switzerland shewed their last tokens of affection and respect, by escorting him with military honours to the frontier, where a triumphal arch was erected, inscribed, "To the Pacificator of Europe." On the road he avoided the honours prepared for him by the people of France; and having reached Paris in a private manner, was installed, received the fraternal embrace from his new colleagues, and expressed, in an animated speech, his earnest wishes

wishes for peace, to which Carnot, then president of the directory, made a suitable reply. These two members of the directory were decidedly inclined to peace; the other three were for continuing the war.

The distraction of government was shortly at the highest pitch: the new elections, by giving seats to some men of greater abilities than had before been chosen, and of characters comparatively unblemished, afforded foundation to a strong and popular opposition, who censured public proceedings with a freedom which tyranny could ill endure, and a force which made oppression writhe in anguish and meditate revenge. The debates which ensued in the council of five hundred afforded considerable information on the measures and conduct of the directory: it was proved that they had obtained the disposal of ninety-seven millions, (4,243,750*l.*) besides at least twenty millions (975,000*l.*) received in contributions, under pretence that they should thus be enabled to make peace. The army of Italy, under the direction of Bonaparte, was so far from being an incumbrance, that it had sent supplies to the exchequer; the expence of the army of the North was almost entirely defrayed by the Batavian republic; and those of the Sambre and Meuse, and Rhine and Moselle, were chiefly supported in the conquered countries: yet, in the midst of these advantageous circumstances, the most pressing difficulties were experienced, and the directory were even complaining of the distress of the treasury. These clamours arose from an infamous peculation in the modes of expenditure, and a thriftless distribution of the funds intended for payment. The army list was said to contain fifty thousand men to be paid, clothed, and accoutred, more than had ever been really enrolled; and the military hospitals charged for patients who had never entered their walls, or who had long been dead: "and this," said Dupont de Nemours, who was stating the facts, "is only a coffin lifted up of the curtain which conceals these enormities." On the thriftless expenditure, he observed, that while

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large sums were issued for the opera, the conservatory of music, the riding-school at Versailles, and lavished on manufactories of arms no longer wanting, and on buildings of mere ornament, the directory had sent to the councils an alarming message on the state of the hospitals, affirming, that out of three hundred and fifty foundlings, three hundred had died for want of absolute necessities.

These spirited contests at length brought the majority of the directory and of the councils into a state of the most complete hostility. Both parties resolved to violate the constitution under the pretence of preserving it. The one wished to change the directory before the time prescribed by law, and the other to deprive of their seats a great number of the new legislators elected by the people. Barras was the most odious of the directors; and an attempt was made to deprive him of his office, upon the footing that he was less than forty years of age. Had not force been speedily used on the side of the directory, the councils must have prevailed. The majority of the people confided in them. The national purse was in their hands; and they hoped to subdue the directory, as the constituent assembly had done the king, by avoiding to vote the necessary supplies. They could enact what laws they pleased. They had not indeed the command of the armies; but to remedy their weakness in this respect, Pichegru, on the 20th of July, presented a plan for re-organizing the national guard, and placing it more at the disposal of the councils, by depriving the directory of the nomination of the officers.

The directory, however, was not deficient in providing for its own security. At length the partizans of the two contending powers began to distinguish themselves in Paris by their dress, and every thing presaged an approaching convulsion. On the 20th of July the councils received intelligence that a division of the army under general Hoche had advanced within a few leagues of Paris; whereas, by the constitution, the

the directory incurred the penalty of ten years imprisonment if it authorised troops to approach nearer to the residence of the legislative body than twelve leagues, without its own consent. An explanation of this event was immediately demanded. The directory denied that they had ordered the march, and ascribed it to a mistake of the officer by whom it was conducted. Their explanation was treated with disdain, and much angry debate took place in the councils concerning it; the directory all the while conducting themselves with much seeming moderation, and even submissiveness. Yet in a few days the council were rendered still more sensible of their danger, by an authenticated report that Hoche was at Rheims with twenty-seven thousand men, and that it was their intention to march to Paris to annihilate the legislative body, which was inimical to peace, and wished to destroy the government. Intimations were given of an intention to move for an impeachment of some of the directors; but it was apparent, that want of mutual confidence would prevent the adoption of the only mode of conduct which could tend to the advantage of the opposite party.

On the festival of the 10th of August, the council of five hundred declared their sentiments, and refuted the calumnies advanced against them. The president said, they were animated only by the desire of peace; and it was decreed, that the armed citizens who, on the 10th of August, 1792, vanquished royalty, had deserved well of the country.

A message was received the same day from the directory, charging the march of the troops to Ferte-Alais entirely on Hoche, denying the distribution of arms, and excusing the addresses of the army of Italy. This message was by both councils referred to a committee. In the ancients the report was made by Tronçon Ducoudray, who was selected for the task on account of his acknowledged moderation and talents. He gave a full detail of the conduct of the directory and armies, shewing, in many instances, their incon-

sistency with the letter and spirit of the constitution, though he was not hasty in imputing evil intentions, and paid every respect to the bravery and services of the military. He concluded by recommending general reconciliation and forgetfulness of the past, but reprobated the oath administered to the army of Italy of implacable war against the enemies of the republic and of the constitution. Thibaudeau made a report equally argumentative, though more warm, to the council of five hundred; and concluded by recommending two laws: one charging the public accuser to prosecute all plots, machinations, and generally all offences against the legislative body, the executive directory, and each of their component members; the other declaring penalties against the military who should deliberate or perform collective acts.

Previous to any decision taking place with respect to these propositions, the three directors who had resolved to overturn by force all the impediments raised by the constitution against arbitrary power, obtained a new advantage, by the expiration of the term for which Carnot was allowed to be president of their body. This office entitled its possessor to hold the seal of state, and to speak the sentiments of government on all public occasions. Carnot had exercised these rights with great moderation; but Lareveilliere, who succeeded on the 27th of August, at the expiration of his three months, shewed a contrary disposition. In speeches which he made to Visconti, plenipotentiary from the Cisalpine republic, and to general Bernadotte, who brought trophies from the army of Italy, he launched out into general abuse against the opponents of government, accusing them, without reserve, of intending to annihilate the new republic, disgrace Bonaparte, and re-establish the throne. To these attacks the council of five hundred seemed highly sensible; but, in fact, they had not among themselves any principle of common concord, nor did they repose in any one of their associates sufficient confidence to intrust to him the management of their operations.

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The laws proposed by Thibaudeau were discussed with much warmth, and produced a great portion of personal altercation; but although the constitution was more visibly and daringly violated than before, by drawing troops still nearer to Paris, general debates were still maintained, and no vigorous effort adopted.

On the 3d of September, the sitting terminated in perfect tranquillity; and the motion on Thibaudeau's report was adjourned till the next day, a day in which the existing legislature was doomed to undergo a total alteration in its constitution and members. Many of the opposition party, sensible of the perils which awaited them, had proposed bringing forward a decree of accusation against the three directors; while others, judging the period too much advanced for such a proceeding, proposed marching to the palace, arresting, and putting them to death, and then publishing to the people of France a statement of their motives. But these measures were over-ruled by the more moderate members.

Carnot and Barthelemy, already apprized that a grand commotion was to take place, though they did not know the exact moment, attended, for the last time, a sitting of the directory, where their adversaries were fully prepared to finish a plot which they had meditated ever since the last elections. Carnot was not, however, negligent of his own safety: he had prepared a private way to quit his apartments in the directoral palace; and being apprized, by repeated messages from the triumvirate, to ascertain whether he was within, that their plot was ripe for execution, he hastened to make his escape, and had but just reached the garden when an officer sent to arrest him was breaking down his door with an axe. He found the palace surrounded, and the garden filled with armed men, whom with difficulty he avoided; and as he was closing the last door of the fatal precinct, he heard the firing of the alarm gun, the signal for the military to act according to the instructions they had received. Carnot effectually secured his retreat, and reached

reached a foreign country; but Barras, enraged at his escape, went with a party of guards, and himself arrested Barthelemy. Having so far executed the first portion of their project, the triumvirate proceeded to other operations. Augereau had been sent from Italy under pretence of presenting some Austrian standards to the directory, and he was employed as their tool upon this occasion. They commanded the garrison of Paris, and they had managed to bring over to their interest the soldiers composing the guard of the two councils. Before day-break on the morning of the 4th, Augereau surrounded the Thuilleries with a division of the troops. The guard of the councils refused to resist, and their commander, Ramel, was taken prisoner. Having entered the hall, he found Pichegru and other twelve of the chiefs of the opposite party sitting in consultation, and immediately sent them prisoners to the Temple. Some other noxious members of the councils were likewise put under arrest.

These things were accomplished without noise, and in an instant. Many members of the councils, when they came to the hall at the usual hour, were surprised to find that seals were put upon the doors, and that they could not obtain admittance. But they were invited to go to the surgeon's hall and the theatre of Odéon, where they were told the directory had appointed the councils to assemble. At these places, about forty of the council of ancients, and double that number of the other council, assembled about noon, and sent to demand from the directory an account of the proceedings of the morning. They received an answer, declaring, that what had been done was necessary to the salvation of the republic, and congratulating the councils on their escape from the machinations of royalists.

This party had, previously to the explosion of their mine, prepared proclamations to the people of Paris, declaring the existence of a plot to re-establish royalty; and directing that every individual who should be found

found demanding a king, the constitution of 1793, or proclaiming the duke of Orleans, should be instantly shot, according to law. The minority of the council of five hundred sitting on the stage at the Odéon, while the boxes were filled with people instructed to applaud their proceedings, formed a committee of five, consisting of Sieyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villiers, Chazal, and Boulay de la Meurthe; voted thanks to the directory for saving the country; and empowered them to permit the entrance within the constitutional circle of as many troops as they should judge necessary for the defence of the constitution and the republic against royalty and anarchy. They then declared the sitting permanent, but suspended further proceedings till six in the evening of that day.

During the suspension of the sittings, the three triumphant members of the directory proceeded in arresting those whom they considered dangerous to their authority, or whom, in compliance with the feelings of either individual, the other two concurred in declaring enemies to the state. In the evening, Boulay de la Meurthe, from the committee of five, presented a report on the late events, in which, after assuming the old revolutionary principle, that the state of the times forbade methodical and profound discussions, but required vigorous and prompt exertion, he imputed to the two directors and the members of the late opposition a long series of political crimes, beginning with that of impeding the conclusion of peace, and terminating with that of intending to convert all France into an extensive La Vendée. He then detailed the patriotic views of the triumphant faction; declared their aversion to bloodshed; observed that deportation must in future be the great means of salvation to the state, and the penalty to be incurred by all the irreconcilable enemies of liberty and the republic; and intimated that such must be the punishment inflicted on the present conspirators, but the place of their destination must be left to the discretion of the directory.

Poulain-

Poulain-Grandpré and Villiers next occupied the tribune, and read drafts of laws annulling the elections in forty-nine departments, and ordering the deportation of forty members of the council of five hundred, including generals Pichegru and Willot, Dumolard, Boissy d'Anglas, Henry la Riviere, Camille Jourdan, and Pastoret; eleven of the council of ancients, among whom were Barbé Marbois, Lafond-Ladebat, and Tronçon du Coudray. Carnot and Barthelemy were included in the list, as were Brothier, Lavilleheurnois, and Duverne de Presle, though condemned by one tribunal to a less severe punishment, and waiting for trial before another; generals Miranda and Morgan, whose crimes no one could conjecture; and Ramel, of the nature of whose offence no man entertained a doubt. The fate of all these victims was rendered additionally cruel by the sequestration of their property, till accounts should be received of their arrival at a place to be appointed by the directory. The council boasted of this proceeding as an act of mercy, though it prevented the prisoners from procuring even the most common necessities for their comfort and accommodation in the voyage they were afterwards destined to make. During the following days, the private vengeance of the directors added considerable numbers to the list of sacrifices. Barthelemy and the imprisoned deputies were removed from the Temple in cages of iron, mounted on carriages used for the conveyance of wild beasts, and began their journey to the coast of Guiana without time or means to make the slightest preparation for their removal.

Merlin and François de Neufchateau were elected in lieu of the expelled directors, and government prepared to exercise their new powers with revolutionary vigour, and apparent hopes of success. As a proof how highly they estimated their triumph, they decreed that it should be annually observed as a festival; and even so far abolished the liberty of the press, as to put all periodical publications under the inspection of the police for one year. New taxes were voted

without

without hesitation; and affairs were endeavoured to be conducted in their ordinary train. All this time the city of Paris remained tranquil. That turbulent spirit which had made so many sanguinary efforts in favour of what was pretended to be the cause of freedom, had been so completely subdued since its unfortunate struggle on the 5th of October, that it now permitted the national representation to be violated, and the most obvious rules of practical liberty to be infringed, without one effort to defend them.

In the mean time, the directory attempted to justify their conduct to the nation at large, by publishing various documents intended to prove the existence of a royalist conspiracy. The most remarkable of these was a paper, said to be written by M. d'Antraigues*, and found by Bonaparte at Venice, in which a detail was given of a correspondence between Pichegru and the prince of Condé, in 1795. The correspondence itself was also, at the same time, said to be found by Moreau, among papers taken by him at the late passage of the Rhine. It stated, that Pichegru had offered to the prince of Condé to cross the Rhine with his army, and having joined the Austrians under Wurmser, and the emigrants under the prince of Condé, to return with the united armies, and march to Paris, where they were to re-establish royalty. The prince is said to have refused to accept of the offer from jealousy of the Austrians; he therefore insisted that it should be conducted without their aid. But Pichegru thought the attempt too hazardous, and being soon after removed from his command, the project failed. At the time of its publication, the genuineness of this correspondence, and also of the paper found by Bonaparte, was denied; and nothing has appeared since to induce an unprejudiced man to think other-

* The count and countess d'Antraigues came to England, where they resided at Barnes' Terrace, in the county of Surrey. They were both murdered by their own servant, a Piedmontese, as they were proceeding to their carriage in July, 1812. The assassin, immediately after perpetrating the diabolical act, shot himself.

wise at present. This series of transactions is called, from the day on which the principal events occurred, the Revolution of the 18th of Fructidor, (4th September.)

The war between France and Great Britain was now totally unconnected with the military operations on the continent of Europe. The French government, envious of the commercial prosperity of her rival, Great Britain, and desirous to destroy her naval superiority, and annihilate her political existence, felt sanguine hopes of effecting these ends when Holland and Spain, who had commenced the war as allies, had been rendered the enemies of England. Though the French navy remained safe in port, their allies, the Spaniards and Dutch, suffered severely.

On the 14th of February, 1797, a British fleet of fifteen sail of the line, under sir John Jervis, engaged the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line, off Cape St. Vincent. In this action, although the Spanish force was nearly double that of the British, yet four ships of the line were taken by the English, and the Spanish admiral escaped with great difficulty.

A negotiation was opened between the French and English for peace; the city of Lisle was fixed on as the place of meeting. Lord Malmesbury was again nominated plenipotentiary on behalf of Great Britain, and Letourneur the ex-director, Pleville Lepelley, and Maret, attended on the part of the directory. The negotiations commenced on the 20th of July, and continued till the 6th of October, when they proved abortive, and lord Malmesbury was ordered to return to England in twenty-four hours.

After this the directory prepered for the invasion of Ireland; and; with this view, a fleet of eleven sail of the line, four ships of fifty-six guns, and eleven frigates, was equipped in the Dutch ports; a large body of troops were placed on board; and it was destined for Brest, to join the French squadron. The English admiral Duncan, who blocked up this armament in the

the Texel, having been driven into Yarmouth Roads, De Winter the Dutch admiral put to sea. But Duncan, apprized of the circumstance, immediately sailed for the coast of Holland with fourteen ships of the line, two frigates, and eight frigates, with which he encountered the Dutch admiral between Camperdown and Port Egmont, on the 11th of October, and utterly defeated him, taking eight sail of the line, two ships of fifty-six guns, and two frigates. This action was fought so near the Dutch shore, that thousands of spectators witnessed its progress. De Winter and two vice-admirals were taken prisoners.

During the struggles which now agitated Paris, the difficulty of concluding the peace with the emperor seemed to increase, because the directory were averse to the restoration of Mantua. But at length the matter was amicably settled: the directory consented to yield, and the emperor to receive, Venice instead of Mantua. This agreement formed the basis of the definitive treaty, which was executed at Campo Formio, on the 17th of October, 1797*.

The

* By this treaty the emperor ceded the Netherlands to France, the Milanese to the Cisalpine republic, and his territories in the Brisgaw to the duke of Modena, as an indemnification for the loss of his duchy in Italy. He also consented that the French should possess the Venetian islands of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Mauro, Cerigo, and others, in the Adriatic. On the other hand, the French republic consented that the emperor should possess in full sovereignty the city of Venice and its territory, from the extremity of Dalmatia round the Adriatic as far as the Adige and the lake Guarda. The Cisalpine republic was to possess the remaining territory of Venice in this quarter, along with the city and duchy of Mantua, and the ecclesiastical states of Ferrara and Bologna. Upon whatever principles the war might have been conducted, the terms of this treaty sufficiently demonstrated to all Europe, that its small states had no better reason to expect security from the house of Austria, than from that of the new republic. This truth would have been still more evident, had the articles of the convention, signed by these parties at the same period at Campo Formio, been published to the world. Fearing, however, to alarm too much the Germanic body, these articles were kept secret, and the parties agreed to prevail with the German princes,

The treaties entered into between France and Austria were immediately begun to be put in execution. The Austrians left the Rhine, which enabled the French to surround the fortresses of Mentz and Ehrenbreitstein. Of the former they speedily obtained possession; but the latter cost them a very tedious blockade before the garrison, consisting of the troops of the palatinate, would agree to surrender. The imperial troops at the same time entered Venice, the French having evacuated that city after carrying off or destroying its whole navy. The Cisalpine republic was established, and Bonaparte left Italy; leaving, however, an army of twenty-five thousand men to garrison Mantua, Brescia, Milan, and other places, and to retain this new republic in dependence upon France. Genoa was, at the same time, brought under a similar dependence, and a revolution in its government took place at this period. ✓

About this time the two councils, at the desire of the directory, enacted a law, declaring the ships of all neutral states bound for Britain, or returning from thence, liable to capture. This law placed the whole carrying trade of the western world in the hands of the British, and thus enriched the very people whom it was intended to injure.

at a congress to be opened at Rastadt, to consent, in consequence of an apparently fair negotiation, to what France and Austria had determined should take place. By this secret convention it was stipulated, that the Rhine, including the fortress of Mentz, should be the boundary of the French republic; that the princes whose territories were alienated by this agreement, should be indemnified by the secularization of church lands in Germany; that the stadtholder of Holland should be indemnified for the loss of his estates in that country by receiving German territory; that the emperor should receive the archbishopric of Salzburg, and the part of the circle of Bavaria situated between that archbishopric, the rivers Inn and Saltz, and the Tyrol; that the imperial troops should immediately withdraw to the confines of the hereditary states beyond Ulm; and if the Germanic body should refuse peace on the above conditions, it was stipulated that the emperor should supply to it no more troops than his contingent as a co-estate amounted to, and that even these should not be employed in any fortified place.

Soon

Soon after the treaty with the emperor had been concluded at Campo Formio, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the general, was sent to Rome as ambassador from France. The pope, deprived of all foreign aid, and accustomed to humiliations, submitted to every demand for reducing the number of his troops, and setting at liberty persons imprisoned on account of political opinions. But an event speedily occurred which accomplished the ruin of this decayed government. On the 26th of December, 1797, three persons waited upon the French ambassador, and solicited the protection of his government to a revolution which a party at Rome meant to accomplish. He rejected their proposals, but did not communicate the sedition to the papal government. On the following day a tumult took place, in which the French cockade was worn by about one hundred insurgents. They were speedily dispersed; but in the affray two of the pope's dragoons were killed. The ambassador wisely resolved that his own personal conduct should be blameless on the occasion. He therefore went, on the 28th of December, to the secretary of state, and presented a list of the few persons under his protection who were entitled to wear the French cockade, consenting that all others who had adopted it should be punished. He also surrendered six of the insurgents, who had taken refuge in his palace.

In the close of this day, however, the popular tumult became more serious, particularly in the neighbourhood of the French minister's palace. The pope appears to have been wholly unacquainted with this state of affairs; but the governor of the city sent parties of cavalry to disperse the insurgents. About twenty persons, having a Frenchman at their head, now rushed into the palace, and demanded aid towards accomplishing a revolution. Some French officers and others who were with the ambassador nobly and generously proposed to drive the insurgents from the jurisdiction of the palace. Joseph Bonaparte, however, conceiving that his authority would be sufficient

cient to accomplish the object in a peaceable manner, went out into the court to address the multitude; but was prevented by a discharge of musketry from the military, who were firing within the jurisdiction of the palace. He then interposed between the military and the insurgents, and advanced close upon the soldiers to prevail with them to depart; but they remained in a menacing attitude, and prepared for another discharge. Eager to hinder this, the French general Duphot, who was with the ambassador, and was next day to have married his sister, rushed into the ranks of the military, intreating them to desist. Here an officer of the pope's troops discharged his musquet into the body of Duphot. Upon this, the ambassador and his friends found it necessary to make their escape through a bye-way into the palace; and on the ensuing morning at six o'clock Joseph Bonaparte quitted Rome, deaf to all propositions for explanation or apology.

An account of the transaction was forwarded to France, and orders were immediately issued for general Berthier, who commanded in Italy, to revolutionize Rome, and give up the country to pillage. Berthier accordingly advanced to Rome by forced marches; summoned the castle of St. Angelo, allowing only four hours for its evacuation by the papal troops. The convicts in the prisons were set at liberty; the gates of the city were secured by the French; the pope, the cardinals, and the whole people of Rome, were made prisoners at discretion. The French general also detained prisoners in the palace of Monte Cavallo four cardinals, four princess, four prelates, and two bankers, as hostages for the quiet of the city, and for the payment of certain contributions necessary to relieve the wants of his army.

Berthier made his triumphal entry into Rome on the 15th of February, 1798; and the tree of liberty being planted on the capitol, he pronounced an address to the shades of Cato, Pompey, Brutus, Cicero, and Hortensius, which he concluded by assuring the
Romans

Romans that they were about to resume their ancient grandeur and the virtues of their progenitors. A proclamation was therefore issued, declaring them a free and independent republic, under the special protection of the French army. A provisional government was for the present acknowledged, as established by the sovereign people; and every authority or appointment emanating from the pope was to cease, nor was he any longer to exercise any function. The French general Cervoni was charged with the care of the police, the safety of the city, and the protection of the new government; and the territory of the Roman republic was declared to comprehend all that remained under the temporal authority of the pope after the treaty of Campo Formio. Great, however, was the barbarity and cruelty exercised in the deposition and subsequent treatment of the pope, Pius VI*. But whether retained by force, or deluded by promises, the pope long continued, after the abrogation of his authority, a prisoner in his own palace. The French then seized it for barracks, and confined the pope to his own rooms, putting the seal of confiscation on all his effects. At length the unfortunate pope was removed from Rome to Sienna, where he was received by the Augustine monks, and lodged in their convent. The remaining history of Pius VI. exhibits only a continuation of cruelty and distress. He was removed to many cities in Italy, and finally to Valence, where he terminated his days amid the horrors of insult, inhumanity, and unfeeling persecution†.

From

* At this period, the unfortunate pontiff was in the eighty-second year of his age; and, during twenty-three years, he had exercised in a blameless manner the sovereignty confided to him; receiving strangers, and all those who resorted to Rome in pursuit of classical literature and science, with benevolent munificence and princely hospitality.

† The downfall of the papal government, by whatever means effected, excited perhaps less sympathy than that of any other in Europe: the errors, the oppressions, the tyranny, of Rome over the whole Christian world, were remembered with bitterness.

Many

From the earliest periods of the French revolution, the project of fraternizing the government of Switzerland had been a favourite topic with the party directed by Brissot. The ancient alliance of the cantons with France, the constant employment of her best troops in the service of that nation, their hatred towards the houses of Austria and Savoy, the neutrality observed during the most critical periods of the war, the forbearance which followed the massacre of their troops in August, 1792, and the treaties solemnly made and repeatedly ratified, were considerations which influenced the directory to the resolution of converting Switzerland into a subordinate republic. In executing this scheme, they purposed to divide the members of the Helvetic confederacy, by fomenting commotions, and, by occupying the attention of the respective states, to prevent their resisting in one firm, compact, and united body; and then to turn their whole force against the canton of Berne, on the conquest or submission of which depended the reduction of all Switzerland. This service was confided to generals Brune and Schawenbourg, who accomplished, in 1798, the entire subjugation of the Swiss cantons*.

At

Many rejoiced, through religious antipathy, in the overthrow of a church which they considered as idolatrous, though attended with the immediate triumph of greater infidelity; and many thought they saw in these events the accomplishment of prophecies, and the exhibition of signs promised in the mystical parts of the Holy Scriptures, recorded in the Revelation of St. John.

* The French generals acknowledge that the Swiss fought with unparalleled bravery, and that the subjection of Berne was the consequence of a most sanguinary contest, in which the militia, levied in a mass and without experience, gave the strongest proofs of courage and despair. "Many of those brave people," said the French officer who delivered the Swiss standards to the directory, "without any arms but scythes and clubs, placing themselves at the mouths of the cannon, were mowed down with grape-shot, and rejected the quarter which was offered them from humanity." One glorious effort of magnanimity surpasses the memorable sacrifice of the Spartans at Thermopylæ. Eight hundred youths devoted themselves to death: overpowered by numbers, they refused quarter; seven, who escaped the first carnage,

At length a treaty was concluded between the two countries, in September, 1798, by virtue of which Geneva, Mulhausen, Bienne, and the bishopric of Basle, were annexed to France; the remainder of the country, except the Grisons, was modelled into the *Helvetic Republic*, forming eighteen departments. The French gained, besides many other advantages, a military and commercial road through that country into the south of Germany.

CHAPTER VIII.

DURING the period that the fraternization of Switzerland was thus effecting in Europe, the directory formed the grand project of extending their arms into Africa, for the *regeneration* of the fine and fertile vale of Egypt. When all was in readiness, Bonaparte embarked with forty thousand of the troops that had fought in Italy. On the 9th of June, 1798, he arrived at the island of Malta; and on the grand master refusing to admit so large a fleet into his ports to water, the French general immediately landed his troops in different quarters, and endeavoured to reduce the island. The knights happened to be divided into factions, so that, after making a very feeble resistance, the grand master proposed a capitulation; and thus was surrendered, in a few days, a fortress which, if properly defended, might have held out for as many weeks against all the forces of the universe. After leaving a garrison of four thousand men in the island, Bonaparte sailed on the 21st of June for Egypt, and arrived before Alexandria on the 1st of

nage, disdained to survive their brothers in arms, and, rushing into the ranks of their enemy, perished under the ruins of their country. In these bloody conflicts, not only men displayed unparalleled bravery, but even women rushed into the heat of the battle, threw themselves on the cannon of the French, and clung to the wheels to hinder them from advancing.

July. He immediately effected a landing at Marabou, notwithstanding the height of the surf, and the difficulties of the shore.

Although Marabou was only two leagues from Alexandria, the French found no opposition from the natives; not even a piece of artillery was planted for protection. Having landed part of their artillery and stores, they advanced in platoons against the city, and reached it unopposed, except by a few mamelukes, who, hovering around, cut off stragglers, and fought a few slight and partial skirmishes. The city was garrisoned by only about five hundred janissaries, who occupied the forts, but were in no condition to resist so unexpected an attack. The Turks, assailed on every side by so large a force, made the best defence which resolution unaided by tactics could supply. About a hundred and fifty of the French were killed, and generals Kleber and Menou were wounded. Seeing the invaders scaling the ramparts, and forcing themselves in on every side, the Turks desisted from any further resistance, and, betaking themselves to God and their prophet, filled the mosques. The French now took complete possession of that ancient and much celebrated city, giving it up to plunder, in order to gratify and encourage the army to further and greater conquests in this distant and unexplored, but rich and luxuriant, country.

After continuing three days in Alexandria, of which general Kleber was left in command, Bonaparte with the remainder of the army marched across the desert to attack Rosetta, which made no resistance. He left a garrison in this place under the command of general Menou, and another at Ramanieh, a town farther up the river, at the entrance of the canal of Alexandria; and then proceeded along the banks of the Nile towards Cairo.

No obstacle had hitherto presented itself to the French; but on the arrival of the army near Gizeh, Bonaparte found that Mourad Bey had assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of a village called Embabeh,

babeh, where he intended to dispute and oppose his farther progress. The mamelukes amounted to ten thousand men, and fought with desperate courage; but the action, though sanguinary, was neither long nor doubtful. Part of the army of the mamelukes was either exterminated by the sword, or drowned in the river; the rest, with Mourad Bey, retreated to Upper Egypt. This action was denominated the Battle of the Pyramids. The spoils of the slain were found exceedingly valuable, as each mameluke carries with him in his march the amount of his fortune or his plunder. In consequence of the event of this battle, Bonaparte sent for, and was waited on, by the magistrates of Cairo, which city the army entered in triumph, having nothing to oppose them.

Bonaparte now parted his troops into three divisions, one of which was sent under the command of general Desaix, to possess himself of Upper Egypt; the second was left at Cairo; and with the third he followed Ibrahim Bey, who had retired into Syria to recruit his army. The most hazardous and embarrassing part of the whole campaign was certainly that which was carried into Upper Egypt, under the indefatigable perseverance of general Desaix, who had not only to contend with the burning heat of the tropical sun, and the horrors of a barren desert, but with the dexterous generalship of Mourad Bey. General Desaix set out on this important expedition on the 26th of August, 1798, with a flotilla on the Nile to act as a convoy. Mourad Bey in the interim collected his forces, and encamped on an eminence in the vicinity of Sedinan, where he waited to dispute the progress of the French arms. Desaix approached, impatient to give him battle; and coming within sight of the lofty mameluke camp, which betrayed the utmost Oriental magnificence, he encouraged his troops with the hope of plunder; pointing out, by the help of his glass, the person of Mourad Bey, resplendent with gold and precious stones, and surrounded with all the richly decorated beys and kiachefs under his command. The

night was passed in feasting in the camp; while, in the dark, parties were sent out to menace the advanced posts of their enemy. At the first dawn of the morning the French army formed in a hollow square, in the midst of a large plain, with two platoons on their flanks. Mourad Bey advanced at the head of his mamelukes and several thousand Arabs, who charged with great intrepidity, and surrounded the French. A dreadful carnage ensued; great numbers fell on both sides; but the mamelukes could not make any impression on the solid square, which rendered their scymetars of no avail, and their numbers useless. The mamelukes fighting on horseback, chiefly with the sabre, were received by the French on the point of the bayonet; who thus wounding their horses, through them perpetually into confusion. Disappointed and enraged, the mamelukes advanced as closely as possible to the lines, first discharging their pistols, and then throwing them violently at the enemy, together with their battle-axes and other weapons, until the ground was covered with their arms. They then retired, leaving the French masters of the field of battle.

Desaix procured a reinforcement of both cavalry and infantry from Bonaparte, with which he continued to penetrate the interior of Upper Egypt. Mourad Bey, however, aided by his superior knowledge of the roads, and by the experience of his numerous mameluke cavalry, was constantly able to harass the rear of the French, and would often seize and carry off their stragglers and foraging parties even within fifty yards of the main body. But Mourad now began to act principally on the defensive, not only by harassing the enemy's rear, but also by lying in ambush, laying waste the country, driving off the cattle in the line of his march, and weakening his force by sudden and repeated skirmishes. In this manner Desaix pursued the Egyptian Fabius, until he reached the city of Girgeh, the capital of Upper Egypt, situated half-way between Cairo and Syene. Mourad now resolved again to dispute his further progress; and

and with that intent pitched his camp near Samanbut, a considerable village in the neighbourhood of Girgeh. In this city, which stands on the Nile, Desaix waited from the 30th of December to the 20th of January, 1799, for the arrival of their flotilla, which had also been harassed and attacked by the mamelukes and Arabs, and one of their vessels taken. On the 21st their supplies were got on shore; and Desaix quitted Girgeh on the 22d, marching directly to Samanbut. On the 24th the mamelukes appeared, disclosing a front of an immense extent. Desaix formed his army in three compact squares; two of infantry for the wings, and one of cavalry for the centre, with the artillery on the angles. Mourad Bey began the battle with his usual impetuosity, and the mamelukes at once assailed the whole body of the French, prancing around them with uplifted scymetars, making a most brilliant display of their glittering accoutrements, and of their skill in horsemanship, as well as of their contempt of danger, and boldness of attack. But the rigid severity of the northern tactics presented a spectacle equally commanding and more formidable. Numbers of the French fell in the action; but their lines could not be broken. The artillery was likewise a bulwark of defence, mowing down the mamelukes and Arabs in all directions. One of their chiefs fell so near the French lines, that he could not be recovered by his own people; and, while his foot hung in the stirrup, the horse, without abandoning his rider, would not let the French soldiers approach him, notwithstanding all their endeavours to seize the gold which glittered on the dress of this unfortunate chief, who was thus dragged back by his horse, and made to suffer the horrors of death in many forms. Mourad then retreated into the bosom of the desert, conceiving that this would prove an insuperable barrier against the further pursuit of his enemy, unprepared for and unaccustomed to such a frightful waste, which eternally presents a disconsolate idea to all who have once beheld it.

The

The French army entered the desert on the 28th of January, 1799, passed the ancient cities of Tentyra, Thebes, Esneh or Latopolis, and Etfu the ancient Hieraconpolis; following as closely as possible on the heels of Mourad Bey and his mamelukes, until it reached its destination at Assuan or Syene, the frontier town of Upper Egypt, where the Nile enters the Egyptian territory, by flowing over the last of the cataracts at the beautiful island of Elephantina. Here the French inscribed the termination of their march through Egypt upon a rock of granite; and then returned to organize the new government of Syene, which was in no condition to oppose these invaders. Desaix immediately formed a plan of fortifying the town, constructed a citadel or fort which commanded all the approaches, and, imitating Probus, converted his army into artificers, architects, and labourers.

In the mean while, general Dahoust was sent in quest of Assan Bey, on the right bank of the river opposite Etfu, where he was in considerable force with supplies; ready to co-operate with Mourad. The eagerness of the French to get possession of the stores, exposed them to a terrible conflict for about half an hour. The field of battle remained with the French; but Assan Bey obtained his main point, that of carrying off his baggage and stores; so that neither party had much to boast, though Assan was wounded in the leg, and many of the mamelukes slain.

Having thus rapidly advanced through the whole extent of Upper Egypt, and placed the inhabitants of Syene under the temporary controul of the French nation, Desaix, on the 25th of February, after a campaign of six months, commenced his return to Cairo; but this was a work of more difficulty and danger than was at first suspected. To soften the rigour of the march, as well as to scour the country of the mamelukes and Arabs, who now acted in detachments, and were dispersed in various directions on both sides the Nile, Desaix divided his army into two parts: with one division he still pursued the vigilant Mourad Bey;

Bey; while the other, under the command of general Beliard, was sent, on the other side the river, in quest of Osman Bey Ascar, who having been joined by a numerous body of Meccan soldiers, had entrenched themselves at Benhute, in order to co-operate with Mourad, and way-lay the French troops on their return to Lower Egypt. General Beliard attacked these entrenchments, which, after a most bloody and desperate conflict of three days, he carried; and in which the most heroic achievements appear to have been performed on both sides, with the consequent loss of innumerable lives. On the next day, the 23d of March, general Beliard, perceiving the folly of pursuing these people in a country where they had every advantage, hastened to meet the commander Desaix at Keneh, where he arrived on the 11th of April. Desaix, in the mean time, had compelled Mourad Bey to take shelter in the Oasis, and had detached general Friant to the right bank of the Nile, to preserve a line parallel to his own, and to clear the country of Elfi Bey and his remnant of mamelukes. After these operations the two French generals met at Keneh, which for a time they made their head-quarters.

General Desaix now conceived the plan of blocking up the mamelukes in the desert, or at least of cutting off their communication with the Nile, and of impeding their movements, by preventing them from separating their forces without the risk of being cut off, and of finally reducing them by famine. In the valley which leads from Cosseir to the Nile there are four wells or fountains, the latter of which is of great importance when the desert is to be occupied by an invading army, since it is situated at the confluence of three roads, which are so many passes from the desert into Egypt. The first of these roads, which runs to the south-west, leads to Redisi, where it terminates. The second, which runs almost due west, terminates at Nagadi; and the third, which takes a north-west direction, leads to Birambar. From Birambar three roads lead to Kous, to Coptos, and to Keneh. Desaix,

saix, after having left a garrison at Keneh, took up his position at Birambar; and Beliard was sent with his division to occupy the passage of Nagadi; while that of Redisi was incautiously neglected, for if the strait of Redisi could have been occupied, all the beys on the right bank of the river must have surrendered, or starved in the desert; in which case, Mourad Bey, who was in force on the left bank, would have been the only army he could have had to contend with. Beliard repaired to Nagadi, where his troops were compelled to take up their quarters in the subterraneous tombs or burial places of the dead, while scouting parties were employed to learn the motions of the enemy. Besides the mamelukes, a considerable body of Meccans were in force, with some or other of whom the patrols were continually falling in, and who were hunted down and destroyed like animals hateful to society. In this dreary situation, however, provisions were constantly brought by the shepherds and merchants, who were in dread of being plundered by the mamelukes. These movements were productive of the battle of Birambar, wherein Duplessis, a chief of brigade, and several French officers lost their lives, and wherein Assan Bey and Osman Bey Ascar were severely wounded. The French, as usual, were the victors; and the defeated mamelukes took the unguarded pass by the strait of Redisi, and formed a junction with Mourad Bey on the opposite bank of the Nile. These beys then concerted the plan of cutting off the communication of the French army with Cairo; and, with this view, Elfi Bey was deputed to hang upon the flotilla, and scour the banks of the Nile; Osman and Selim Bey were dispatched to retake and reduce the French fortifications at Syene; and Mourad Bey, with the flower of the mamelukes, hung upon the French army to keep it in check, to watch favourable opportunities of attack, and to overawe the natives, and hinder supplies.

But these promising schemes did not succeed. Beneadi, a town on the verge of the desert, containing twelve

twelve thousand inhabitants, where a rich caravan from Fur had just arrived, gave every assistance to Mourad Bey, who had excited them to arms against the French. To this town, Desaix instantly dispatched general Davoust with the cavalry, and a strong detachment, animated with the hope of plunder, who set fire to the town, which they pillaged, and massacred many of the inhabitants.

Another detachment was sent under captain Renaud back to Syene, to dislodge Osman and Selim Bey, who had possessed themselves of the town. Emboldened by the small number of the enemy, they marched out and attacked the French with their usual impetuosity; but in the action Selim Bey was severely wounded, and Osman soon after retreated above the cataracts, leaving Syene once more in the hands of the French. In the mean time Desaix had driven back Mourad Bey to his strong hold in the Oasis; whilst Beliard was getting ready a detachment to cross the desert, and take possession of Cosseir, on the banks of the Red Sea. This service was performed with considerable adroitness and expedition. The detachment, all mounted on camels, left the head-quarters at Keneh, on the 26th of May, 1799, passed the strait of Birambar, or *well of wells*, on the edge of the desert, where they took their supply of water, and arrived at Cosseir on the fifth day.

The defenceless town and barren suburbs were instantly surrendered; and the French, after holding possession two days, and erecting the tri-coloured flag, returned back in only four days to Keneh. "To this central seat of our conquests in Upper Egypt," says Denon, "we found a number of merchants of all nations resort, pleased with our new government, and soliciting passports for their safe journey through the desert. By this intercourse with the natives of different countries, remote distances seemed to be contracted, and when we began to reckon the days required for a journey, and the necessary means of effecting it, the space to be passed over ceased to be immense; we

no sooner found ourselves actually engaged, than many difficulties, formidable at first, insensibly seemed to diminish, and at length totally disappeared. The Red Sea, Gidda, Mecca, seemed like neighbouring places to the town where we were; and *India itself was but a short way beyond them!* In the opposite direction were actually no more than three days journey from us, and ceased to appear to our imaginations as an undiscovered country. From Oasis to Oasis, by easy marches of one or two days, we arrive at Sennaar, one of the capitals of Nubia, which separates Egypt from Abyssinia and Fur, in the road to Tombuctoo, whose inhabitants are still the chief object, in Africa, of European curiosity, and whose very existence was a short time ago problematical. Many Turkish, Meccan, and Moorish merchants came to exchange their coffee and Indian cotton for our corn; yet, notwithstanding this quiet submission of the superior classes, the mass of the nation, from an error in their religion, and the dread of the beys, were still against us."

During the time that these acquisitions in Upper Egypt were secured, the general-in-chief, Bonaparte, marched with his division of the main army into Syria and Palestine, where he defeated the mamelukes and Arabs under Ibrahim Bey, and stormed and took the city of Jaffa, the Joppa of the Scriptures. Owing to the rocky and shelving coast, this town is at all times secure from an immediate attack by sea; and being defended on the land side by a stone wall, provided at certain distances with alternate square and round towers, it made a most obstinate resistance to the French forces, obliging them to break ground, and to erect batteries against it to the southward; and so soon as he effected a breach, the forces under Bonaparte stormed and carried the place*. The greater part

* After the taking of this place, Lieutenant-colonel Wilson, in his History of the British Expedition to Egypt, published in 1802, states, that, "Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault,

part of the garrison, composed of one thousand Turkish cannoneers, and two thousand five hundred Mamluks, or Arnauts, were put to the sword. But the threatening ravages of the plague, the sickness of his army, and the want of many necessaries, deterred that general for the present from pursuing the conquest of Palestine. After staying forty days at Jaffa, Bonaparte returned to Cairo, where he employed himself in arranging the details of the administration of Lower Egypt; and in establishing lazarettos, to oblige every ship that came from infected countries to perform quarantine. He also commanded work-shops to be constructed at Gizeh, for furnishing different materials for the army; formed an administration for coining money; and published tables of the relative value of French and Egyptian currency.

Thus the subjugation of Egypt appeared to be complete, though a dreadful destiny had befallen the fleet which conveyed thither the successful Bonaparte. On the 1st of August, the British admiral Nelson, who had received the command of a considerable fleet, appeared off the mouth of the Nile, and made dispositions for attacking the enemy. The French fleet,

saw, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry was formed against this defenceless multitude. Volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval," &c. Such are the principal outlines of lieutenant-colonel Wilson's account of this horrid massacre; but as no other writer, either French or English, take notice of it in a similar way, it is generally disregarded, and treated as a calumny.

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which consisted of one ship of one hundred and twenty guns, three of eighty, and nine of seventy-four, besides others of smaller size, was at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir. The admiral placed them as near the shore as possible, in a strong and compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates and many gun-boats, and protected in the van by a battery. The English fleet consisted of thirteen seventy-four gun ships, and a fifty.

Admiral Nelson, having by his preparations and signals made a disposition of his force calculated to secure and improve the victory, approached the French fleet, in a close line of battle, each ship sounding as she stood in. The position of the French fleet presented the most formidable obstacles: from their situation, they had no manœuvres to perform; but their attention was confined to their artillery, in the judicious use of which they so much prided themselves, and to which they chiefly ascribed their astonishing successes by land. The British admiral, who saw all the advantages the enemy possessed, but viewed them with a seaman's eye, knew that they must have room to swing the length of their cables, and consequently that there would be space enough for his ships to anchor between them and the shore.

The Goliath, commanded by captain Foley, led the fleet into battle. At a quarter past six in the evening the engagement commenced; captain Foley doubling their line, and anchoring alongside of the second ship in the van, and four other ships following his course, took their stations opposite the vessels they were directed to combat. The Vanguard, distinguished by the flag of admiral Nelson, next entered the battle: aware that it was impossible for the rear of the French (being to leeward) to assist, he redoubled his efforts to conquer one part before he attacked the rest; and anchored without-side of the enemy's line, who was thus completely between two fires. The Vanguard soon dismasted the Spartiate, and obliged her to surrender; and the Aquilon yielded to captain Louis, in the Minotaur. The Bellerophon, commanded by captain

captain Darby, running down the line, dropped anchor alongside of the *l'Orient* of a hundred and twenty guns, bearing the flag of the French commander-in-chief, admiral Brueys. Captain Peyton, in the *Defence*, followed close, and took his station, with great judgement, a-head of the *Minotaur*; he engaged the *Franklin* of eighty guns, which bore the flag of contre-admiral Blanquet Du Chelard, second in command. The *Majestic*, with the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which had been prevented assisting at the commencement of the battle by reconnoitring Alexandria, and afterwards being obliged to alter their course to avoid the shoal on which the *Culloden* had struck, came into action at eight o'clock, when darkness had for some time enveloped the combatants. The last ship that entered the conflict was the *Leander*, whose captain, Thomson, had lost some time in vain endeavours to assist the *Culloden*. In the van, four French ships had already struck their colours to the British flag; and the battle raged chiefly in the centre, where the *Franklin*, *l'Orient*, *le Tonnant*, and *l'Heureux*, were making every exertion to recover the glory lost by their comrades. At nine o'clock a fire was observed to have broken out in the cabin of *l'Orient*; but although the conflagration soon raged with dreadful fury, the French admiral sustained the honour of his flag with heroic firmness, till he was cut asunder by a cannon-ball: he had before received three desperate wounds, but could not be prevailed on to quit his station on the arm-chest. His captain, *Casca Bianca*, fell by his side. Several of the officers and men, seeing the impracticability of extinguishing the fire, which had now extended itself along the upper decks and was flaming up the masts, jumped overboard; some supporting themselves on spars and pieces of wreck, others swimming with all their might to escape the dreaded catastrophe. Shot flying in all directions dashed many of them to pieces; others were picked up by the boats of the fleet, or dragged into the
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the lower parts of the nearest ships: the British sailors humanely stretched forth their hands to save a fallen enemy, though the battle at that moment raged with uncontrolled fury. The situation of the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure* was extremely perilous, as the explosion of such a ship as *l'Orient* might involve all around in destruction. Captain Hallowell of the *Swiftsure*, being to windward of the burning ship, would not remove; but captain Ball's ship having been twice set on fire by the flames of *l'Orient*, he was obliged to take a more distant station.

Admiral Nelson, who had been carried off severely wounded on the head, was informed of the situation of the *l'Orient*, and hastened on deck, directing that every exertion should be made to save as many lives as possible. Boats were immediately put out, and above seventy Frenchmen rescued.

At half-past nine the fire communicated to the magazine, and *l'Orient* blew up with a tremendous explosion. A tremulous motion was felt to the very bottom of each ship, similar to that of an earthquake; and fragments hurled to a vast height into the air descended in about three minutes into the water, and on the decks and rigging of the surrounding ships. Fortunately, however, no material damage occurred. An awful silence reigned for several minutes, as if the contending squadrons, struck with horror, had forgotten their hostile rage in pity for the sufferers. But vengeance soon roused the drooping spirits of the French; the engagement was renewed, and continued till about three o'clock in the morning, when the firing ceased entirely, both squadrons being equally exhausted with fatigue. At four, just as the day began to dawn, the conflict was revived; in the course of which *l'Artemise* frigate fired a broadside at the *Theseus*, and then struck her colours; but just as a boat sent to take possession had come within a short distance, she burst into a flame, and soon afterwards blew up. This event arose from the treachery of *Eatandlet*, who com-

commanded; and who, having set his vessel on fire after his surrender, escaped to the shore, with most of his crew.

Separate engagements between different ships were maintained during the greater part of the day; about noon, rear-admiral Ville Neuve, in the *Guillaume Tell* of eighty guns, the *Généreux* of seventy-four guns, and *la Justice* and *Diane* frigates, got under weigh, and made their escape.

On the ensuing morning, (Aug. 3,) the only French ships remaining in the bay, not captured or destroyed, were the *Timoleon* and *Tonnant*. The former being aground near the coast, the captain (Trullet) with his crew escaped in boats after setting her on fire, and in a short time she blew up. The *Tonnant* submitted to the *Theseus*, *Leander*, and *Swiftsure*, which completed the conquest of the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir, and the British flag rode triumphant on the Egyptian seas.

The French distinctly beheld from the heights of Rosetta the progress of this astonishing, and to them afflictive, engagement: their hopes vanished with the chance of victory; and they now considered themselves for ever lost to their country, and cooped up in a strange and detested land, to struggle for existence, and lengthen life only to protract their despair and horror*.

Bonaparte being now left to the resources of his own invention, continued his civil and military operations with wonderful activity. At Belbeis and Salahiéh forts and redoubts were constructed, which might resist the attacks of the enemy on the side of Syria;

* The difference of force of the French and English fleets was, English, one thousand and twenty-eight guns, and eight thousand and sixty-five men; French, one thousand two hundred and sixteen guns, and ten thousand seven hundred and ten men. Sir Edward Berry being ordered home with dispatches in the *Leander* of fifty guns, encountered, near Goza, the *Généreux* of seventy-four, which had escaped from the battle, and, after maintaining an obstinate, though unequal, contest for six hours, was obliged to strike.—See *Adolphus's History of France*, vol. ii, p. 420.

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and plans were projected for the better defence of Alexandria and the city of Cairo. A national institute was established, some of whose objects were the purification of salt-petre; the construction of wind and water-mills, which served for the purpose of raising the water into cisterns, on account of its acquiring a brackish taste by lying on the ground; and also for the grinding of corn; the composition of bread; and a preparation of fermented liquors, as a substitute for wine; besides natural history, arts, antiquities, and other researches of science and literature. The sheikhs of different provinces were also convened, who discussed with calmness and dignity certain topics of jurisprudence and political economy. As the festival of the anniversary of the French republic happened at this period, these Egyptian sages joined in the celebration, which took place at Cairo with great solemnity, notwithstanding the destruction of their fleet. By such courteous manners Bonaparte endeavoured to obtain the confidence of the native Egyptians, which a continuance of victories over the beys and mamelukes, their oppressors, had seemed greatly to establish and confirm.

It was, however, rumoured at Cairo, that the grand signior, Selim III. had dispatched a numerous army against the French invaders of Egypt. An insurrection broke out, in the first commotions of which general Dupuis, the commandant of the city, and several soldiers, were massacred. The house of general Caffarelli was besieged by the inhabitants, and taken, and all that had defended it were put to death. But the French recovering from their surprize, made a strong and speedy resistance: their cannon was pointed in every direction; and the Turks and Arabs, who composed the mass of the revolt, were soon put to flight, and compelled to seek refuge in their mosques and temples. These they considered as safe and inviolable asylums, because the French had never presumed to enter them, from a regard to the religious usages and opinions of the people, to which the commander-in-chief

chief had affected to be a convert, as his proclamations evince. Bonaparte summoned the insurgents to deliver up their principals in the revolt; but the Turks refusing, the mosques were forced, and every soul was put to death.

The revolt just mentioned tended to confirm the power and influence of Bonaparte. The native Egyptians were not concerned in the insurrection; and the Greeks, who had hitherto remained neuter, joined the French. This was deemed by the general a favourable opportunity for publishing the declaration of war made against him by the Ottoman Porte; and, having secured the continuance of internal tranquillity, he prepared for extending his conquests; or, to use his own language, "for the further deliverance and regeneration of the eastern world."

But England could not endure the establishment of a French colony in Egypt, so near and hostile to her East India territories, and had therefore combined with Selim III. emperor of the Turks, in a plan of general attack, which was intended to expel the French from their conquests. The preparations were made in Syria, and committed to the care of the pacha Djezzar, who was to traverse Asia Minor, and to attack Egypt with a powerful army. At the same time a strong diversion was to be made towards the mouths of the Nile, and by the troops of Mourad Bey in Upper Egypt, united to the other hostile parties. Whilst Bonaparte was distantly employed with the members of the institute in making surveys of the canal of Suez, of which vestiges were found still remaining, he was informed of the preparations and movements of Djezzar, whom the grand signior had now appointed pacha of Egypt. He resolved, therefore, to march into Syria, with an army of thirteen thousand men, and to attack the enemy before they should have time to commence offensive operations. During this absence of Bonaparte, general Dugua was charged with the command of Cairo; general Menou was stationed at Rosetta; and general Almeyras at Damietta, the for-

tifications of which he had orders to repair. General Marmont was entrusted with the command of Alexandria, which became daily of more importance, and was threatened both by the English and the plague. General Desaix still continued with his detachment of troops in Upper Egypt, endeavouring, by redoubled diligence and activity, to keep in awe the mamelukes, and to prevent Mourad Bey from taking advantage of the expedition into Syria.

Part of the French army crossed the river which runs within fifteen hundred yards of the walls of Acre, during the night, on the 17th of March, 1799. A bridge being erected early next morning, the remainder of the troops passed over, and ascending the heights which command the place, beheld the town prepared for a siege, and, to their no small chagrin and astonishment, discerned the English colours flying in the harbour of St. Jean d'Acre, a town greatly celebrated during the time of the crusades, and which at this moment contained within its walls two singular men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war. Sir W. Sidney Smith, after attaining the rank of post-captain in the British navy, had offered his services to the king of Sweden, and conducted himself with such bravery during an action with the Russian fleet, that the cross of the order of the Sword was conferred upon him by Gustavus III. The war with France soon after afforded new opportunities of distinguishing himself, and it was to his care that lord Hood had entrusted the destruction of the fleet in the port of Toulon. Become a prisoner to the French, in consequence of an exertion of personal bravery, he was immured within the walls of the Temple, whence he made his escape, and returned to England. Soon after he was appointed to the command of a small squadron, and the commodore repaired to Constantinople, formed a treaty of alliance with the Ottoman Porte, in conjunction with his brother, then ambassador there; and after procuring the liberation of a number of English prisoners, repaired



*Intrepid Conduct of SIR SYDNEY SMITH and the BRITISH SEAMEN,
at the Siege of Acre.*

paired to Egypt. While a Turkish army was preparing to sail for the east, he endeavoured to defer the expedition to Syria by bombarding Alexandria; and when he found that the army was preparing to cross the desert, Phéllippeaux was sent to the assistance of the intimidated pacha. This officer, bred in the same academy with Bonaparte, and the companion of his studies and his amusements, had taken a different side in politics. Attached to the monarchy from principle, he had migrated on the annihilation of the throne, and appeared in arms in favour of his prince, but against his country.

The commodore, who had arrived but two days before the French, on perceiving the works in such a formidable state of defence, contributed, with Phéllippeaux, to soothe and encourage the pacha, who, perceiving the enemy victorious in every part, had determined to abandon his palace, and carry his women and treasure to a place of safety. But no sooner did Djezzar perceive that he was so ably supported, than he determined to stand a siege, and participate in the glory of stopping the career of the conqueror. Neither was he in the least mistaken either in respect to the industry or the talents of his new allies; for, in the course of the next day, the English squadron discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre. Seven vessels belonging to this flotilla contained all the battering train, but they were captured. This incident contributed greatly to save the city, as well as to harrass the French; for the prizes, being manned with British sailors, were anchored near to the town, and employed in impeding the enemy's approaches, while the cannon were placed on the ramparts, so as to annoy the army they were intended to assist.

The French in the mean time had encamped before Acre, and generals Dommartin and Caffarelli, after reconnoitring the works, were of opinion, that the

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front of the salient angle on the east side was the proper point of attack. But it soon became evident, notwithstanding the acknowledged talents of Bonaparte, the commander-in-chief, and the number of able engineers in the army, that but little pains had been taken to ascertain the nature of the works; for, in rushing forward, it was discovered, that a ditch of fifteen feet wide was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched, and the breach, which was not large, had been effected upwards of six feet above the level of the works. A body of grenadiers, however, headed by an officer belonging to the staff, descended into the ditch, and attempted to ascend; but their leader being shot, and it being discovered that the only effect produced by the late explosion was a small opening in the glacis, nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the besieged flew towards the harbour; yet it was no sooner discovered that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles, upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutants-general, and a great number of men. This event encouraged the troops of the pacha, insomuch that they sallied forth a few days after, April 5, and killed several of the besiegers, among whom was an officer of rank. Djezzar also dispersed his firmauns among the Naplousians, as well as the towns in the Said; and sent presents at the same time to Damascus, and even as far as Aleppo, requesting the true believers (that is, the Mahommedans) to rise, in order that they might overwhelm the infidels, who were destitute of artillery.

In the mean time the British squadron was forced by the equinoctial gales to abandon the unsheltered anchorage in the bay of Acre: by this circumstance the French became emboldened; but the Turks were dispirited by its absence. The assailants pushed on their approaches to the counterscarp, part of which they

they blew up, and even succeeded in making a lodgement in the north-east angle of the town wall, whence they proceeded to undermine the tower, on purpose to enlarge the breach. Notwithstanding, colonel Phellippeaux had by this time mounted all the prize-guns, and the besiegers were forced to slacken their fire; yet, on the return of the squadron, it was deemed proper to make another sally on the 7th, in the course of which the British seamen and marines were to force their way into the mine, while the Turks attacked the trenches to the right and left. But although the noise of the latter hindered the possibility of surprise, an English officer, who was dreadfully wounded upon this occasion, entered the aperture at the head of a body of pikemen; after which the retreat was effected without much loss, in consequence of the fire from the *Theseus*; while the Mussulmans, agreeably to the usual barbarity of their practice, were more active in collecting heads, than in endeavouring to annoy their opponents.

It was not, however, with Acre only that Bonaparte had to contend, for all the neighbouring districts were now in arms; and the Samaritan troops pushed their audacity so far, as to make incursions even into his camp. Hereupon he was obliged to dispatch, first the general of brigade Junot, and then Kleber, against the enemy, whom he was determined to drive across the river Jordan. Accordingly he reinforced the former detachment by means of a thousand infantry and a regiment of cavalry under Murat, and soon after set out himself to assume the command. Having repaired through Fouli, along the passes of the mountains, he at length (April 16) perceived Kleber's division, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, fighting with, and nearly encircled by, upwards of twenty thousand horse. Bonaparte now formed his infantry and cavalry into three squares, with a design to annoy the assailants, cut off their retreat towards Jenny, where their magazines were established, and drive them before him in the direction of the river,

river, on the banks of which they would be overwhelmed by Murat. He accordingly detached the adjutant-general Leturq with the cavalry and two pieces of cannon against the mameluke camp, which he descried at some distance, while general Rampon was ordered to take the enemy in flank, and general Vial to intercept them in their flight. No sooner did general Kleber receive intimation, by the discharge of a twelve pounder, that he was about to be succoured, than he immediately attacked and carried the village of Fouli with the bayonet; after which he charged the cavalry, which had already been thrown into confusion by Rampon, and obliged them, after experiencing much loss, to retire behind Mount Tabor. While Bonaparte was burning the Naplousian villages, and destroying such of the inhabitants as had appeared in arms against him, general Murat chased the Turks from Jacob's Bridge, and surprized the son of the governor of Damascus; Leturq at the same time seized the camp of the mamelukes, and brought away five hundred camels, with all their provisions; so that the barbarians, unacquainted with the nature of combined movements, were astonished to find themselves beaten at the same moment along a line of twenty-seven miles by an inferior body of the French.

On Bonaparte's return to the army before Acre, he pushed on the siege, and at length beheld the completion of the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all his efforts; but, on setting fire to it, the operation was found to be incomplete. Although one of the angles of the wall was carried away, the breach proved to be as impracticable as before; notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the besiegers, a lodgement could not be effected, and some of their best officers were either killed or wounded upon this occasion. The garrison, invigorated by the presence of the English, and defended by the skill of Phellippeaux, who unfortunately perished soon after, had by this time erected cavaliers; and constructed two places of arms, together with batteries,

so contrived as to flank the tower, and produce all the advantages arising from a cross-fire; a counter-attack was also attempted under ground, on purpose to drive the besiegers from their galleries. At length, rear-admiral Pécée having reached Jaffa, disembarked nine pieces of artillery, consisting of twenty-four and eighteen pounders; these having been mounted, were immediately employed to batter in breach, after which a fourth attempt was made to enter by assault; but by this time the *Theseus* was moored on one side and the *Tigre* on the other, so as to flank the town walls, while two advanced ravelins, occupied by their marines, precluded the advance of the assailants, by pouring in such a tremendous fire as to render their desperate valour of no service. ✓

Bonaparte now gave orders to change the plan of operations, and effect a new breach in the eastern curtain, by means of a sap and a mine, which was to blow up the counterscarp; the enemy not only discovered his intentions, but, by making approaches under ground, entered the gallery, destroyed the frame-work, and counteracted all the operations. It therefore became necessary to direct the attack once more against the tower, and a fresh attempt to effect a lodgement in the glacis proved as ineffectual as it had done before. Even their gunpowder began to fail, and the troops, hitherto victorious began to lose their confidence. In the midst of these disasters, about forty sail of Turkish vessels from Rhodes and the neighbouring islands, under the command of Hassan Bey, made their appearance, with a supply of provisions, ammunition, and a reinforcement of soldiers. Knowing that the landing of fresh troops would be productive of great disadvantages to the besiegers, the French general determined to anticipate that event by a new and still more desperate attempt to storm the place. The necessary orders were accordingly given, and at ten o'clock at night the two places of arms and the approach to the glacis were carried, and a lodgement completely effected. The generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon,

Rampon, advanced upon this occasion at the head of their demi-brigades; and so great was the slaughter, that the dead served as a cover to the living. A supply of gunpowder having arrived at the same time from Ghazab, the tower and curtain were battered again; and the latter having fallen, Bonaparte repaired thither and ordered an assault: on which the general of brigade Rambaud, supported by general Lasnes, rushed forward with the grenadiers, two hundred of whom actually entered the town through the breach. But their progress was soon arrested by the fire from the houses, the barricadoes, and the palace of Djeddar; the sabre and poinard of the Turks were also employed with effect; and such incessant discharges were poured in upon them in front, flank, and rear, that they were obliged not only to abandon two pieces of cannon and a couple of mortars which they had seized, but to withdraw as fast as possible. The conduct of the English upon this occasion fully entitled them to the gratitude of their allies. While Djeddar was sitting in a conspicuous place, surrounded by the mutilated members of the assailants, and by turns rewarding such as brought him heads and distributing musquet-cartridges, they were busily employed in preserving his residence and himself from destruction. One petty officer did great execution with an eighteen-pounder, mounted in the light-house castle; another superintended a twenty-four pounder, placed on the north ravelin; and both, by reiterated discharges of grape, swept away the head of the attacking column, which, like that of the hydra, was renewed only to be cut off again. In the mean time the centre was assailed by two sixty-eight pound caronades, mounted in two germes near the mole, whence shells were thrown with such precision, as to annoy the advancing foe, and render a nearer approach fatal. Nor was this all; for sir Sidney Smith, after hastening the arrival of the boats, placed himself at the head of Hassan Bey's troops, and rushed on with them to the breach; he also found means to overcome the most stub-

stubborn maxims of oriental jealousy, and actually obtained permission to introduce the Chifflik regiment, disciplined under sultan Selim's own eye, into the garden of the seraglio, whence they sallied out and took the assailants in flank.

Bonaparte, burning with rage and shame, had now placed himself on an eminence, called Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount, where he was seen, surrounded by his generals, to whom he appeared to indicate by his gesticulations the necessity of renewing the attack. Accordingly, a little before sun-set, a massive cump was descried descending to the breach, which was now wide enough to admit fifty men abreast. On this occasion a stratagem of war, adopted at the instance of the pacha, was eminently successful; for a certain number of the French forces having been allowed to approach, they were immediately attacked on their entering Djezzar's garden; and on this occasion the sword and dagger of the besieged appears to have proved more than a match for the screwed bayonet of the assailants. It was in vain that general Lasnes attempted to rally the fugitives, for he himself was wounded by a musquet-shot near the wall; while Rambaud perished in the city, of which he vainly imagined that he had obtained possession. A few days after this, with a zeal expressive of temerity rather than of true courage, the French commander ordered another assault to be given; but the troops selected for the occasion refused to mount the fatal breach over the putrid bodies of their unburied countrymen. On hearing this, the grenadiers of the twenty-first demi-brigade solicited and obtained the honour of storming the place. On advancing for this purpose it was discovered, however, that the enemy had completed three lines of defence, which it became impossible to carry; so that, after an useless massacre, in the course of which general Bon, adjutant-general Fowler, and one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp, were killed, and several officers severely wounded, a retreat

was beaten, and the discomfited volunteers returned to the camp.

In proportion as the troops relaxed in their zeal, and the capture of Acre became dubious, chagrin and despair began to be visible in the face and actions of Bonaparte, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town supposed scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were crowded by a multitude of armed spectators, who waited the result of the contest that they might declare for the victor. Nor was this all; for the intelligence received from Cairo was far from being consolatory. Although the capital and the principal cities had remained tranquil, the mamlukes began to give uneasiness; and the provinces of Benisouef, Charkié, and Bahire, had been in a state of insurrection. A wandering Arabian tribe, from the heart of Africa, had at the same time made inroads into Gizeh; the kiaya of Egypt, although elevated by the French to the important station of emir hadjy, or commander of the caravan to Mecca, had declared against them; while, to complete the whole, an impostor, who declared himself to be the angel El Mahdi, announced in the Koran, had collected a number of followers, and carried several posts. The plague likewise had by this time got into the French camp, and seven hundred men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In short, an immediate retreat was now become necessary; and Bonaparte, after having besieged Acre during sixty days, and sent notice to Cairo that he would return a conqueror, was forced to evacuate his lines and retire on the 20th of May.

The latter hours of his stay were dedicated to revenge; for, not content as formerly to direct his artillery against the fortifications, he gave orders to destroy an aqueduct, bombarded all the principal edifices in the city, and endeavoured to reduce the palace of Djezzar to a heap of ruins. But, on the other hand,

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Bonaparte, although discomfited and overwhelmed with calamities, never appeared greater than upon this critical occasion. He began by publishing a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated the exploits performed by them during this short campaign. Having traversed the deserts which separate Africa from Asia with greater rapidity than an Arab tribe, they destroyed, he said, on Mount Tabor, the army intended for the invasion of Egypt; while the Turkish squadron, which sailed for the defence of the capital of Djazzar, had been intended for the siege of Alexandria. "After having carried on the war with a handful of men during three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty cannon, fifty stand of colours, made six thousand prisoners, and demolished the fortifications of Ghazah, Jaffa, Caiffa, and Acre," adds he, "we are about to return. But a few days more, and you might have seized the pacha in the midst of his palace; however, at this critical season, the capture of Acre is not worth the time that would have been spent before it."

At length, after blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Ghazah, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against him, the French passed over the desert, and, instead of entering Cairo like a vanquished army, were received as victors by the inhabitants, who, ignorant of what had lately passed, had prepared triumphal arches to celebrate their return.

In the mean time, Seid Mustapha Pacha assembled at Rhodes the Ottoman troops destined for the attack of Alexandria; European officers were appointed to direct the details of this enterprize; and the combined English and Turkish fleets sailed without opposition for the coast of Egypt. The movements of the mamelukes and Arabs indicated the projects of the allies, and the approach of their armament. Bonaparte had been called to the assistance of general Desaix in opposing Mourad Bey near the pyramids of Gizeh, where he received intelligence from Alexandria, that

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A Turkish fleet of one hundred sail had anchored in the road of Aboukir, from which the Turks had landed three thousand men, with artillery, on the shore of the peninsula, and carried the fort by storm. All the generals commanding detachments of troops that were in motion, were now ordered to march towards the place of landing, and to make Ramanieh the place of rendezvous, where the forces shortly after met.

The Turks having attacked the French garrison, and obtained possession of Fort Aboukir, began to entrench themselves and to form magazines. Their force, which daily increased, was estimated at ten thousand men, and they appeared to be waiting for greater reinforcements, and for the junction of Mourad Bey, with a view to invest Alexandria. Bonaparte, perceiving that the enemy intended to fortify and maintain themselves in the peninsula, determined immediately to attack them; and having marched his troops to the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir, and received information respecting the position of the Turks, he formed his plan of engagement. Mustapha Pacha defended the entrance of the peninsula by two lines of troops, and by entrenchments, which were still imperfect. The centre of his forces occupied the redoubt, which had been taken from the French at the time of landing, and since converted into an entrenchment. The attack of Bonaparte was desperate and dreadful. By a skilful manœuvre, two thousand Turks were dislodged and surrounded, and perished by the fire of the French, or were drowned. After suffering various repulses, the French, seizing the moment when the Turkish forces sallied from their entrenchments, attacked the redoubt and carried it. In vain did Mustapha Pacha endeavour to rally his troops, which were now forced on every point. The Turks fled on all sides, and threw themselves into the sea; the greater part could not reach the vessels, which were moored too far off, and they perished in the waves; the remainder of the army, with Mustapha

tapha Pacha, was surrounded and made prisoners, with the exception only of a few hundred men. The fort of Aboukir, after a bombardment of eight days, again surrendered to the French; and the son of the pacha and two thousand men threw down their arms, and were made prisoners of war. This victory over the Turks was attended with considerable loss to the French, who had a great number killed and wounded, as well as the Turks. After this sanguinary battle, Egypt for a moment became tranquil; the forts and the batteries on the coast were well armed and provisioned, and the mamelukes and beys were in an obvious consternation. Bonaparte, weighing well this momentary advantage, but foreseeing the speedy subversion of his plan, left a letter, containing the nomination of general Kleber to the chief command in Lower, and of Desaix to that of Upper Egypt, and secretly sailed for France. In the direction given, however, to general Kleber, he was instructed to negotiate with the Ottoman court, which Bonaparte had himself commenced.

At length, after various conferences between general Kleber and sir Sidney Smith, at the desire of the grand signor, it was agreed that the French army should embark with their ships, arms, baggage, and effects, and be transported to France, as well in its own vessels, as in others to be furnished by the Porte. This treaty was signed at El-Arish. But the court of London, after the decisive advantages it had gained, and the fresh levies it had sent out under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral lord Keith, consisting of a well-appointed army of thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty effective men, with a fleet to cover its operations, could not, in compliment to the Ottoman Porte, suffer the French ships and vessels to be given up, nor other requisitions submitted to, which, under such circumstances, it was unreasonable for a capitulating army to expect. These resolutions of the British commanders being forwarded by lord Keith from on board the *Foudroyant* to sir Sidney Smith, were
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immediately communicated to general Kleber; who, feeling indignant at this unexpected turn of affairs, resolved to fight to the very last, for which he prepared his troops by reading to them the new propositions of lord Keith, and animadverting on the duplicity of the Turks, who were collected in great force near Heliopolis, for the purpose of laying siege to Cairo. The French army partook of the indignation of their general; and, without more delay, hastened to attack the grand vizier, who, expecting peace, was totally unprepared for such an assault. Both armies, however, being drawn out in order of battle, a furious and dreadful engagement took place; in which the Turks, after long resistance, were ultimately thrown into disorder, and their whole army, consisting of forty thousand men, as stated by the French general Regnier, betook themselves to flight in all directions; their camp was abandoned, and the rout became general. The Turks had eight thousand men killed or wounded, whilst the loss of the French was comparatively trifling. After the battle, as the French were carelessly returning into Cairo, elated with the laurels they had just acquired, Ibrahim Bey, at the head of three thousand chosen mamelukes, fell unexpectedly on their rear, and penetrated into the very heart of the city, making great slaughter among the French, and expecting to be joined by the disaffected inhabitants. Here he maintained a long and desperate contest with the victorious Kleber; but at length, overpowered with numbers, he retreated, and rejoined the discomfited troops of the grand vizier. Kleber then punished the cruelties which, during his absence, had been inflicted by the inhabitants on the friends and partizans of the French.

After the battle of Heliopolis, or the Pyramids, the French army seemed to be surrounded with the most brilliant circumstances. General Kleber formed the Greeks and Copts into battalions, whom he trained to the use of arms, and clothed in the uniform of his country. But just as the superior abilities of this com-

commander began to unfold themselves, he was stabbed whilst walking on his terrace in Cairo. The assassination of an officer so generally beloved, so much respected and esteemed by all parties, enemies as well as friends, appears a mystery which even time itself may never unravel. His body was conveyed to France, with the skeleton of the assassin*.

The chief command of the French army now devolved upon general Menou, who, being fully aware of the serious attack that was about to be made upon him, adopted every measure that prudence and valour could dictate for the safety of his army and the defence of Egypt. At length the English fleet appeared making for Aboukir Bay; and on March 2, 1801, it came to anchor exactly where the glorious battle of the Nile was fought in 1798.

On the 8th of March, sir Ralph Abercrombie gave orders for landing the troops, which was effected in flat-bottomed boats, under a severe and continued fire from the French. The soldiers were ordered to sit down on the bottom, holding their firelocks between their knees. All the boats in the fleet were employed; yet only five thousand troops could at first be landed; and these were penned up so close as to be unable to move, and exposed to a galling and destructive fire, without the power of returning it, or of taking any measures for their defence. Numbers of the English now perished, being shot in the boats, or bayoneted in the act of stepping out; for the enemy lined the water's edge, and disputed every inch of ground. A landing could not, however, be effected without

* This wretched slave, Solyman el Aleppi, was impaled alive, and lived in that state for three days. Neither in the cutting off his hand, nor the dreadful operation which humanity and manhood revolt at, did he betray the least fear: his only cry was for water, and occasionally a bitter curse against those who had persuaded him into a confession, under the promise of a pardon. It has been supposed that Kleber's assassination resulted from the private revenge of some of the principal inhabitants, in consequence of the recent punishments he had inflicted.

such

such a sacrifice. The carnage continued for about twenty minutes; when the French finding their exertions ineffectual, fell back, and retreated along the banks of lake Mahadie, now called the lake of Aboukir. The force that opposed consisted of about two thousand five hundred men, under the command of general Friant, commandant of Alexandria, who lost upwards of four hundred in killed, wounded, and taken. The loss of sir Ralph Abercrombie was six hundred and fifty-two, in killed, wounded, and missing, exclusive of those of the navy. The residue of the English army was now landed without molestation, and preparations were made for offensive operations. The French, having augmented their force, took a strong position at the extremity of an open space, defended by a range of hills, upon which they formed their line, defended by a numerous artillery, and rendered still more formidable by the aid of heavy cannon taken from the works of Alexandria.

On the morning of the 13th of March, it was determined to attempt driving the French from this strong position. As the English advanced, the French commenced a most destructive fire from their artillery, which, enfilading the depths of the British columns, made prodigious havoc. Taking advantage of this success, the French came down from the heights, and began a close engagement. Their numerous cavalry made a spirited and impetuous charge upon the nineteenth regiment, who, with the coolness and intrepidity of veterans, received them unbroken on the points of their bayonets. The French were then obliged to retreat, having received a well-directed volley as they wheeled about, which brought numbers to the ground. Their attacks on other parts of the line were attended with no better success, being repulsed in every quarter. As the French retreated, the English slowly advanced; and at four o'clock took up the position on the heights which the French had occupied in the morning. In this action the English lost one thousand three hundred men in killed and wounded, and had

had near fourteen thousand troops in the field; they took four pieces of cannon, and one howitzer. The French in this affair consisted only of between six and seven thousand men, commanded by general Lanusse, who lost about seven hundred in killed and wounded. Considering the advantages possessed by the French, the victory of this day was highly honourable to the assailants, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, and consequent greater loss. The French retreated under the works of Alexandria, and lost no time in fortifying their position, and providing against a siege, which they were convinced was not far off.

General Menou had not yet arrived from Cairo. He had been obliged to co-operate with the army of Upper Egypt in an attack upon Mourad Bey, whom Desaix had now determined finally to conquer, or perish in the attempt. The French armies had in consequence persevered in hemming up the mamelukes; and placing Mourad between two fires, whereby his destiny became inevitable. Yet he made a most heroic resistance, such as became a superior politician, and a great general. Finding all was lost, he offered to capitulate upon terms of amity with the French; provided he might be reinstated in a part of Upper Egypt. Desaix, with the generosity of a true conqueror, met the mameluke chief on his own terms; admired and praised his military prowess and ardour; and assigned him and his own private mamelukes the district he solicited, under a solemn engagement of their becoming friends to the French army.

In the mean time, sir Ralph Abercrombie pushed on the English army to a chosen position near Alexandria, and in sight of the French camp on the heights of Nicopolis. The position thus chosen for the British crossed the great road from Alexandria to Aboukir, having their right wing towards the sea, near what is called the Roman Camp, and their left opposite the point of the lake Aboukir or Mahadie. This position sir Ralph Abercrombie proceeded to fortify with alacrity. Various and contradictory reports of

Menou's movements were circulated, and among others, that he had formed a junction with Lanusse, with a reinforcement of eight thousand men. But little credit was unfortunately given to this rumour; and still less apprehension entertained of his attacking the position, which was fortified with two redoubts, though not yet finished, for they were still open in the rear, one on the right wing in front of the old ruins of Kasr Kiasera, or castle of the Cæsars, mounting to twenty-four pounders; another along the canal on the left, with one twelve-pounder; and several small *flèches*, with one or two guns, occasionally disposed at intervals along the front of the line. Such was the state and position of the English on the 20th of March. On the 21st, at half-past three in the morning, the troops were getting under arms, when they were alarmed by a smart fire of musketry proceeding from the farthest *flèche* toward the left wing. This was conceived to be nothing more than a feint; for sir Ralph Abercrombie was yet ignorant of the junction of all the French forces at Alexandria: however, on the firing continuing for some time, with now and then a cannon-shot, brigadier-general Stuart set out on his march with his brigade, to support the point attacked, when he was stopped by a very heavy fire both of cannon and musketry, which hastily commenced on the right. In this false attack on the left, the French rapidly advancing, entered a small *flèche* at the same time with the out centinels. They immediately turned the twelve-pounder, which was mounted in it, upon the English, and had actually fired one shot from it, when a redoubt in the rear of this *flèche* opening its fire upon them they quickly retreated, carrying off with them three officers, one serjeant, and ten rank and file, of the fifth brigade. They had one officer four privates killed in the *flèche*, but took away their wounded.

The French, thinking to have drawn every attention to the left, had hastily advanced with their whole body, after having driven in the picquets. Their object,

ject, as it afterwards appeared, was first by a sudden and spirited attack to turn and overthrow the reserve, which by its advanced position was separated a little from the rest of the army. This accomplished, their next aim was to force the centre with their united troops; and, while the attention of the left was fully occupied by the false attack, the whole force of their cavalry, in which they were very strong, was to avail itself of a favourable opportunity, and, by an impetuous charge, drive all before them into Lake Aboukir, thus at one blow deciding the contest. For this purpose, the division under general Lanusse, forming their left wing, advanced boldly against the right of the British line; general Sylly's brigade marched directly upon the redoubt; while another, under general Valentin, proceeded along the sea-side, to penetrate between it and the old ruins. General Sylly's brigade took possession of a small redan, in which there was a gun; but, by reason of the heavy fire from the redoubt, was obliged to fall back. The brigade moving along the sea was stopped in its progress by the fire from the old ruins, which were defended by the twenty-third and fifty-eighth regiments, and the flank companies of the fortieth. Still attempting to force its way between them and the redoubt, the sixty-ninth French demi-brigade was taken in flank by one of the twenty-four pounders loaded with grape, and nearly exterminated. On this the remainder of the corps refused to advance; when general Lanusse, using his utmost efforts to rally them, and bring them to the charge, had his thigh carried off by a cannon-shot. Complete confusion ensued, and a general dispersion of this column took place. General Sylly's troops, not being able to clear the ditch of the redoubt, attempted to turn it, but were repulsed with great loss by the spirited opposition of the twenty-eighth regiment.

During the time this was passing on the right of the line, general Rampon's division made an attack on the centre, extending as far towards the left as the

ninety-second. It attempted to turn the left of the brigade of guards, which was a little advanced; but was received with so warm and steady a fire from the third regiment of guards, whose left was thrown back, and from the royals, as to be forced, after a sharp contest, to retreat with great loss. General Destin, with his division, penetrated through the hollow, leaving the redoubt on his left, and endeavoured to reach the old ruins. He was there warmly received by the forty-second, and attempted to withdraw his troops; but a battalion of the twenty-first demi-brigade having advanced too far, was surrounded, and obliged to lay down their arms, and surrender to the forty-second and fifty-eighth regiments. Repulsed in every quarter with the same obstinate resolution, and finding it impossible to penetrate through any part of the British line, the French infantry at length gave way, and dispersed in all directions.

Although they were thus foiled, the French general in chief, Menou, determined to make one desperate effort at carrying the English camp. For this purpose he ordered the main body of the cavalry, under brigadier-general Roize, to charge; and general Regnier, at the head of the divisions of Lanusse, Rampon, Friant, and the fifty-fifth demi-brigade, to support it. General Roize, convinced at once of the inutility and hazard of the attempt, twice remonstrated; and it was only at the third peremptory order that he obeyed. Accordingly, the third and fourteenth French dragoons, under general Boussart, came up with all the impetuous fury of men certain of being sacrificed, and charged through the forty-second regiment, reaching quite up to the tents. Here, however, they were effectually stopped; the horses, being entangled in the cords, were for the most part killed, and many of the men were obliged to seek their safety on foot. A circumstance, likewise, as unfortunate as it was unexpected, contributed very materially to overthrow the French cavalry. The ground in the rear of the forty-second was full of holes, between three and four feet

feet deep; which excavations had been made by the twenty-eighth regiment, as conveniencies to sleep in, previous to the landing of the camp equipage. The enemy's cavalry, charging over these, was completely broken and routed. At this juncture the Minorca regiment came to the support of the forty-second, and drew up in the vacant space between the redoubt and the guards. The second line of French cavalry, composed of the fifteenth, eighteenth, and twentieth dragoons, with general Roize at their head, made another desperate charge upon these regiments. As it would have been impossible to withstand the shock, they opened a line with the most deliberate composure to let them pass; then facing about, they poured upon them such volleys of shot, as brought numbers both of men and horses to the ground. The cavalry now endeavoured to force its way back, but this they were unable to effect; and the greater part were killed or wounded in the attempt, general Roize himself being slain on the spot. A flag called the invincible standard, covered with the military exploits of the corps to which it belonged, fell into the hands of the Minorca or Queen's German regiment. It was taken by a private, named Antony Lutz, for which he received a certificate from the adjutant-general, and the sum of twenty dollars. This man, never having been taught to read or write, was incapable of being made a sergeant, to which post he would otherwise have been advanced. In the early part of the action, this standard had been wrested from the French by the forty-second regiment; it was, however, retaken from them at the moment of the impetuous charge of the French cavalry; which being perceived by Lutz, he cut his way to the officer who was carrying it off, shot him dead, and bore it back in triumph. The French infantry, unable to give any assistance, retired, after losing a great number of men. General Beaudot was mortally wounded; and when the broken remains of the cavalry formed again in the rear of their infantry,

not

not one-fourth of those who had charged. could be found.

It was about this period that the gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie received the wound which deprived Great Britain of that distinguished and most able commander. It is impossible to ascertain the exact moment, since he never complained, or revealed the circumstance of his being wounded to any one, till it was perceived by those about him. No entreaty could even then prevail on him to leave the field, till convinced by his own eyes of the retreat of the French, and of the victory gained by the forces he had the honour to command. The loss of the English on this occasion amounted to one thousand four hundred and sixty-four in killed, wounded, and missing; which, though very considerable, was greatly inferior to that of the French, which, at a moderate calculation, was supposed to have amounted to upwards of four thousand men, for no less than one thousand one hundred and sixty were counted by the provost-marshal left dead upon the field of battle, exclusive of those within the French vedettes, which in course he could not reckon, and of which there were certainly many. Generals Lanusse, Roize, and Beaudot, were killed; and generals Destin, Sylly, Eppler, and several other officers of rank, wounded*. The whole force of the English in the field this memorable day amounted to no more than eleven thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine rank and file, whilst the concentrated forces of the French amounted to upwards of twenty thousand, as afterwards appeared by the returns of the capitulations of Cairo and Alexandria. In this engagement the English took two hundred and fifty prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and one standard: On the

* In the pocket-book of general Roize were found some interesting papers, which proved that nearly the whole of the French army in Egypt was brought together by forced marches to support this battle, under a confident expectation of sharing the spoils of the British camp.

side



side of the English the commander-in-chief was mortally wounded, and died in the night of the 28th of March; major-general Moore, brigadier-general Hope, adjutant-general to the army, and brigadiers-general Oakes, Lawson, and sir Sidney Smith, were likewise wounded.

The English, at one time during the engagement, were in the greatest distress imaginable for want of ammunition; several guns were left with scarcely one round, and many regiments were in a similar situation. This circumstance was owing to the want of means of conveyance. General Menou built his chief hope of success upon the sudden overthrow of the right wing of the British, and the consequent consternation of the army; he therefore preferred making his approach while favoured by the night, that he might arrive close and unperceived, and thus avoid the destructive fire of the entrenchments and gun-boats. In fact, the attack was as sudden as it was unexpected, and certainly put the English army under a fair trial of its native skill, unshaken courage, and cool intrepidity. The Turks which had been landed from the captain pacha's ships in the bay of Aboukir, remained in the rear during the whole action: when the danger was over, they paraded in front of the British lines with their numerous flags flying!

Sir Ralph Abercrombie having seen the enemy retreat, he attempted to get on horseback; but his wound, which was probed and dressed in the field by an assistant-surgeon of the guards, having become extremely stiff and painful, he could not mount, and reluctantly suffered himself to be placed upon a litter, from which he was removed into a boat, and carried on board the *Foudroyant*. Here lord Keith received him with all possible affection, and every care and attention which his state required were early paid him: but it was his lot to die on the bed of honour. The command of the army in consequence devolved upon major-general Hutchinson. This able commander, aware of the advantages which must accrue from the possession

possession of Rosetta, as it would open the Nile and ensure supplies, determined to make himself master of the place. That he might be enabled to carry on the active operations of the army on the Rosetta side, it became necessary to secure the old position, as a mean of acting on the defensive against any future attack. For this nothing could be of greater utility than letting the waters of Lake Mahadie or Aboukir into the ancient bed of the Mareotis, as the left wing would thus be rendered more secure, since to turn it would become impracticable; and, at the same time, the gun-boats would be enabled to get in and annoy the enemy. The site of lake Mareotis had been accurately surveyed, and its level found to be nearly ten feet lower than that of Aboukir. It was therefore obvious that by cutting through the canal of Alexandria, which was the only separation between the two lakes, the water would flow in very copiously. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, a numerous working party began to cut through the canal; and, on the 13th, the water rushed in with impetuosity through seven channels made for the purpose, to the great joy of the whole army. The violence of the water flowing in through the cuts in the canal was so great, as not only to destroy every thing in its way, but to unite four channels of the seven. By this the gap was rendered too wide to admit a bridge, and the communication was supported by means of boats stationed near the opening. This gave wonderful effect to the operations, and, on the 14th, the British troops entered the town of Rosetta without opposition. The French garrison, composed of two battalions, abandoned it, and retreated across the Nile to Fouah.

On the 22d, rear-admiral sir John Borlase Warren, with seven sail of the line, joined lord Keith off Alexandria, after having chased the French squadron under admiral Gantheaume, of which he had lost sight in a fog. The fleet now consisted of eighteen ships of the line, including three Turkish men of war under the capitan bey, who landed five thousand troops, and
fifteen

fifteen thousand more were marching through the desert from Jaffa, under the immediate command of the grand vizier, to join and co-operate with the British forces.

Major-general Coote was left in command of the troops before Alexandria, while general Hutchinson proceeded in pursuit of general Lagrange, who had taken a strong position at Elaft, near El Hamed. On the 3d of May, sir Sidney Smith arrived in camp from Rosetta. An Arab courier also arrived the same day with dispatches from Osman Bey Tambourgi, announcing the death of the celebrated Mourad Bey*.

When

* This chief was on his way to join the English army, when the plague untimely cut him off. He was of an open, sincere, and generous character. When compelled to make peace with the French, he avowed that his only reason for it was his inability longer to continue the war. In his previous correspondence he had assured the English general, that if his army should advance towards Cairo he would join him; but observed, that he dare not make a decisive movement previously: and in a letter to sir Sidney Smith he wrote, "How can I be attached to the French? Have they not deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, and revenue? But it is on the English faith alone I must depend. The Turks have no right to my confidence." Alluding to the hostility of the Turks against him, and the unnatural inveteracy of people professing the same faith, he beautifully expresses himself, "Melancholy it is to reflect, that the arrow which has stuck in the eagle's wing was an arrow made of an eagle's feather." He was seized with the plague whilst gradually descending the Nile, on the 22d of April, 1801. Twice in the former part of his life he had been cured of this malady, but his constitution was latterly impaired by his anxieties. The mamelukes that year had suffered severely from the plague; for in Upper Egypt it had raged so violently as to destroy sixty thousand people, and forty thousand in Cairo were attacked with it. On his death-bed Mourad charged Osman Bey Tambourgi, whom he had recommended to Ibrahim Bey as his successor, to attach himself to the English. The beys and mamelukes all sincerely regretted the death of this extraordinary personage; and when they buried him at Saouague, near Tahta, they paid the compliment to his valour of breaking his sabre into his grave, as an expression that none of them was worthy after him to wear his arms. Mourad Bey had fought for his independence as long as there was a prospect of success; but, deserted by his allies, and, pressed by general Desaix, he had no

When the detachment of the army under major-general Hutchinson approached to Elaft, general Langrange retired toward Rahmanieh with his troops, consisting of nearly four thousand five hundred men, nine hundred of which were the flower of the French cavalry.

The inundation of lake Mareotis having nearly reached its proper level, and the force of the current at the cut being much diminished, major-general Coote, anxious both to secure his own position and to annoy that of the enemy, got six gun-boats into this new lake. Alexandria was thus cut off from all communication with the interior, except through the desert on the west.

On the 9th, major-general Hutchinson marched from Elaft toward the French, who were posted near the fort of Rahmanieh, behind the canal of Alexandria, which ran entirely along their front. Their cavalry was on the right, near the Nile, and their left was covered by a low fort mounting four guns. A detachment under colonel Stewart marched at five in

other alternative than to be driven from the whole of his government, or compromise for a part, and he judiciously chose the moment to treat when his means still made his alliance desirable to the French; but he never was in heart reconciled to them: his religion and pride forbade the friendship, independent of other motives. The following anecdote is related as the cause of his last personal inveteracy against them. Some French officers of rank assembled at the house of the wife of Mourad Bey, who was the widow of the great Ali Bey, and who entertained them with all the hospitality she could possibly manifest. When they retired, she presented the young Beauharnois with a ring of considerable value. A few days afterwards a contribution was laid on her property of far greater extent than her proportion had previously been fixed at, and much beyond her means to pay. On complaint being made, she received for answer, "that as it was understood she still possessed very costly ornaments, no mitigation could be pleaded." This exaction appeared to be founded on the present she had so generously given to the relative of Bonaparte, with the motive of shewing honour to that general. As such it was considered as the grossest breach of faith and hospitality, nor could Mourad Bey ever speak of the transaction without the bitterest expressions of indignation.

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the morning to attack the French at Dessoug, while the main army was to attack them at Rahmanieh. A skirmish ensued, which ending greatly in favour of the English, Lagrange quitted the place, and retreated toward Cairo. One hundred men, who were left in the fort of Rhamanich, with a number of sick and invalids, surrendered the next day. A convoy of seventy germes, with provision, ammunition, and clothing, for the French troops, and about five thousand pounds in money, also fell into the hands of the English. This convoy had come down the Nile from Cairo, passed through the canal of Menouf, and was proceeding to Rahmanieh, ignorant of the capture of the place. A small detachment of French cavalry, consisting of three officers and forty men, going from Alexandria to Rahmanieh, were likewise made prisoners by a party of dragoons. They were going from Alexandria to Cairo as an escort to one of general Beliard's aides-de-camp, charged with dispatches from Menou. This party had slept at Demanhour the night before, and knew nothing of Rahmanieh being in the possession of the English.

An Arab arrived in general Hutchinson's camp at Algam, on the 17th, with the intelligence, that a body of the enemy were moving on his right through the desert, with the supposed intention of pushing from Alexandria to join Lagrange, who had reached Cairo. In consequence of this information, major-general Hutchinson ordered brigadier-general Doyle to follow them into the desert with the cavalry and his own brigade; and major-general Cradock was directed to be prepared to give his support in case of necessity. At one o'clock, brigadier-general Doyle with the cavalry, not two hundred and fifty in number, came up with the enemy, after a pursuit of ten miles through the heavy sands; and the whole convoy, after some demur, surrendered without resistance. This corps, which had been sent to collect provision and forage in the province of Bahireh, consisted of two hundred of the French dromedary corps, sixty-nine

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artillerymen, three hundred and thirty infantry, with one piece of cannon and a stand of colours, and escorted a train of four hundred and sixty camels. It left Alexandria on the 13th of May, but finding most of the villages abandoned and destitute of provision, the chief of brigade, Cavalier, determined to make the best of his way for Cairo, not suspecting that general Hutchinson had yet left Rahmanieh, and was on his way towards that place, when he perceived the English flotilla upon the Nile. Cavalier then attempted to penetrate into the desert, where he was soon overtaken by general Doyle. The regiment of dromedaries had been a very useful corps to the French. It was composed of picked men, chosen from the whole army, who, mounted upon these swift animals, were employed in pursuing the Arabs through the desert, and overtaking them where it would have been impossible for any other troops to have acted. Tribes of Arabs retiring into the deepest parts of the desert, where they thought themselves secure, were soon dispersed by them, and their numerous flocks of sheep (sometimes as many as two or three thousand) became the property of the captors, among whom the value was afterwards divided. By these means several individuals of this corps accumulated to the amount of fifty thousand livres, (about 2,187*l.* 7*s.*), with which they were anxious to return to France. When attacked by a superior force of Arabs, the men usually dismounted from their dromedaries, and making them lie down, placed themselves behind them, the animal thus serving as a parapet to his rider, over which he fired in security. Since the period of general Hutchinson's departure from before Alexandria, nearly one thousand of the enemy had fallen into his hands, with a very trifling loss.

On the 19th of May, a Turkish officer arrived at Algam, with the intelligence of a victory having been gained by the grand vizier over the French at El-Hanka, a village about six miles from Cairo. The Turkish chief had marched from Jaffa on the 25th of February,

February, where the plague had carried off several thousand of his troops. At Yabna he was reinforced by five hundred of Djezzar Pacha's troops, well armed and appointed, sent as a proof of the pacha's sincerity and attachment to the Porte. After unavoidable delays, attendant upon so ill-organized an army, the vizier advanced on the 12th of March, and on the 15th reached Gaza. On the 22d, Tahir Pacha, with a chosen corps of three thousand cavalry, proceeded to El-Arish; and, on the 28th, the vizier moved forward for that place with his army, where he arrived on the 30th. On the 2d of April, the division under Tahir Pacha, accompanied by captain Leake of the royal artillery, left El-Arish, and advanced toward Katieh and Tinieh. On the 5th, he was followed by the second division, commanded by Mohammed Pacha, which was accompanied by captain Lacy of the engineers. The grand vizier, with the remaining part of his army, and the military mission under lieutenant-colonel Holloway, moved forward on the 19th; and, after a very arduous and harassing march of four days across seventy miles of desert, ill supplied with provisions, water, and the necessary means of conveyance, arrived at Katieh. The road was strewed with the dead bodies of men and cattle, and the average heat was from one hundred to one hundred and twelve degrees in the tents.

The Turkish army reached Belbeis on the 8th of May, where the grand vizier began to form magazines, of which he was in the utmost want, to put his disorganized army into some kind of order, and to increase it with Bedouin Arabs, mamelukes, and inhabitants of the country, who were allured to his standard by the hope of plunder. In this position he entrenched himself, and avowed his determination to wait for the French under general Beliard, who, it was supposed, would march out of Cairo, to force him back into the desert before the arrival of the British forces to support him. On the 30th, the vizier boldly sent major Hope of the British artillery to summon the town of
Cairo

Cairo to surrender, previous to which some *mamelukes* and Turkish cavalry, forming his advanced patrols, had been slightly engaged in a skirmish with a party of French dragoons, near the village of Menayer.

General Beliard had been reinforced successively at Cairo by general Donzelot from Upper Egypt, the garrisons of Salahieh, Belbeis, and Birket-el-Hadge, and general Lagrange's division, which joined him on the 12th of May. These troops, united with his own garrison, made a body of upwards of eight thousand men, exclusive of Greeks and Copts. With this force general Beliard determined to proceed to Belbeis, there to attack the grand vizier, and drive him back to Salahieh, before general Hutchinson should approach nearer Cairo. For this purpose he marched out on the 15th, with four thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry, and near thirty pieces of cannon. At night he halted at El-Menayer, after having repulsed the advanced patrols of the Turks. The grand vizier, informed of his approach, and wishing to anticipate his attack, sent the Tahir Pacha, with about two thousand cavalry and a few pieces of cannon, to observe the enemy's motions. Before daybreak the Tahir Pacha's troops came up with the French advanced guard in a wood of date trees. Both parties halted, and remained on their arms till daylight, when the Turks kept the French at bay till the main body of the vizier's army came up. A sharp firing then ensued; the Turks maintained their ground, and, after an action which lasted nearly eight hours, and during which the Ottoman cavalry greatly annoyed the French, general Beliard thought proper to retreat, but was not pursued. Such was the battle of El-Hanka, in which the loss of the French did not amount to more than fifty killed, and perhaps two or three hundred wounded. That of the Turks must have been more considerable, on account of the great superiority of the French in artillery. This victory, trifling as it may appear, was of great consequence to future prospects; it was the first the Turks had gained over

over the French; and it happened to be on the very spot where the same grand vizier had been defeated by general Kleber, in consequence of rescinding the treaty of El-Arish. On the 20th of May, the vizier's army was reinforced by the thirtieth and eighty-ninth regiments, and detachments of cavalry and artillery.

On the 21st of May, major-general Coote established a post of two hundred infantry, twenty cavalry, and two field pieces, upon the canal of Alexandria, near Bedah. The brigade of guards furnished the detachment, which was commanded by colonel Turner of the third regiment. The object of this post was to maintain an uninterrupted communication with Rahmanieh, Demankhour, and the interior of the country. By these means the camp market was well supplied, and the operations went on prosperously before Alexandria.

On the 24th, major-general Hutchinson, with the capitan pacha, proceeded to wait on the grand vizier. About five miles from Birchamps, he passed the Nile on a bridge of pontoons, thrown across for the purpose of establishing an easy communication between the two armies. Five miles further north brought him to the advanced Turkish camp, commanded by Tahir Pacha, who so gallantly opposed the French in the wood of date trees at the battle of El-Hanka. They proceeded in a long procession to the vizier's tent. Here, in the midst of oriental magnificence, and seated upon the most beautiful embroidered cushions, they found his highness. Around him were all the principal commanders of his army. The venerable mameluke chief, Ibrahim Bey, the Reis Effendi, Mahomet Pacha of Jerusalem, Tahir Pacha, and the Beer Bachis, were present. Chairs were provided for the English officers, who alone were permitted to sit in the presence of the grand vizier. After the usual routine of civility and salutations, coffee, sweetmeats, the never-omitted pipes, &c. the general took his leave, and retired to a very superb tent provided for him; and a guard of honour, composed of janissaries, and

and one of the vizier's chief men, were stationed about his person. This was followed by a grand dinner, in the Turkish stile, at which the principal characters of the Ottoman empire were assembled. The vizier, about sixty-six years of age, had the misfortune to lose an eye; but has retained his situation ever since the year 1799, notwithstanding the unfortunate battle of Heliopolis. The capitan pacha displayed high military qualifications, which obtained him great renown in this campaign. The Reis Effendi, or principal secretary of the Turkish empire, is well known in England, where he was secretary to the Turkish embassy. His knowledge of European manners and politeness procured him the greatest advantages in the intercourse with the English army. The reason of the chief officers of the Ottoman empire, civil as well as military, accompanying the army, is, that the Porte or court is always supposed to be with it, and all orders of the sultan are deemed to be issued by him from his stirrup. Such was the case in former wars, when the high-spirited sultans commanded their armies in person.

Major-general Hutchinson attended a meeting of the divan, or council, in the vizier's tent, on the 25th of May; and, on June the 1st, Osman Bey Tambourgi arrived with his mamelukes, and joined the main army. They appeared to be about twelve hundred in number, every individual superbly mounted and richly dressed. But the magnificence of the beys and kiachefs or officers was beyond any thing that can be conceived. They were lodged in spacious tents, divided into several apartments, the insides lined with rich stuffs, and beautiful Turkey carpets were placed on the floors.

On the 6th of June, a French vessel, mounting ten guns, having on board general Damas and the chief of ordnance Daure, was brought into Aboukir Bay. In the night of the 3d of May, generals Regnier and Damas, the chief Daure, with several other officers of rank, had been seized by force in their houses at Alexandria,

Andria, and conducted on board two vessels in the harbour. They sailed on the 19th of that month: general Regnier, in the fast sailing brig *Lodi*, eluded the vigilance of the English cruisers; but the *Good Union*, having on board the other officers above named, was taken near Candia. What might have been general Menou's reason for this violent measure was not known, but it was supposed to have originated in a disunion between him and those officers, in consequence of some circumstances which took place in the battle of the 21st of March. The French squadron under Gantheaume, consisting of four sail of the line, one frigate, one corvette, and five transports, had been off the coast for some days. The men of war had between three and four thousand troops on board, all very sickly. This fleet had anchored by mistake in Lacuste bay, greatly to the westward of Alexandria; but Gantheaume fearing the approach of lord Keith's fleet, which was in search of him, cut his cables and again stood off to sea. The five transports were taken on the 7th, and brought into Aboukir Bay. They had no troops on board, but artists of all kinds, besides florists, gardeners, seedsmen, &c. in a word, quite a small colony. There was also a company of comedians for the Cairo theatre. The transports said they had parted with the fleet at the distance of near eighty leagues from Alexandria, and came under convoy of the corvette *l'Héliopolis*. This ship succeeded in getting into the harbour of Alexandria; she carried no troops, but brought a supply of arms and ammunition, and the intelligence of an intended reinforcement in Gantheaume's squadron. Rear-admiral sir Richard Bickerton, with three sail of the line, beside one Turkish man of war, went in pursuit of Gantheaume; while lord Keith, with the remainder of the fleet, cruized off the port of Alexandria.

Having now determined upon the siege of Cairo, in conjunction with the grand vizier, major-general Hutchinsonson marched his army to the southward of the

point of the Delta, and took up his ground near the village of Burtos, on the 8th of June. In this position the whole force destined to act against Cairo was consolidated. A free and easy communication was established with the grand vizier's army, encamped at Charlahan, on the opposite bank of the Nile, by a bridge of pontoons. The captain pacha's troops were in front of the British, and the mamelukes, under Osman Bey Tambourgi, were in their rear. On the 10th, two hundred men of the eighty-sixth regiment, under colonel Lloyd, joined colonel Stewart's corps, which was attached to the vizier's army. These men were the forerunners of a long-expected reinforcement from India. Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd had commenced his march from Suez on the 7th of June, having received orders from general Hutchinson to that effect. On the 14th, major-general Hutchinson moved about three miles in front to the village of Saael; and on the 16th advanced to a position just out of reach of the shot of the enemy's works. The same day he was joined by the twenty-eighth and forty-second regiments, who had marched from the camp before Alexandria in twelve days. The grand vizier also moved forward on the right bank of the Nile to a parallel position, a little below the village of Demanhour. General Hutchinson made another movement on the 21st, and invested the town of Gizeh, opposite to Grand Cairo; and the grand vizier, following his motions, encamped close to the enemy's advanced works on the other side of the river. Some slight skirmishing took place in the evening on both banks of the Nile, wherein the mamelukes distinguished themselves. On the 22d of June, general Beliard, who commanded the French troops at Cairo, finding himself surrounded on all sides, his communication with the interior part of the country entirely cut off, and without hopes of relief sent a flag of truce to general Hutchinson, requesting that he would agree to a conference between a French and an English officer,

officer, to treat for the evacuation of Cairo and its dependencies. To this request general Hutchinson assented.

The conference continued till the 28th, when a convention was signed for the surrender of Cairo, by which the French were allowed seventeen days for the final evacuation of Cairo and its dependencies. They were then to march to Rosetta, with their arms, baggage, field-artillery, &c. to be there embarked as soon as possible, but at the latest in fifty days from the ratification, on board vessels to be furnished at the entire expence of, the allied powers, for sending them to some French port. On the evening of the 28th, the combined powers took possession of Gizeh and Cairo, where the British and Turkish colours were conjointly hoisted. The French army which surrendered, amounted to ten thousand eight hundred and fifty-six fighting men.

The siege of Alexandria was next undertaken by general Hutchinson. Rear-admiral sir Richard Bickerton had returned on the 13th of June, and joined the fleet off Alexandria, without having seen or heard any thing of Gantheaume's squadron: it was supposed, therefore, to have gone back to Toulon. About this time the Monmouth man of war, with the Leda and Active frigates, arrived in Aboukir bay from England, with reinforcements of men and money; also a convoy of troops arrived from Malta, who had volunteered their services for Egypt. On the 16th of July, dispatches likewise arrived for general Hutchinson, from major-general Baird, commander of the Indian troops, with the long-expected intelligence of his having reached Keneh on the Nile, (which the French had lately made their capital in Upper Egypt,) with a part of his army.

The project of transporting a formidable body of troops from India to Egypt through the Red Sea was well conceived; and, in case of a more serious resistance on the part of the enemy, would have proved extremely

tremely beneficial. We have mentioned the arrival of a small portion of that force at Suez, under lieutenant-colonel Lloyd of the eighty-sixth regiment. This corps had sailed with rear-admiral Blanket to Suez, at an earlier period from the coast of Malabar. The army from India, under the command of major-general Baird, did not all come from the same part, every presidency furnishing a certain quota; and had the whole of the intended force arrived in Egypt, it would have amounted to nearly ten thousand men. This army was landed at Cossir, and marched across the desert to Keneh, the former tract of the French; and from the excessive heat, Mr. Dudley Rider, paymaster-general, perished in the desert, as did many of the troops. This army did not join until after Alexandria had surrendered.

Orders were given for the investiture of that city on the 12th of August. The division of troops to be employed on the west of Alexandria was to be under the command of major-general Coote. The flotilla of gun-boats, consisting of twenty-four, sailed up the inundation on the morning of the 13th, and anchored in a line abreast of that of the French. This position rendered the enemy's boats useless, and gave the English the entire command of the inundation. The reserve, under major-general Moore, marched into the camp before Alexandria on the same day; but no regular plan of encampment was to take place till major-general Coote's corps had gained their station to the westward. The whole French line was under arms, and very vigilant, during the night of the 13th, as, from the sailing of the gun-boats, arrival of troops, and other movements, general Menou was apprehensive of an attack. When the troops had taken their station to the westward of Alexandria, general Hutchinson ordered an attack to be made along the whole of the enemy's front to the eastward of the town. This movement took place about four in the morning, and was intended not only to gain ground, but as a diversion in favour of major-general Coote. The attack of
a green

a green hill, a little advanced on the right of the enemy's position, was confided to major-general Cradock; and the brigade under general Doyle was destined to carry it into execution. The thirtieth regiment was to march up to a small redoubt on the right, and the fiftieth to another on the left; the ninety-second remaining in a central position in the rear, to support either, if necessary. The two battalions of the twentieth were also placed in such a manner, as to be in readiness to move up to any point required. On the left of the enemy there was a small hill of sand, called the Sugarloaf-hill; of this major-general Moore took possession with very little resistance, and thence he was enabled to reconnoitre the enemy's works. This position, however, it was not possible to retain, as it lay completely exposed to the enemy's cross fires, and from its size afforded little or no shelter. During these movements the French kept up a very warm and severe cannonade from their works: the manner in which their guns crossed each other in every direction was truly wonderful, and gave an ample idea of the strength and judicious plan of their extensive lines.

At five in the evening of the 18th, major-general Coote moved forward about two miles, without any other opposition than a few shots exchanged between his advanced guard and the French. He then took up his position in the following manner: the guards extending across the quarries in two lines, with their right to the inundation; and majors-general Ludlow and Finch's brigades both formed fronting the sea. At day-break on the 19th, major-general Coote opened a battery of two twelve-pounders and two eight-inch howitzers against the fort of Marabout. On the 22d, major-general Coote determined immediately to move forward to attack the enemy, and take as advanced a position near the town of Alexandria as prudence and security would permit. Accordingly, at break of day, all the troops were under arms, with the addition of one hundred and fifty of the Lowestein riflemen, who had

had landed late at night from the eastward. The troops marched to meet the enemy, who was strongly posted on a ridge of high rocky hills, having his right secured by the sea and by two heavy guns, and his left by the inundation and two batteries containing three more guns of the same calibre. Beside these, numerous pieces of flying artillery were placed in the intervals of his line. The English moved through the ground in three columns; the guards forming two upon the right, under major-general lord Cavan, near the inundation; and major-general Ludlow's brigade forming the third, upon the left, close to the sea, having the first battalion of the twenty-seventh regiment in advance. Major-general Finch's brigade composed a reserve, and was destined to give support wherever it might be required. In this manner the troops continued to move with coolness and regularity, under a heavy fire of musketry and cannon. As the English advanced the French retreated, till close under the works of the town. Here was a general halt, and the French gave no further disturbance during the remainder of the day. The loss of the English was trifling, when compared to the advantages gained. The loss of the French, though very considerable, could not be ascertained.

The French were not insensible of the advantages gained by the allies; and at half after four in the evening of the 26th, an aid-de-camp of general Menou came with a letter, requesting a cessation of hostilities, to give time for a capitulation. This was granted by general Hutchinson; and, on the 2d of September, 1801, at twelve o'clock, the English army took possession of the French lines. The British and Turkish flags were immediately hoisted together, and the whole was conducted with the greatest precision and regularity. The terms granted to the enemy were the same as had been extended to the garrison of Cairo, and the number of effective troops which now surrendered amounted to ten thousand five hundred and eight.

eight. In the harbour of Alexandria was taken one ship of sixty-four guns, three frigates, two sloops of war, and two hundred sail of merchantmen*.

After the restoration of peace to the desolated province of Egypt, it was the wish of general Hutchinson to restore its civil government, and call back to their respective stations all these under whose official departments it had been conducted. The extreme jealousy of the Porte, however, in its anxious care once more to get firm hold of Egypt, had secretly determined on the extirpation of the present race of beys, the only men in the country who had made head against the common enemy. This political but sanguinary measure was confided to the management of the grand vizier. On the 21st of October, 1801, all the beys then in Alexandria, with the captain pacha, were invited to dine on board sir Richard Bickerton's ship, then lying in the harbour. With this intention they were taken into the capitan pacha's barge; but

* It is a remarkable circumstance, that, on the surrender of Alexandria, the French frigate *La Justice* fell into our hands, and that the capture of this ship completed the total annihilation of the fleet of admiral Brueys. Of the four sail which escaped under admiral Gantheaume, on the morning of the 2d of August, the *Généreux*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *la Diane* frigate, had been at different periods captured by the British cruizers; *la Justice* alone had, till this capitulation, survived the defeat in the bay of Aboukir.

The following is an official return of the disposal of the French army in Egypt by the British forces :

	<i>Military.</i>	<i>Civil.</i>
Killed in the different actions, and dead of wounds,	3,000	
Prisoners taken in battle, in the different convoys, and the garrisons of the forts	3,500	
The garrison of Cairo, to which is to be added 500 deserters, whom nothing could restrain from selling themselves to become mamelukes, and excluded 760 auxiliaries embarked	13,672	52
The garrison of Alexandria, including the marines doing duty, and about 200 auxiliaries	10,508	686
Soldiers dead by the plague and other maladies since the landing of the English	1,500	
Total	32,180	768
		while

while they were sailing through the lake Mareotis, a *caouash*, or messenger of state, appeared on the shore, and hailing them, informed the capitan pacha that he had brought dispatches of the utmost consequence for him from Constantinople. Upon this the capitan pacha left the beys, and went away in a boat; after which, as they were passing under the stern of a Turkish gun-boat at anchor, a volley of musketry was fired at them, and several boats full of men assailed them on every side. After a gallant and desperate resistance, rendered more furious by the idea of being treacherously sacrificed, they were overpowered by numbers, and made prisoners. In the contest, Osman Bey Tambourgi, Osman Bey Ascar, Mahomet Bey Mafice, and the black Caya Bey, were killed in the barge. Osman Bey Berdici and Solyman Aga were very severely wounded, but fortunately recovered. The survivors were then taken and confined on board the capitan pacha's ship, the Sultan Selim. Immediately upon the above transaction being made known to general Hutchinson, he ordered brigadier-general Stuart, at the head of his regiment, and with guns and lighted matches, to proceed to the Turkish camp on the eastward of Alexandria, and to insist upon the bodies of the beys being given up to the British. This, after some hesitation, was acceded to by the capitan pacha, and the remaining beys were liberated the next day, and sent to Alexandria, where the bodies of those who had been slain were buried by the British army, with all possible military honours. While these things were passing at Alexandria, the grand vizier, by presents and other demonstrations of friendship, having lulled the mameluke beys at Cairo into perfect security, he made, on the 20th of October, an attempt to seize them. Several of them thus fell treacherously into his hands; but Selim Bey, and a party of his officers and men, effected their escape. After innumerable hardships and difficulties, they arrived at Gizeh, where they were received and kindly treated by the commandant, colonel Ramsay. As soon as general
Hutchinson

Hutchinson was made acquainted with this transaction, he dispatched brigadier-general Stuart to the grand vizier with a peremptory letter, insisting on the unconditional delivery of the beys whom he kept prisoners in Cairo. This demand was, after some hesitation, complied with; and on the 16th of November the beys came into Gizeh, where they were placed under the protection of the British army. General Hutchinson, after this scandalous behaviour of the grand vizier, determined to bring back the government to the strict regulations formed for it by Solyman the Legislator, in 1521. He directed that the number of beys should be augmented to their full complement of twenty-four; that the capitan pacha should be the supreme president in the divan; that the new-elected beys should be subject to his approval; and that he should no longer remain a cypher in the state, but have an army under his command sufficient to enforce his legal authority. Thus, at the commencement of the year 1802, the sovereignty of Egypt was restored by the valour of the British arms to its ancient privileges and constitution, under the nominal dominion of the grand seignior.

Thus terminated the European war in Egypt, and thus ended a campaign which will for ever reflect the brightest glory on the army and navy of Great Britain, whose united exertions in so short a period annihilated an usurpation as dangerous as it was unjust and unprecedented, and restored the sovereignty of Egypt to its ancient constitution and government. That the policy of the rulers of France who sent Bonaparte on this expedition led him to seize upon this rich and extensive domain, with a view to reduce it to the state of a French colony, there can be no doubt; because we have seen that a civil establishment, with all the subordinate characters necessary for such a purpose, was absolutely assigned. The great object of this policy was not only the acquisition of a rich territory, but it had in view a competitorship with

Great Britain in her East Indian commerce, and finally, perhaps, the conquest of Hindoostan. But the arrival of the English forces under sir Ralph Abercrombie soon changed the scene; for though the French were absolutely masters of the country, and strongly fortified, they were in a short time compelled to submit, and yield up all their conquests to the British forces, who restored them to the rightful owners.

CHAPTER IX.

EVER since the treaty of Campo Formio had been concluded, a congress of ministers from the French directory and from the German princes had been endeavouring to settle finally at Rastadt a treaty between France and the German states. The intended operations had been previously arranged between the emperor and the directory in the secret convention of Campo Formio, already mentioned. That the articles of this convention might be concealed, the French ministers at Rastadt formally brought forward their proposals in succession for the discussion of the German deputies. The French demanded that the Rhine should be the boundary of their republic: the Germans resisted this. References were made to the diet of Ratisbon, and long discussions and negotiations took place among the different princes. When it was found that little was to be expected from the protection of Austria, the German deputies at Rastadt were instructed to offer one-half of the territory demanded. This offer was rejected, and new negotiations took place. The other half was at last yielded up, and a long discussion commenced about the debts due by the ceded territory, which the French refused to pay. The tolls upon the river, and upon the rivers flowing into the Rhine, also gave rise to much altercation. It was even a matter of no small difficulty, after all, to determine

Determine the precise boundary of France; whether her territory should extend to the left bank, the right bank, or the thalweg, that is, the middle of the navigable channel of the river. These discussions, conducted with endless formality and procrastination, still occupied the congress at Rastadt; but it became gradually more obvious that no treaty would be concluded at that place. Austria began to strengthen her armies in all quarters. Russia, that had hitherto avoided any active interference, produced a large body of troops in British pay, and sent them towards Germany. The king of Naples prepared for war. This impatient monarch, resolving to attack without delay the French troops who occupied the Roman territory, procured general Mack and other officers from the court of Vienna to assume the command of his army. Without waiting, however, till Austria should commence hostilities anew, he rashly began the war alone and unaided, excepting by the British fleet, and thus drew upon himself the whole force of the French republic.

However, as the directory did not suspect such conduct on the part of this prince, they were unprepared to meet it; and when general Mack entered the Roman territory at the head of forty-five thousand men, the French troops in that quarter were unequal to the contest. A French ambassador resided at Naples when this event took place, and war was not declared. When Championnet complained of the attack made upon his posts under these circumstances, he was informed in a letter by general Mack, that the king of Naples had resolved to take possession of the Roman territory, having never acknowledged its existence as a republic. He therefore required the French quietly to depart into the Cisalpine states; declaring, that any act of hostility on their part, or their entrance into the territory of Tuscany, would be regarded as a declaration of war. Championnet, finding himself unable to resist the force now brought against him, evacuated Rome. He left, however, a garrison in the castle of

St. Angelo, and endeavoured to concentrate whatever troops he could hastily collect in the northern extremity of the Roman state. Towards the end of November, Mack entered Rome without opposition.

These events being made known at Paris, war was immediately declared against the kings of Naples and Sardinia. Joubert, the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, immediately began his march towards Piedmont. The king of Sardinia, who had made war against France, died of grief soon after the conclusion of that peace which left his person and states at the mercy of the republic. His son and successor, Victor Emanuel, disheartened at the miserable prospects which awaited his accession, resigned the government into the hands of a regency; but was afterwards obliged to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the republicans, and give them possession of his capital as a pledge of fidelity. The present occasion was eagerly embraced to terminate the political existence of this inoffensive prince: general Victor entered by surprize into Novarra, disarming the Piedmontese troops, and placing garrisons in all their fortresses. The soldiery would have resisted; but their efforts were prevented by the formal abdication of Victor Emanuel, which being signed and sent to Joubert, at Chivasso, on the 9th of December, he immediately repaired to Turin, and compelled the unfortunate monarch to quit his capital the same night, followed by his family, his wife, sister of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and a small number of faithful adherents, to seek shelter in the island of Sardinia, the spot assigned to him by the directory, who now published a declaration of their motives in a message to the councils. His dominions were immediately revolutionized, a provisional government established at Piedmont, and the Sardinian soldiers, having taken an oath of fidelity to France, were incorporated with the troops of that nation.

In the mean time the contest with Naples was soon decided. The French on their retreat were much harassed

harassed by the people of the country. The Neapolitan troops regarded them with such animosity, that they scarcely observed the rules of humanity towards the prisoners who fell into their hands. Even their leaders seemed in this respect to have forgotten the practice of nations; for when Bouchard, by order of general Mack, summoned the castle of St. Angelo, he declared that he would consider the prisoners of war and the sick in the hospitals as hostages for the conduct of the garrison; and that for every gun that should be fired from the castle, a man should be put to death. It cannot well be imagined that the Neapolitan officers would have acted in this manner, had they not expected support from the immediate co-operation of Austrian troops; but they were completely disappointed, and the territory of Naples soon fell into the hands of the French. Such was the disaffection or cowardice of the Neapolitan troops, that they were beaten by one-fourth of their number in different engagements, at Terni, Porto Fermo, Civita Castellana, Otricoli, and Calvi. The division commanded by general Mack was incapable of rallying after the first defeat, and withdrew in disorder towards the frontiers of Naples. Mack being joined by count Roger de Dumas, a brave and intelligent emigrant, retired behind Capua, while the king of Naples quit-
ted Rome in fifteen days after his triumphal entry, and Championnet re-entered the city, December 16, 1798.

Instantly the republican army prepared to take advantage of the terror of the Neapolitans, and having compelled them to quit the Roman territory, pursued them to their own. The right wing, under Macdonald, Matthiew, and Rey, advanced in different directions. The latter, being joined by the younger Kellermann, presented himself with less than three thousand men before Gaeta, a fortified town situated on a peninsula, defended by four thousand Neapolitans, victualled for a whole year, plentifully supplied with ammunition, and having the advantage of an open

open sea, either for succour or escape; yet, with all these advantages, the place surrendered at discretion on the firing of the first shot. Rey now joined Championnet and Macdonald under the walls of Capua, where they summoned Mack to surrender. Having received a negative answer, Championnet attacked the works, but was repulsed with considerable loss. At length the left wing of the French, under Le Moine and Duhem, after several successes, also joined Championnet before Capua. General Serrurier at the same time advancing from Modena, entered Lucca, where he levied a contribution of two millions, (97,500*l*.) and was proceeding to Leghorn; but the Neapolitans having quitted it, and the French not choosing to renew the quarrel with the emperor of Germany, whose interests were inseparably connected with those of the grand duke of Tuscany, he was ordered to take a retrograde march.

The defence of Capua was now the only remaining resource of Naples. The king, disheartened by the baseness of his troops, and alarmed at the near approach of the French, had, on the 16th of December, taken refuge on board lord Nelson's fleet, after causing the maritime arsenals, and all the ships of war which he could not bring away, to be burnt. After experiencing all the horrors of an exterminating warfare, and seeing prince Albert, his son, who was in his seventh year, expire with fatigue, he thought himself fortunate in landing safely at Palermo, on the 27th of that month.

General Mack, having collected the scattered remains of his army, still outnumbered the French, and kept them in check by the excellence of his position, occupying an entrenched camp in the plain of Caserta, with the Volturno in front, and protected by Capua, which defends the passage of the river. The French general, in the mean while, found himself in a very critical situation: he sustained a considerable check on the 8th of January, 1799, in an attempt upon Capua, and was destitute of artillery for a regular
siege;

siege; the insurrection of armed peasants from Abruzzo to Naples incessantly harassed him, and cut off his communications. General Rusca had been made prisoner by them; Rey was assassinated by a woman at Gaeta; and the troops, without tents or sustenance, were perishing with cold before Capua. From this state of almost inevitable ruin, prince Pignatelli, who, on the departure of the king, had assumed the regency under the title of captain-general of the kingdom, relieved them. He had long been soliciting a peace; and, when the French were on the verge of despair, he agreed, as the price of a suspension of arms, to deliver into their hands Capua, which was the key of Naples, with its magazines and stores, and all the artillery of Mack's entrenched camp. He also agreed to yield up the whole country from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ofanto, to shut the ports of the kingdom against the enemies of France, to pay ten millions of livres, (437,500*l.*) and send an ambassador to Paris to treat for a definitive peace. General Mack, the officers of his staff, and his whole army, were likewise surrendered to the French.

There had long, in the city of Naples, existed a body of persons under the denomination of *Lazzaroni*, or beggars, amounting to the incredible number of from thirty to forty thousand men, who lived in idleness, subsisting by charity, or by such shifts as occasionally occurred to them. One of their most usual means was by menacing the state with an insurrection, in case their wants were not supplied, which usually drew from a feeble administration liberal distributions of money and provisions. On the present occasion, they demonstrated abundance of loyalty; but the king had thought fit to avoid entrusting his safety to such defenders. During the confusion which followed the flight of the court and the approach of the French army, the *Lazzaroni* became formidable, and put themselves in martial array, requesting prince Militorni to lead them against the common enemy; but he attempted in vain to restrain them. They declared implacable

placable hostility against the French, and all the advisers of the armistice. They broke open the prisons, put to death all who were confined on account of political offences, and spread themselves over the city in search of those persons whom they considered as favourable to the invaders, whom they murdered, and burnt the houses of the disaffected.

A considerable body of the inhabitants, who thought themselves in the greatest danger, made an attempt to resist their fury by fortifying the convent of the Celestins, and retiring thither; but the Lazzaroni, after encountering the fire of cannon and musketry, succeeded in storming the place, and destroyed all who had taken refuge there. Their power and fury were now boundless, and the city became a scene of massacre and pillage. Prince Militorni, therefore, went to Capua, and requested Championnet to rescue Naples from utter ruin by occupying it with his army. For this purpose it was agreed that a column of French troops should secretly advance by a circuitous march, and suddenly enter the city from the opposite quarter. But before this plan could be executed, the Lazzaroni had adopted the resolution of attacking the French within the fortifications of Capua. Accordingly two-thirds of them marched out upon this enterprize, and spent the 19th and 20th of January in attempting to take Capua by assault. Multitudes of them now perished by the artillery of the place; for the French, to favour the capture of Naples by the party that had been sent for that purpose, avoided making any sally, and remained upon the defensive. The Lazzaroni before Capua, however, having learned on the 21st that a French column had marched towards Naples, suddenly returned to the assistance of their brethren in the capital. They were closely pursued by the French; but they had leisure, nevertheless, to barricade the streets, and to form themselves into parties for the defence of different quarters. A dreadful and sanguinary contest ensued, which lasted from the morning of the 22d to the evening of the 23d of January. The Lazzaroni,

Lazzaroni, with some peasants who had joined them, disputed obstinately every spot of ground, and by the energy which they displayed, cast a severe reproach upon the feeble and unskilful government, which had not been able to direct in a better manner the invincible courage of such men. At length, after having been driven from street to street, the Lazzaroni rallied for the last time at one of the gates of the city, where they were nearly exterminated. The inhabitants rejoiced on account of their own escape from immediate ruin; and while the French armies became odious in all the other places they had entered, they here found themselves, from the circumstances of the case, received with unfeigned welcome, in a city which holds the third place in population and splendour among the capitals of Europe. But its peace was not secured by this rapid conquest of the Neapolitan territory, the victorious republicans being seriously menaced by a formidable army from Russia.

The French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt delivered a note, on the 2d of January, 1799, declaring, that if the diet of Ratisbon consented to the entrance of Russian troops on the territory of the empire, or failed to oppose it, the progress of the Russian army would be considered as a violation of neutrality, the negotiations at Rastadt would be broken off, and the republic and the empire replaced on the same footing as before the signature of the preliminaries at Leoben. This note producing no effect, a message was sent by the directory to the councils, complaining of the whole conduct of the emperor of Germany, implicating the grand duke of Tuscany his brother, and announcing that the necessary measures were already adopted for the security of the state. The legislature immediately voted war against these two powers, and laws were formed for giving vigour to the recruiting by conscription, and for supplying the wants of the forces.

At this period, when the flames of war were thus rekindled, the French had in Europe only four hundred thousand troops, including eighty thousand auxi-

liaries, to contend with the emperors of Germany and Russia; to defend their frontiers and conquests from Amsterdam to Naples, a space of two thousand miles; to protect their coasts and those of their allies, from the Texel to Bayonne; to keep in subjection upwards of forty millions of people; to defend the islands of Corsica, Malta, and Corfu; and maintain internal tranquillity in France, Holland, and the conquered countries; so that they had no more than about two hundred and fifty thousand effective men that could be spared to act in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Massena, with forty-five thousand men, occupied Switzerland and the left bank of the Rhine almost from its source to the western extremity of the lake of Constance, and from that point both banks of the river to Basle. Between this town and Dusseldorf, sixty-five thousand troops were stationed under Jourdan, forming what was called the army of Mentz. Upon the right bank of the Rhine they occupied the fort of Kehl, and lined the left bank from the frontier of Switzerland to Mentz; whence they possessed all the country on the two banks to Dusseldorf, where was stationed a corps of twenty thousand men under Bernadotte, called the army of observation. The French, therefore, had only a hundred and ten thousand men to carry the war into Germany, to repulse the neutral army in case it should march against them, and to keep in awe Switzerland and all the countries between the Sarre and the Moselle, the Roër and the Rhine.

The offensive plans of the directory were on this occasion wisely conceived and judiciously executed: the instant invasion of the hereditary states, and a junction of their armies under the walls of Vienna, was immediately decreed. To accomplish these apparently impossible objects, it was intended that the army of observation should take possession of Philipsburg, the only fortress in the power of the imperialists on the Rhine; that the army of Jourdan should cross the river, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, extend

tend itself into Suabia, and turn the lake of Constance and the southern part of the Tyrol; that the army of Switzerland should drive the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, attack the Tyrol in front, and seize the valleys of the Lech and the Inn; while the army of Italy should penetrate into Germany either through the Tyrol or the Friuli. In this case, the Austrians posted upon the lake of Constance, in the county of Bregentz and the Grisons, would have been encompassed by Jourdan and Massena; and those which defended the Italian Tyrol and Veronese would have been hemmed in between the armies of Switzerland and Italy.

The Austrian cabinet, however, rightly judging that hostilities would be commenced early in the season, accelerated the means of defence; and placing the army on the war establishment with its full complement, dispatched troops to occupy the necessary positions as early as the month of February. The archduke Charles concentrated more than sixty thousand men upon the Lech; twenty thousand were collected in the Palatinate in the environs of Amberg, or at Wurtzburg, under general Stzarray; a like number was stationed in the Voralberg and in the Grisons, under Hotze; and near twenty-five thousand, commanded by Bellegarde, were upon the frontiers of the Grisons and the Tyrol. The army of Italy exceeded sixty thousand; part was upon the Adige, and the remainder in the Friuli. Thus the emperor had a hundred and eighty-five thousand fighting men to oppose to the French, ninety thousand of whom were in a situation to act immediately against Jourdan and Massena. But as the Austrians would not incur the odium of commencing hostilities, the French, hoping to raise contributions between the lake of Constance and the Mein, directed Jourdan to make a sudden irruption into Germany, without any previous declaration of war. In conformity with these injunctions, on the 1st of March, 1799, that general passed the Rhine at Kehl, with the vanguard, centre, and left

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wing, of his army; while general Ferino crossed at Huningen and Basle with the right, and plundered and over-ran that rich valley, advancing to the foot of the mountains with which it is encircled.

On the day following, a detachment of the French army of observation obtained possession of Mannheim; and Bernadotte invested Philipsburg, which, in compliance with the treaty of Campo Formio, was only garrisoned with two thousand troops, commanded by the rhingrave of Salm. The rhingrave being summoned to surrender, returned a spirited refusal; and the French were compelled to turn the siege into a blockade.

Jourdan's right wing, commanded by Ferino, proceeded along the valley of the Rhine through the forest towns; the centre having divided itself into two columns, one of which advanced by the valley of Helle, and the other, accompanied by Jourdan and his staff, by the valley of Kinche, arrived on the left and right banks of the Danube; while the left wing, under Sr. Cyr, taking the road to Kniebis, passed through Frydenstadt, traversed the duchy of Wirtemberg, and in a short time reached the banks of the Necker. While Jourdan's army had thus advanced beyond the mountains of the Black Forest, the army of observation was repairing the fortifications of Mannheim, and spreading itself into the country of Hesse Darmstadt and the Palatinate. Rastadt, where the congress was yet sitting, was declared neutral; and the directory changed the name of the army of Mentz to that of the Danube, and appointed Jourdan commander-in-chief of the three armies of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and Switzerland; Bernadotte, still continuing in subordination to him, to lead the army of the Lower Rhine, and Massena that of Switzerland.

Before general Massena could effect a junction with Jourdan on the eastern side of the lake of Constance, he was obliged to encounter the Austrians, pass the Rhine in defiance of their opposition, drive them from
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the Grisons and the Voralberg, and force them to retreat into the Upper Tyrol. It was therefore necessary to begin his attack before the archduke should have time to oppose the march of Jourdan, and send reinforcements to the lake of Constance. The Grisons having placed themselves under the protection of Austria, a corps of six thousand men, commanded by general Auffenberg, occupied Chur, Mayenfeld, and the fort of Luceinsteinig, communicating along the left bank of the Rhine with the army of Hotze, which was part at Feldkirch and part at Bregentz. Having assembled great part of his army in the cantons of Glaris and Appenzel, Massena took post along the left bank of the Rhine, from the point where the two sources of that river unite as far as the lake of Constance, and sent a summons to Auffenberg, commanding him to evacuate the Grisons in two hours. But before any answer could be returned, he made a general attack on the Austrian line, directing his chief efforts against the post of Steig. The Austrians, though inferior in numbers and unprepared for the assault, had the advantage during the whole day; but in the evening the republicans made themselves masters of the passage and fort of Luciensteig, forded the Rhine at Hag, and cut off the communication between Hotze and Auffenberg. They were equally successful on the ensuing day, the 7th of March, obliging Auffenberg to retreat towards Chur, where he was taken prisoner with all his army, and Hotze to return to Feldkirch. The loss of the Austrians during these two days was estimated at twenty-one pieces of cannon, and five thousand men killed, beside great numbers who were taken prisoners; while that of the French was estimated by the Germans at four thousand killed and seven hundred prisoners.

Massena declared by proclamation, that he would evacuate the Grisons whenever the court of Vienna should withdraw its troops; and promised to respect personal liberty, property, and opinions, both religious and political. These assurances were followed by a complete

complete revolution in the country, and a transfer of the government to some expelled patriots, who, returning with the French army, proclaimed their sentiments as the wishes of the whole Grisons. Massena then directed a detachment from the Valteline and the Italian bailiwicks to attack the southern country of the Grisons, while he should direct his force against the Voralberg. His right wing, under Lecourbe, was to act between the two, assailing the west side of the Tyrol, into which he hoped to penetrate by the valleys of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Adige. The execution of this plan was commenced by an attack on Feldkirch; but after repeated assaults during two days, March 14 and 15, the French were obliged to retreat with so great a loss, that the directory never published Massena's dispatches. Lecourbe was more successful; he gained possession of almost all the valley of the Upper and Lower Engadine, and took many prisoners; nor were his further proceedings materially impeded by an attack which general Loudon made on the villages of Schulz and Zernetz. Desolles, after an obstinate contest of two days, drove the Austrians from the valley of Bornico; and now Lecourbe was repulsed in a new attack on the village of Martinsbruck. Thus impeded, Lecourbe was obliged to assume new measures, and delay the invasion of the Tyrol for some days.

While these things were transacting, the archduke having received information of the passing of the Rhine by the French, caused his own army to pass the Lech, and take possession of Ulm. Jourdan for some time remained stationary, while his opponent gained possession of the line of Bregentz, Lindau, Ravensberg, Biberach, and Ulm, thus rendering it impossible for the French to gain the flank of the Tyrol by mere marches. At length Jourdan put his troops in motion, and, in order to concentrate the force of the armies of Helvetia and the Danube, he occupied positions near Stockach. The archduke having brought his main army, pushed some parties as far as that place;

place; but, on meeting the French outposts, they withdrew without hostilities. Jourdan was desirous to get between the archduke and general Hotze, while the prince aimed at separating Jourdan from Massena; but neither could obtain his end without fighting, and both prepared for action. Jourdan concerted a plan of attack with Massena; and the archduke having sent reinforcements to Hotze, went in person to inspect his position, and strengthened his communication.

After driving in the French advanced posts, the archduke gained the heights and bridge of Ostrach, and compelled the centre of the French to fall back to Pfullendorf, the right to Palmensweiler, and the left to the Danube, gaining a position in the same line. The archduke would have renewed the attack; but Jourdan retired towards Stockach, and established his right at Hohentweil, his centre in front of Engen, where he had his head-quarters, and his left on the heights of Tutlingen, near the Danube. The imperialists pursued, and, after several skirmishes, occupied a well chosen position in the rear of Stockach. While the archduke was employing judicious efforts to render his situation more tenable, Jourdan was preparing to take advantage of its defects, and hoped to repair by a decisive victory the effects of those disasters which had prevented his junction with Massena beyond the lake of Constance.

The battle of Stockach was fought on the 25th of March. Jourdan divided his army into three columns, and at day-break assailed the imperialists at Steizlingen, Aach, and Lyptingen. St. Cyr began the action by defeating at the latter post Meerfeld's vanguard, and obliging it to fall back as far as the woods in front of Stockach; while the other divisions came into action with equal spirit, though not with equal effect. The arrangements made by the archduke, seconded by the heroism of some chosen Austrian regiments, stopped for a while the progress of the French, who retreated occasionally only to return with additional fury.

to the charge. The infantry of the two armies struggled for a long time with rival obstinacy, and the carnage was great on both sides. Still victory remained undecided, till the archduke caused some battalions of grenadiers, which had been detached from the left wing, to make an attack upon the left of the Tutlingen road. These battalions, advancing through a shower of grape-shot to the point of the wood occupied by the French, took them in flank, and made a whole brigade prisoners. This vigorous movement, supported by the co-operation of the columns already engaged, decided the day in favour of the imperialists. The French, driven from the wood, gave way on all sides, and were pursued upon the road to Lyptingen. The night was passed on both sides nearly upon the same ground which had been occupied before the battle, and the French retained their prisoners, four thousand in number. On these circumstances Jourdan claimed the victory, though he was obliged to seek shelter in the defiles of the Black Forest, where some misunderstandings prevailing in his army, he repaired to Paris to consult the higher powers.

On the day of his departure, April 3, the French camp was surprized at noon, and the Austrians had nearly possessed themselves of the head-quarters. Ernouf, Jourdan's successor, began a further retreat, and in a few days Suabia was almost entirely evacuated. The archduke remained with the greater part of his force near the lake of Constance, making vigorous preparations for gaining possession of the Swiss cantons.

Foiled in their endeavours to penetrate into the north of the Tyrol, the French considered it the more necessary for their right wing to force its way into the west of that province. Desolles therefore marched against Munster and Taufers, and Lecourbe against the post of Martinsbruck. Both of them were completely successful; and the Austrians, attacked on their right from Innthal and on their left from Munsterthal, and turned at the same time by a French column which

which fell upon their rear, were in turn defeated, and obliged to retreat as rapidly as possible over mountains and precipices before considered as impassable. Lecourbe thus became master of Nauders, and Dossoles of Glurens, which was reduced to ashes. The Austrians lost upwards of three thousand five hundred men, and twenty-five pieces of cannon.

The campaign of 1799 in Italy had not commenced at so early a period as in other quarters. The French possessed the whole of that fine country, except that part of the state of Venice which had been ceded to the emperor by the treaty of Campo Formio; they held the duchy of Parma, Tuscany, and nearly half the kingdom of Naples. Their force consisted of about eighty thousand French soldiers, and more than fifty thousand Poles, Swiss, Piedmontese, Genoese, Romans, and Neapolitans, dispersed from the frontier of Piedmont to that of Calabria. These were divided into two bodies; one of which, called the army of Italy, and composed of ninety thousand men, occupying the Modenese, the Milanese, and the Valteline, and the countries of Brescia, Bergamo, and Mantua, could only spare fifty thousand to be employed in active operations. It was in cantonments on the banks of the lake of Garda, the Mincio, and the Po; from the frontier of Tyrol to the mouth of the last-mentioned river. The remaining forty thousand formed the army of Naples, occupying the capital and conquered part of his Sicilian majesty's dominions, Rome, and the states of the church. Though opposed by no regular troops, it had, on one side, to guard against the population of Naples; and, on another, to combat the inhabitants of Calabria, Basilicata, Tarentese, Puglia, and of all the provinces situated to the south and east of these, Abruzzo, and Benevento; who, led by cardinal Ruffo; at once a priest, a politician, and a warrior, had risen in vast numbers, and taken arms in favour of the Sicilian monarch. On a third side, the same army had to defend itself against the insurrec-

tions in a great part of the states of the church, which were often checked, but never totally suppressed.

The line of the Adige was occupied by the Austrian army, parallel to that of the French, extending from the Italian Tyrol beyond Rovigo. About thirty thousand men were distributed along this line; while the army of reserve, consisting of nearly the same number, was cantoned in the Trevisano, Friuli, and Carniola. All these troops were under the orders of general Kray, until Melas should arrive to take the chief command.

As to the comparative forces and positions, it appears that the French were greatly superior, but the Austrians had their forces concentrated upon a short line, and could not be attacked but upon that line; while the French and their auxiliaries, scattered over the surface of Italy, from the foot of the Alps to the gulphs of Naples and Manfredonia, had constantly to keep in subjection and often to combat a population of above ten millions of people; and were obliged to guard the coasts of the Mediterranean and of the Adriatic, upon which hostile troops might at any time be landed from the English, Russian, and Turkish fleets, which held the dominion of the two seas; blocked up the forts of Corfu, Ancona, and Malta; and frequently appeared before those of Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, and Naples. It may then be said, that the Austrians, concentrated in a good position, having their left upon the Adriatic and their right upon the Alps, communicating with the army of the Tyrol, from which they could receive succours, and having only to oppose the enemy in their front, possessed by far the greatest relative superiority.

At length, the French armies of the Danube and Switzerland having gained the positions which were judged most favourable, that of Italy, in order to co-operate, was formed in six divisions, consisting of forty-five thousand men, and put in motion on the 26th of March. The left, composed of three divisions under

der Massena, and supported by an armed flotilla on the lake of Garda, drove the imperialists from the heights between the lake and the Adige; carried the entrenched camp of Pastrengo; took four thousand prisoners, killing and wounding nearly as many more; and, passing the Adige at Polo, spread themselves on the left bank both towards Verona and the Tyrol, cutting the line by which the Austrians maintained the communication from the Upper to the Lower Adige. The centre of the republicans was composed of two divisions and a corps de reserve, led by Scherer in person, and animated to vigorous exertion by a promise of the pillage of Verona. They were resisted with great spirit by general Kray, whose forces were greatly superior; and, at the close of a hard-fought day, no material advantage resulted to the republicans from the attack. The remaining division, which composed the right of the French army, was ordered to burn Legnano; but the resistance made by the Austrians afforded time for the arrival of a corps de reserve, when Kray in turn became the assailant, and put the republicans to the rout, with the loss of two thousand men killed and wounded, and six hundred prisoners. This success would have enabled Kray to advance against Mantua, but the progress of the other French armies obliged him to send reinforcements to Verona; and, after some partial skirmishes, both parties agreed to a suspension of arms on the 30th, for the purpose of burying their dead, who, having lain on the field since the 26th, began to infect the air.

Several partial actions occupied the ensuing days, which were sometimes favourable to the Austrians, and sometimes the French: at length general Scherer, alarmed by the increasing dangers of his position, and knowing that twenty-three thousand republican auxiliaries were hourly expected to arrive, resolved on making a vigorous effort to drive the imperialists beyond the Adige, and to establish himself on the other side of that river. At the same time general Kray had formed a project for forcing the French to cross the

Mincio. Both armies moved on the 5th of April to execute their respective plans; they encountered each other at ten o'clock in the morning, and maintained a furious contest, which did not terminate till six in the evening. The French mustered only thirty-six thousand men, while the Austrians had forty-five thousand; but for the first two hours the republicans had every appearance of success. The Austrians, however, brought up their reserve, which consisted of ten thousand men, and finally put their opponents to flight in every direction. They took seventeen pieces of cannon, and three thousand prisoners; the French also lost in killed and wounded three thousand five hundred men; and the Austrians nearly an equal number. In the evening general Kray established a line of observation from Lecco to Veleggio, and took the French fortified camp at Magnano, from which the battle derives its name.

When general Kray had thus successfully signalized himself and his army, though they were confessedly greatly superior to the French in numbers, general Melas arrived on the 10th of April to assume the command, and sent his vanguard over the Mincio to occupy the approaches to Peschiera, while on the left Klenau pushed on to the vicinity of Mantua. Melas was not, however, sufficiently strong to advance his main body beyond the Mincio, and blockade those two fortresses, but was soon reinforced by the arrival of the Russian troops at Verona. He then lost no time in passing the river, and while encamped near Campagnola was joined by the Russian army and by field-marshal Suwarrow, who assumed the chief command of the troops of the two emperors, amounting to sixty thousand men, besides the corps detached on their flanks. The celebrity of this commander consisted principally in the promptitude with which he formed his plans, and the rapidity with which he carried them into execution; but he was said to be extremely cruel and blood-thirsty: witness the massacres at Oczakow, Ismailo, and Praga; at which latter place, ten hours
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after it had surrendered, he gave it up to pillage, and ordered an undistinguished massacre of the inhabitants; in excuse for which it was said, that he gave the order—when he was in a state of inebriation! He seldom lost time by inaction, and having allotted nearly twenty thousand men to the blockades of Peschiera and Mantua, which were soon to be regularly besieged, and committed the charge of that service to general Kray, he made provision against all contingencies which might impede his progress, and set forward in pursuit of the republicans.

The war having now become inevitable, the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, on the 19th of April, received orders from the directory to retire to Strasburg, and invite all the ministers of princes of the empire who were willing to conclude separate treaties with the republic to attend them. Their retreat was more urgent, as, after the defeat of Jourdan, a detachment from the archduke's army had been sent to occupy Rastadt. The French ministers therefore declared, by an official note, their intention of departing on the 28th. The three plenipotentiaries, Bonnier, Roberjot, and Jean Debry, were in carriages: the wife of Roberjot, and the wife and daughters of Jean Debry, were with them; and they were attended by the minister of the Cisalpine republic. When they had advanced a short distance from Rastadt, they were met by about fifty hussars of the Austrian regiment of Szeckler, who made the carriages halt, and advancing to the first of them, containing Jean Debry, demanded his name. He told them, and added that he was a French minister returning to France. On receiving this answer, they immediately tore him from his carriage, wounded him in several places with their sabres, and cast him into a ditch, on the supposition that he was killed. They treated in the same manner the two other ambassadors, Bonnier and Roberjot, whom they murdered upon the spot. They offered no violence, however, to the rest of the company, who were allowed to return to Rastadt; but they robbed the carriages

riages of whatever effects they contained, and the papers of the ambassadors were conveyed to the Austrian commander. After the departure of the soldiers, and the return of the carriages to Rastadt, Jean Debry wandered about the woods all night, bleeding at every wound, and got back to Rastadt on the following day. He claimed the papers belonging to the legation from the Austrian commander, but they were refused.

During the long period that the congress had sat, Rastadt and its vicinity had been occupied by French troops, and it was only a few days since that the Austrians had obtained possession of it. This event, therefore, cast a most severe reproach upon the discipline of the Austrian army. The archduke Charles hastened to disclaim all knowledge of the transaction in a letter to Massena; but the French directory made use of it to rouse the resentment of the nation, and addressed to the two councils, on the 5th of May, a message in which they ascribe it to a deliberate purpose on the part of the Austrian government to insult France by the assassination of her ambassadors.

The French general Scherer in the mean while continued his retreat, passing the Adda on the 19th of April, 1799, while his right approached Brescia by an oblique movement. The allies pursued him step by step, and in an action near Cremona, on the 29th, where the Russians first gave battle to the French, the rear-guard of the latter was defeated with the loss of four hundred prisoners. This affair was followed by the capture of Brescia, which yielded to the united army in six hours, with forty-four pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of warlike stores and provisions. Encouraged by these partial victories, the people of Italy gave way to sentiments of revenge against all the adherents of the republicans, and compelled them to take refuge in garrison towns. Scherer found himself still obliged to retreat, that he might secure the fortified places of Piedmont, and meet the reinforcements expected from Switzerland and France. But from his
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in success he was now deprived of his command, being superseded by Moreau; and the army of Naples was directed to evacuate that country, and join the troops on the banks of the Adda.

Having passed the Oglio, the allies reached the banks of the Adda, and encamped opposite Cassano, with a column between Brivio and Lecco. Two days were spent in repose, previous to a grand exploit which Suwarrow had in contemplation. The French were placed in front of the allies, the head-quarters of Moreau being at Inzago, the tête de pont at Cassano strongly entrenched and protected by artillery, riflemen, and batteries, the right wing guarding the course of the Adda, with its main body at Lodi and Pizzighitone. Suwarrow found it necessary to force this line, in order to enter the Milanese; by his directions, therefore, general Wuckassowich seized a flying-bridge from the French, and crossing the river with four battalions, took a position at Brivio. On the centre, the marquis de Chasteller, with equal intrepidity and judgement, threw a bridge over the river opposite Trezzo; and the light troops having crossed before the republicans were aware of the movement, fell on Serrurier's division, and drove it to Pozzo. The noise of this attack drew general Grenier to the spot, and an obstinate battle ensued, in which the allies were nearly overpowered, till reinforcements passing the river turned the fortune of the day, and the French, after rallying several times, were driven with great loss to Gorgonzello. This was called the battle of Cassano, fought on the 27th of April. Melas having crossed the Ritorto, and possessed himself of the tête de pont at Cassano, passed the Adda, and joined Suwarrow at Gorgonzello; from which place the republicans had retreated towards Milan, secure from pursuit only through the darkness of the night.

On the 28th, general Melas, whose troops were less exhausted than the Russians, marched without opposition to Milan, which opened its gates to the victors. Suwarrow arrived the same night with all his staff.

General

General Wuckassowich, by surprizing the passage of the Adda at Brivio, had cut off the line of communication between the centre and left of the republican army. On the ensuing day he proceeded to encounter Serrurier, who, with three thousand men, was strongly entrenched at Verderio. The first attack was unsuccessful; but the Austrians having made preparations to surround the French, Serrurier capitulated, and the whole division yielded themselves prisoners of war. The brave old general, however, obtained for himself and his officers permission to retire to France, on condition of not serving again till exchanged.

The archduke Charles, after securing Suabia by a chain of posts along the valley of the Rhine to near the Necker, directed his efforts towards the invasion of Switzerland. When arrived on the frontiers of Schaffhausen, he addressed a proclamation to the people, disavowing all intentions of dismembering or plundering the country, and promising on behalf of the emperor the maintenance of the ancient friendly connection with the cantons, and the preservation to Switzerland of her independence, her privileges, and her possessions. He surrounded the city of Schaffhausen on the 18th of April, and the governor refusing to capitulate, he forced the gates, and compelled the French to repass the Rhine, with the loss of several hundred men and seventeen pieces of cannon. In their retreat the republicans destroyed the famous bridge of Schaffhausen, that wonderful monument of untaught genius, by setting fire to it*.

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* Although stone bridges are unquestionably the most permanent, yet a remarkable instance to the contrary was experienced at Schaffhausen, which communicated with the rest of Switzerland only by a bridge across the Rhine. At this place the Rhine is exceedingly rapid, and several stone bridges, erected by architects of known ability, had been repeatedly swept away by the torrent. In consequence of this, a carpenter of Appenzel, named Ulric Grubenman, offered to erect a timber bridge on the same spot, which should overcome every difficulty, and endure longer than any stone bridge whatever. He gave in his plan to erect it only

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It being now the province of the allies to act on the offensive, they found it necessary to combine plans of effectual co-operation. Hotzé and Bellegarde formed a project for a general attack on all the positions occupied by the French in the valleys of the Rhine, the Langwart, and the Inn. Bellegarde, supported by several companies of Tyrolean chasseurs, began to move on the 30th of April, in two columns; one, led by himself, to attack the valley of the Inn in front; the other, under general Haddick, was to pass over the mountains of the Scharl, and descend into the same valley on the rear of the French entrenchments; while a considerable detachment was to penetrate through the valley of Chiessers, and endeavour to reach Zernets. General Bellegarde, after performing a difficult march, attacked the entrenched camp of the republicans, and carried three rows of works which defended it to the right and left; but the defences were so complete that he found it impracticable to cross the ditch, and the approach of night prevented further operations. General Haddick, after a march of ten hours over mountains covered with snow, arrived very seasonably in the valley of the Inn. The Austrians being thus posted in his front, on his right, and in his rear, Lecourbe was obliged to abandon his

of one arch, though the river at that place was four hundred feet across. To this the magistrates of Schaffhausen would not consent, but required that it should be built with two arches, and that the middle pier of the old bridge should be employed for this purpose. The architect was obliged to obey; but he framed the timbers upon so curious a principle, that he has left it a doubt with subsequent architects, whether the bridge really derived any permanence from the middle pier, or whether it would not have been equally secure if it had been formed only of one arch. A man of the lightest weight in walking over it could feel the bridge tremble under him; and yet waggons, with the heaviest loads, passed over it, without appearing to be affected by its elastic motion. Grubenman began his work in 1740, and completed it in less than three years, at an expence of about eight thousand pounds. This curious specimen of aquatic architecture stood till it was destroyed as above related.

position without further contest, taking up another in the rear of Garda. The column directed against Zernets had been successfully opposed by superior numbers, or Lecourbe could not have escaped without losing a great part of his troops. The fatigue of this effort did not prevent the Austrians from pursuing their success. Bellegarde and Haddick having effected a junction near Schultz, restored the bridge of Garda, which the French had broken down, and finally expelled their opponents from Zernets and all the Lower Engadine. Lecourbe was wounded, and general Dumont was taken prisoner by the imperialists.

The archduke Charles was no sooner informed that the French had quitted the neighbourhood of Schaffhausen, than he detached some light troops to hang upon their rear, while he established a bridge of boats over the Rhine, in lieu of the celebrated bridge of Schaffhausen, which had been burnt down. The armies of the archduke and Hotze having thus acquired a firm footing in Switzerland, their next object was to effect a junction. But Massena, who had by retreating concentrated his forces, and was correctly apprized of the movements of his opponents, speedily advanced, hoping to attack them with advantage in their march. His measures were so well conducted that he was enabled, on the 25th of May, to defeat the advanced guard under general Nauendorf, and a division under general Petrasch; the effect of which was to compel the Austrian army to adopt a retrograde movement. But the check was not of sufficient magnitude to prevent the Austrians from speedily resuming the offensive. The imperial forces united formed an aggregate of fifty-five thousand men, and as Massena could not muster an equal number to oppose them, he became fearful of being outflanked, and therefore retired to the Glatt, and subsequently to a strong position before Zurich. The position which Massena had assumed was a chain of fortified mountains,

tains, situated between the Limmat and the Glatt, and he added to the strength bestowed on it by nature all that art could supply.

Since the archduke could make no progress till he had dislodged the French from this position, and as an attempt to turn their flank would have been dangerous, he made his attack on the Zurichberg, the most elevated part of the chain of mountains, knowing that the forcing of that would secure to him the rest. Having reconnoitered the position, he, on the 3d of June, assailed the right of the French, and after an obstinate contest drove them from Vittikon, Zulikon, and Riesbach. On the 4th, Zurichberg was assailed, but the approaches were so formidably entrenched, and the fire of the batteries so commanding, that the utmost valour and perseverance of the Austrians could only acquire possession of the first line of entrenchments. This was a most sanguinary and doubtful conflict: each party lost two thousand five hundred men. On the side of the imperialists, generals Hotze, Wallis, and Hiller; and on the side of the republicans, generals Oudinot and Humbert, were wounded.

A new effort was intended to be made on the next day; but Massena retired to the other side of the Limmat, leaving to the victors his entrenched camp, with thirty pieces of cannon, and the town of Zurich. Massena took a new position on the chain of mountains called Albis, being the nearest, safest, and strongest, he could assume; but as the Austrians were in too great need of repose to press forward immediately on a new enterprize, they confined themselves for some time to slight skirmishes. Indeed, nearly the whole month of June elapsed without any further exertion on the part of the archduke or of Massena in Switzerland; but, on the 3d of July, the French general, wishing to ascertain the strength of his opponent's left wing, made an attack on general Jellachich, in the neighbourhood of Zug: he obtained some advantages, but was obliged to retreat on the following morning. A similar attempt was made on the 16th by the Aus-

trians, under general Hotze, which met with a similar fate.

From these scenes our attention is called to Italy, where Moreau, having been compelled to yield the Milanese to the allies, found his situation very embarrassing, having no more than twenty-five thousand men to preserve his communications with Switzerland; to defend the approaches of Turin, to cover the fortified places of eastern Piedmont, to secure the passes of the Appennines, to leave to the army of Naples the means of effecting its retreat, and to suppress the insurrections which were breaking out against him on all sides; while the forces of the enemy were more than double his number. Moreau, whose great abilities were put to the test, and most honourably proved on this trying situation, retreated to an excellent position. His right rested on Alessandria and on the Tanaro; his left on Valentia and the Po. Thus on one side he supported Tortona, and on the other gave protection to Turin. He preserved at the same time communications with France, as well as with the Genoese territory, and consequently with the army of Naples. He had also the advantage of fixing the allies in the centre of Italy, by which he expected to oblige them to waste the campaign in a war of posts and sieges, and thus retard or prevent projects for invading France, and give time for the collection of new armies.

Suwarrow, on entering Milan, ordered his troops to pursue the retreating republicans; and, leaving four thousand men under general Latterman to blockade the castle, he put his army in motion on the 1st of May. General Würckassowich marched on the right towards the Novarese and the country of Vercelli, the centre towards the Pevese and the Lumelline, and the left towards the Plaisantin and the Tortonese; and in three days the mareschal established his headquarters at Pavia. In the mean time, Kray had been impeded by the rains from opening the trenches before Peschiera; but, on a second summons, on the 5th, the garrison

garrison abridged his labours by surrendering. Pizzighitone was also given up, on the 9th, to general Kaim, after a bombardment of five days.

When Suwarrow comprehended the nature of Moreau's movements, he reduced his own to three principal points: to interrupt Moreau's communications with Switzerland and France, to cut off that which he had with Tuscany and the army of Naples, and to oblige him to quit his well chosen position. The means to accomplish at once these three objects were, to extend his line on Moreau's right and left, and gain as much as possible his flanks. With this view, Kaim's division passed the Po at Pavia on the 11th, advanced to Tortona, broke open its gates, took possession of the city, and masked the citadel. On the same day, the centre of the allied army threw several hundred men across the Po, a part of whom were captured by the French; and during several succeeding days severe skirmishes were maintained with great loss to both parties. At length Moreau, finding his flank in danger, abandoned his position on the 19th, and established his head-quarters at Coni. He left to the allies the whole plain of Lombardy, and confined himself to preserving the communications with France by the Col de Tende and the valley of Argentiére, and with the Riviera di Genoa by the maritime Alps.

Suwarrow, after compelling Moreau to quit his position, marched the combined army towards Turin, in which was a garrison of two thousand five hundred troops. The city was taken by assault on the 26th of May; but the garrison, who had shut themselves up in the citadel, would soon have reduced the town to ashes, had not Suwarrow submitted to a convention, by which the French engaged not to fire on the town, provided the allies should abstain from assailing the citadel from that quarter.

Thus, in two months of the campaign, the imperialists had gained three pitched battles, taken four fortresses, made themselves masters of the course of the Po, carried their right to the frontiers of France,
and

and their left to the Adriatic Sea. A Russian and a Turkish squadron blocked up the port of Ancona and bombarded that city. Klenau occupied the country of Ferrara, and a great part of that of Bologna; blockaded Urbino; and sent skirmishing parties as far as the frontiers of Tuscany. General Ott occupied the duchies of Parma and Modena, and had his advanced posts in the Appennines. Kray, who had been joined by the corps which besieged the castle of Milan, and by reinforcements brought from the hereditary countries, left fifteen thousand men before Mantua, passed the Po with an equal number to succour the divisions of Ott and Klenau, and placed his head-quarters at Casteluccio. These three corps blocked up Tortona and Alessandria, watched the mountains of the state of Genoa, and supported the insurgents of the maritime Alps. The main army supported them still more at the other extremity of Piedmont, possessed itself of the passes which lead from that country to France, and kept in check the army of Moreau. The magazines taken from the republicans at Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Peschiera, Pizzighitone, and other places, were immense. The spoils of Italy thus passed from the hands of the French into those of the imperialists.

These events had material influence upon those in the south of Italy. The grand duke of Tuscany had withdrawn to Vienna before the declaration of war; but his dominions were invaded and plundered by a band of republican troops, chiefly Ligurians and Cisalpines. General Macdonald, who commanded the French at Naples, had been prevented from active service by the diminution of his army; while the increasing number of the peasantry under cardinal Ruffo daily gained ground. Thus was Macdonald situated when he received from the directory an order to evacuate Naples, and join Moreau. He set out with his chosen band of troops, traversed in close columns the Romish state, and without impediment entered Tuscany. On reaching the capital, he found the division of Gauthier, and established a communication with that

that of Montrichard, which was opposed to Klenau in the county of Bologna and in Romagna. Macdonald had by this means collected an army of about thirty thousand men; and though his orders were to form an immediate junction with Moreau, yet the situation of the allies was such as to tempt him to hazard an action by himself.

Suwarrow had extended his forces over Lombardy and part of Piedmont, in order to afford protection to those countries; while Macdonald and Moreau concerted between them a plan for dividing their antagonists, in order to vanquish them. Moreau took advantage of the accidental arrival of the French and Spanish squadrons in the vicinity of Genoa to spread a report that they had brought him a powerful reinforcement of troops, for the purpose of withdrawing from Macdonald the attention of Suwarrow, who was then at Turin. His advanced troops possessed the passes of Suza, Pignerol, and the Col d'Assiette; while Hohenzollern was posted at Modena with a considerable force, and Ott at Reggio with ten thousand effective men. On the 12th of June, Macdonald began his operations. His advanced divisions attacked Hohenzollern the same day, defeated him, and took two thousand prisoners. Another column of the French attacked general Ott, and after obliging him to retreat, entered Parma on the 14th of June. On the 17th, Ott was again attacked, and compelled to retire upon Castel St. Giovanni. But here the progress of Macdonald was checked.

Suwarrow had informed himself of his approach, and suddenly left Turin, on the 15th of June, with twenty thousand men, and having marched seventeen leagues in eight-and-forty hours, came up with Macdonald's army on the banks of the Tidone. The Russian generals Rosenberg and Foester commanded the right and the centre; the left wing was placed under Melas; prince Pangrazion of Russia commanded the advanced guard; and prince Lichtenstein the reserve. A desperate action now commenced, which, contested with

with equal bravery on both sides, was fought during three successive days. At length victory declared for the allies. The French, driven on the first day from the Tidone to Trebbia, were there ultimately defeated on the 19th, after a carnage which disgraced humanity. The Russians and French repeatedly turned each others line, and were mutually repulsed. Suwarrow, who fought in person wherever the fire was heaviest and his troops most closely pressed, is said to have had seven horses killed under him, and to have stripped himself to the shirt on the 19th, running on foot from rank to rank to urge the troops to action by his presence and example. Notwithstanding all these exertions, however, the contest continued doubtful, till general Kray, in direct disobedience of the orders of the aulic council at Vienna, arrived at the head of a large detachment from Mantua, and, on the 19th, decided the fate of the day. The French fled during the night; but Suwarrow pursued them with his army in two columns. The Russians came up with them; and at Zena the rear-guard of the republicans being surrounded, they laid down their arms. The residue of the French army retreated to the Appennines and the Genoese territory, after having lost on this occasion in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than seventeen thousand men. But it is to be noticed, that as the Russians were extremely sanguinary in their mode of carrying on war, and had murdered the republican soldiers with unrelenting fury, the French treated them in the same manner, so that the loss of the allies was said to have amounted to more than that of the republicans.

Moreau, in the mean time, attacked the Austrians under Bellegarde in the vicinity of Alessandria. Though superior to the French in numbers, they were completely beaten; but Suwarrow having returned with infinite rapidity after his victory over Macdonald, the temporary advantage gained by Moreau became of little importance. Generals Kaim and Luzzignan had likewise pressed the citadel of Turin with

so much vigour, that, after a bombardment of forty-eight hours, it yielded on the 25th; and the garrison, consisting of two thousand seven hundred men, was allowed to return into France, on condition of not serving again till exchanged. Twenty-five generals, forming the staff, were sent prisoners into Germany. The imperialists found in the citadel five hundred and sixty-two pieces of ordnance, forty thousand muskets, four hundred thousand weight of powder, and considerable magazines.

Suwarrow now reduced to two principal objects the advantages to be derived from his success—the reconquest of Tuscany, and the capture of Alessandria, Tortona, and Mantua. The first immediately followed from the retreat of Macdonald, who having passed the Corniche in safety, caused Leghorn and the rest of Tuscany to be evacuated by capitulation. By this means Macdonald effected a junction with Moreau, who now acquired the chief command of between forty and fifty thousand men. The allies by liberating Tuscany had placed between them the French division which still possessed Rome, Civita Vecchia, Perugia, Ancona, and Fano, and precluded it from all possibility of retreat.

Of the three fortresses intended to be reduced by Suwarrow, the works before Alessandria alone had escaped interruption, and against that he directed his first efforts; and the French general Gardanne was summoned to surrender. On his refusal, the attack was vigorously carried on for several days, when a lodgement being made in the covered way; Gardanne, having exhausted his ammunition, capitulated on the 21st of July. He obtained his liberty on parole; and his garrison, amounting to two thousand four hundred men, were sent prisoners of war into Germany.

General Kray at the same time vigorously pressed the siege of Mantua. As it was impossible to assail this celebrated fortress in many directions at once, the general directed his chief attention to the south side; and, on the 10th of July, 1799, carried by storm the

tower of Ceresa, and secured the bridge and sluices of the arm of the Mincio called Bajolo. By these means he was enabled to let off the waters which surrounded the city, and thus rendering the moat dry, he made direct approaches towards the body of the place. On the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, which now occurred, the governor, general Latour, requested a suspension of firing to celebrate that festival: the besieging general agreed; but as he was not bound by the treaty from other operations, he craftily caused the trench of the first parallel to be opened opposite the suburb of Thé; and on the following morning the besieged, to their great surprize, saw the parallel finished, and the Austrians so well established, that all efforts to dislodge them were ineffectual. Latour, on the 27th of July, consented to a capitulation, by which his troops were permitted to retire into France, on condition of not serving again till exchanged.

After the evacuation of Naples by Macdonald, cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the royalist party, consisting of more than twenty thousand men, supported by some hundreds of Russians, defeated the republican levies, and marched immediately to Naples, where the English fleet, commanded by lord Nelson, had arrived. The castles of Ovo, Nuovo, and St. Elmo, were soon re-taken. The king of Naples, who was on board the *Foudroyant*, lord Nelson's ship, now saw the royal flag wave over his capital. Gaeta and Capua soon yielded to captain Trowbridge, and the French obtained permission to retire into their own country, on condition of not serving again till exchanged. The fortress of Pescara, on the shore of the Adriatic, was the last place to be reduced; when the king of the Two Sicilies, finding his dominions once more free from a foreign yoke, meditated, in conjunction with his allies and benefactors, the emancipation of the states of the church.

Some party struggles of a political nature now took place in the interior of France. Upon the introduction of the new third this year into the councils, a
violent

violent opposition commenced. Sieyes, who was ambassador at Berlin, and who had maintained during the whole progress of the revolution a very considerable influence over all the parties that had successively enjoyed the supreme authority, was elected into the directory. His admission, however, did not reconcile the public disputes. A violent contest for power betwixt the Moderates and the Jacobins seemed to approach; but they at length came to a compromise. Treilhard was removed from the directory, under the pretence that he had held an office in the state within less than a year previous to his nomination. Merlin and Reveilliere were compelled to resign, to avoid an impeachment with which they were threatened; but Barras contrived to retain his station. Moulines, Gohier, and Ducos, men little known, were appointed directors. The power was now understood to be divided, and that neither party greatly predominated. An attempt was therefore made to revive the clubs, which had been suppressed by the directory. The Jacobins were the first to take advantage of this licence. They began to resume their former violent measures; but the directory, alarmed at their intemperance, suppressed their meetings before they were able to interest the public in their favour.

Considerable efforts were likewise made by the government to recruit their armies; and such were the exertions of the directory, that they speedily assumed on the frontier a formidable and menacing posture. In the beginning of August, their Italian army amounted to forty-five thousand men. The troops of which it consisted had been drawn together and concentrated nearly in the same positions which Bonaparte had occupied before his battles of Montenotte and Millesimo. The command was given to Joubert, who had distinguished himself under Bonaparte, and who now declared, that he and Suwarrow should not both survive the first battle. On taking the command, he prevailed with Moreau to remain in the army as a volunteer.

The allies had begun to besiege Tortona; and Joubert resolved to attempt its relief. He hoped to accomplish this object before Kray could arrive to the assistance of Suwarrow with the troops that had been occupied in the siege of Mantua. On the 13th of August, 1799, the French drove in the whole of the Austrian posts, and took possession of Novi. Here they encamped on a steep ridge of hills, with their centre at Novi, their right towards Seravelle, and their left towards Basaluzzo. On the 15th, they were attacked by Suwarrow, whose army was now reinforced by that of general Kray, who took the command of the right wing, while Melas conducted the left, and the centre was under prince Pangrazion and Suwarrow in person. The action began at five in the morning, and was continued with doubtful success for many hours. Soon after the commencement of the battle, while Joubert was urging his troops to charge with the bayonet, he received a musket-shot, and fell dead from his horse. Moreau instantly resumed the command, and led on the republican troops with such intrepid vigour, that the allied army gave way in all quarters. The Russians, in sustaining this assault, suffered very severely. They made three unsuccessful efforts to cut through the centre of the French, and on each occasion those immediately engaged were all destroyed. The last attack along the whole line was made at three in the afternoon. The French remained unbroken; and the day must have terminated in the total defeat of the allies, had not Melas succeeded in turning the right flank of the French line. Their right wing was thus thrown into confusion. Melas pursued his advantage till he obtained possession of Novi, which compelled the whole French army to retreat. The French lost four thousand killed, and an equal number taken prisoners. The Austrians lost an equal number; but the loss sustained in the battle of Novi by the Russians was never published, but it is said that they lost upwards of five thousand men killed on the field. Instead of pursuing any further the advantages

advantages gained in Italy, the Aulic council at Vienna now directed Suwarrow to quit that country, in order to co-operate with another army of Russians in driving the French out of Switzerland.

The republican armies in Switzerland, in the beginning of August, 1799, were nearly in the same positions they had occupied in June. Vast and daring projects of general attack, however, were formed by the directory; in the execution of which Massena was to drive the archduke Charles from Switzerland, and prevent every communication with Suwarrow. In pursuance of this plan, Massena made an attack along the whole line on the 14th of August; but in this action the French were repulsed with considerable loss.

The incursions of the French on the Meuse, and their march towards Suabia, obliged the court of Vienna to order the archduke with his army to march immediately to its relief. He began accordingly to draw off his troops in the beginning of September, before Suwarrow was in readiness to leave Italy. The archduke marched with the bulk of his army, about twenty thousand men, towards Heidelberg and Mannheim; and, judging by the solicitude of the French the importance they attached to the preservation of the latter place, he resolved to detach them from this strong hold. He therefore successively attacked the chain of works raised in front of Mannheim on the land side, carried them all by storm, and finally gained the town itself, which he garrisoned, and destroyed the outer entrenchments. After these advantages, the archduke fixed his head-quarters at Schwetzingen, and dispatched a body of light troops with artillery to secure the city of Mentz, and repel the republicans in every direction from it.

The Russian forces sent to supply the deficiency of the Austrians in Switzerland were led by general Korsakow, a man in military tactics far inferior to the archduke. This army, however, was ordered to prepare for an active exertion, dictated by a letter from Suwarrow,

Suwarrow, and which the altered state of the force in Switzerland rendered necessary. Its object was to recover possession of the small cantons, and turn the position so long held by Massena on the lakes of Lucerne and Zug and on the Albis, which would have obliged him to retire on the Aar, the whole line of which it would have been impossible for him to preserve. After performing the operations necessary to this end, the allied corps were to unite in the canton of Lucerne, where they were to be joined by the main army under mareschal Suwarrow.

Massena having got information of these intentions, and of the moment intended for their execution, anticipated his opponents, by putting in motion, on the 25th of September, fifty thousand men on the line from the Linth to the Aar, twenty-four hours before the time when they meant to engage. A strong division of his troops having crossed the Linth, defeated a battalion of the regiment of Bender, and a Hungarian battalion which advanced to its support. Roused by the noise, and convinced that the attack was of the most serious consequence, general Hotze hastened with his staff from the head-quarters to reconnoitre; but a discharge of musketry from a party of French rangers struck him almost dead from his horse, and the greater part of the officers around him were either killed, wounded, or captured. Hotze fell into the hands of the French, but expired in a few hours. General Korsakow then retired into Zurich, which the republicans immediately invested. From this situation Korsakow meditated a retreat; but in this operation he manifested a fatal want of judgement. The road to Winterthur was open; but by that he sent only a small part of his troops and baggage, advancing with his main army towards Eglisau, where the French were in full force. Massena's troops, who were advantageously posted on heights commanding the road, suffered them to approach, and then opened a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry. The Russian regiments, though taken by surprize, performed prodigies

digies of valour, rushing with fixed bayonets on their adversaries, and forcing them to give way: but as the regiments came individually into action, they were successively overwhelmed; and, after being broken on all points, and losing a considerable number of men, Korsakow forced his way to Eglisau, and with the shattered remnant of his army hastily crossed the Rhine. This event, with the retreat of the Austrians towards the Rhinthal, left eastern Switzerland in the hands of the republicans.

In the mean time generals Rosenberg and Suwarrow had passed the St. Gothard, and arrived at a post beyond Wasen on the 25th of September. The Austrian corps in the Grisons putting themselves in motion to co-operate with the Russians, the French general Lecourbe, who had also moved on the same day, found himself between the two columns, and was obliged to cut his way through the Austrians; after which he hastily evacuated Altorf, to cover the country of Underwald and the Engelberg. Meanwhile Suwarrow pushed his advanced guard across the Culemberg as far as Mitten on the 27th, where he first heard of the disastrous events which had happened to Hotze and Korsakow. The surprize of Suwarrow at learning the defeat of the Russian army, was not greater than that of Massena on being apprized of his rapid approach. It was now necessary to crush this enterprizing general, or again to lose the smaller cantons. On a view of Suwarrow's forces, consisting of less than seventeen thousand men, entangled among the defiles of that rugged country, Massena contemplated them as an easy prey.

On the 30th, Suwarrow put his army in motion by the Muttenthal; prince Pangrazion commanding his advanced guard, and Rosenberg the rear guard. A French division sent upon the Linth having taken an advantageous position, and perceiving the approach of a small column of Russians under general Auffenburg, attacked, and, having almost surrounded it, summoned the general to surrender: instead, however,
of

of yielding to this demand, he defended himself till prince Pangrazion came up, when the French were repulsed with great loss. The main Russian army now arrived, and the next day the republicans were attacked in their positions, and driven from the mountains. Meanwhile Massena having joined Lecourbe at Altorf, began a pursuit of the Russians in the valley of Muten: but his advanced guard, consisting of four thousand men, was repulsed by Rosenberg; and, on the following day, he himself, advancing with nearly seven thousand men towards the same point, met the same fate. These advantages gave the Russians peaceable possession of the road from the Schdeitz to Glarus, where Suwarrow collected his sick and wounded. Being disappointed, however, in his expectation of a junction with some Austrian corps, he was obliged to provide for the safety of his army by retreating towards the Rhine.

When the archduke learnt the ill success of the allies, he felt alarmed at the dangers which menaced Suabia and the country of the Grisons; and, leaving part of his force under the command of prince Schwartzenberg for the protection of the Necker and Mein, he hastened to Donaueschingen, hoping to make a diversion in favour of Suwarrow, by carrying the war into Zurich. This resolution was, however, too tardily adopted; for, before its execution, Massena had occupied the canton with his troops. He also sent a division into the canton of Appenzel, to keep general Petrarch in awe; and meditated a grand attack on the positions of the allies, for the purpose of driving them entirely on the other side of the Rhine. In consequence, a strong column from his centre was detached against the entrenched posts before the city of Constance; but, by the bravery of the corps of Condé, the assailants were at first repulsed, though the corps was afterwards obliged to evacuate the city, and encamp on the other side of the lake. In other points the republicans were less successful. They were defeated in an attempt against the tête de pont at Dis-senhoffen;

Benhoffen; and prevented, after being three times worsted, from attacking that of Busingen. These three engagements, fought in one day, terminated the campaign in Switzerland. The total loss of the allies from the 25th of September to the 9th of October, in this district, is calculated at about fifteen thousand men; that of the French at nine thousand.

When the republicans had obtained possession of Switzerland as far as the Rhine, and Suwarrow had joined the allies in the Grisons, it was found that the contending armies were nearly equal. On one side of the lake of Constance, the troops which had returned with the archduke, joined to those which had remained upon the right shore, to the wreck of Korsakow's army, to that of the prince of Condé, and to the Bavarian contingent, amounted to more than forty-five thousand men. Three times, on the 7th of October, Constance was taken and retaken, and remained definitively in the hands of the French. On the other side of the lake, the junction of Suwarrow with the Austrians, supported by about five thousand armed inhabitants of the Grisons, the Voralberg, and the Tyrol, formed no less than thirty thousand more. Massena, therefore, had seventy-five thousand men against him; and though he had an equal number under his command, he could not bring them into the field, owing to the defective supply of arms and ammunition, the want of pay and rations, and the disordered state of their equipment, which rendered them unfit for service. Many felt surprised that no great exploit was attempted; but it appears that prudential motives of great weight deterred the leaders on both sides.

After reposing three days in the environs of Chur, Suwarrow effected, near the lake of Constance, a junction with Korsakow's troops, on the 18th of October. Friendly communication was now no longer maintained between the Austrian and Russian commanders. Suwarrow fixed his head-quarters at Lindau till the end of October, without having had any interview

with the archduke; and then, quitting his position, he repaired in disgust to Prague, and afterwards continued his march into Russia, complaining of the want of spirit and co-operation in the Austrian army. But the truth appears to be, that his army was nearly destroyed, and being fearful for the remainder of it, as he knew the republicans would retaliate his barbarities, he requested the emperor Paul to recal him, which was accordingly done*.

In Italy the numbers of the opposing armies were nearly equal, and the advantages of situation were divided between them. Coni was the great object towards the capture and defence of which the chief efforts of both parties were directed. General Melas, who commanded in chief, pushed forward from Rivolta to Bra, where he united a disposeable force of between twenty-five and thirty thousand men. Championnet had at the same time drawn near Coni, and established his head-quarters at Villa Valetta, and by a spirited attack driven the imperial vanguard from Fossano and Sevigliano. The post was, however, recaptured on the ensuing day, the 17th of September, after a smart contest, in which the French lost fifteen hundred men. The republicans being thus driven from this important post, Melas laboured to arrest their progress in the north of Italy; and such were the exertions of the corps under prince Victor de Rohan in the Valais, that the French were beaten in several spirited encounters. Being thus disappointed in his hopes, Championnet repaired to Genoa, where Moreau yielded up to him the command of the republican army of Italy.

General Championnet now persevered in the most active efforts to hinder the progress of the Austrians towards Coni, and several skirmishes were fought in different quarters during the remainder of September

* It is asserted by those who knew Suwarrow well, that he was greatly addicted to drinking, and that he never went into action till he was half intoxicated, when he was ripe for every kind of cruelty.

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and October, in which the French were successful, and obliged Melas to evacuate Mondovi. In his retreat, however, the Austrian general meditated an attack; and the French pursuing his steps to a position he had chosen between the Stura and the Grana, both sides prepared for a general engagement on the 4th of November. The day was contested with great obstinacy, and for some time with doubtful success; but the French were in the end defeated, and obliged to give ground in every direction. Melas pursued his advantage by renewing the action on the following day, when he dispersed the republicans among the defiles of Maira, Grana, and Stura. General Kray about the same period having received reinforcements at Alessandria, drove the French from the valley of the Bormida, and from Acqui passed the Bormida; and though defeated in an obstinate contest for the heights of Novi, he cleared the valleys of the Scrivia and the Orba. In consequence of these successes, Championnet was obliged to quit his position, and retreat to the narrow passages of the Appennines, where he placed his head-quarters at Sospello, on the road to Nice; while Melas made vigorous preparations for the siege of Coni.

His operations were greatly facilitated, and he received a considerable reinforcement in consequence of the surrender of Ancona, which, since the commencement of the campaign, had been blocked up by a combined army of Russians, Turks, and Italians, and by a Russian and Turkish fleet. After the surrender of Civita Vecchia, the Austrian general Freulich, advancing against this place, took the chief command; and pressing the siege with great vigour, he obliged the republican general Mounier, with a garrison of three thousand men, to surrender on the 15th of November. The victors found in Ancona six hundred pieces of cannon, and in the harbour three sail of the line and several small ships of war. Melas in the mean time directed his whole attention to the siege of Coni, which he commenced when the snow had covered the

surrounding mountains. The conduct of the siege was entrusted to prince John of Lichtenstein; and the fortress for the first time was taken by force, on the 3d of December, 1799. Melas now sent his army into winter-quarters; and Championnet, having made the principal part of his troops return to their position between Savona and Genoa, departed for Paris, but fell ill on the road, and died at Antibes. Massena succeeded to the command, but found the army overwhelmed with the miseries of want; disorganized, and almost incapable of subordination. Thus ended the campaign of Italy, in which the allies are computed to have lost thirty thousand men in killed and wounded, and ten thousand prisoners; and the republicans were said to have had forty-five thousand killed and wounded, and thirty-five thousand taken prisoners.

Shortly after the departure of the archduke from the Rhine, in order to repair the disasters occasioned by withdrawing his troops from Switzerland, general Ney, who had succeeded to the command of the republican army, set out towards Frankfort, and obliged the Austrians, who were commanded by prince Schwartzemberg, to repass the Nidda. The French general finding the Austrians also weak on the Rhine and Mein, again put his troops in motion, and on recrossing the Rhine, on the 1st of November, suddenly presented himself before Manheim and Heidelberg. Manheim being feebly defended, was soon captured; Heidelberg made a transient resistance, but was evacuated the next morning; and the Austrians, in their retreat towards Heilbron and Brucksall, were severely harassed. The imperialists, reduced to a strict defensive, thought only of covering Philipsburg; but the French having gained possession of the Palatinate and of the bishopric of Spire, and driven back the Austrians as far as the other side of the Entz, occupied both banks of the Neckar to the confluence of those rivers, and blockaded the city.

The archduke Charles's situation was now seriously embarrassing: he was threatened on every side; and, while

while he was opposed by armies amounting to more than a hundred thousand men, the retreat of the Russians from the theatre of war left him with less than seventy thousand to line the banks of the Rhine from its source as far as Kehl, to defend Suabia, and support the armed peasants who covered Franconia. But the military genius of the archduke was on this occasion happily exerted. His measures for the protection of the Grisons and the hereditary dominions were prudent and effectual; and he prepared to relieve Philipsburg by reinforcements, which, notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, he found means to spare.

The contest on the banks of the Mein, the Necker, the Entz, and the Rhine, was conducted with great vigour from the 1st to the 3d of November. The French bombarded Philipsburg, hoping to carry it by an incessant fire; while the Austrians endeavoured to raise the siege, and at all events to shelter the duchy of Wirtemberg. Prince Hohenlohe having crossed the Entz, forced them to fall back to Erligheim, where he put them to the rout, with the loss of seven hundred prisoners and fifteen hundred killed and wounded. This event lost to the republicans all the advantages they had been making for a month, and appeared to overturn their projects with respect to Germany. They were driven from the borders of the Necker beyond Neuburgh; and, on the following day, they were obliged to evacuate Kelmstadt and Pfortzheim, and were subsequently driven from Knittingen, Bretten, and Brucksall, and, after several engagements, compelled to retreat into an angle formed by the Rhine and Necker, where they were joined by some troops from Holland.

They now resumed the offensive; and, in consequence of a well judged attack in four columns, regained the ground they had been losing during the late encounters, and renewed the blockade of Philipsburg; but the archduke dispatched a reinforcement under general Stzaray, who, on the 2d of December, made an attack in five columns, which proved completely

pletely successful, breaking the centre of the French line from the Rhine to the Necker, and turning their left. In the night Lecourbe concentrated his forces, and took an advantageous position between Sinzheim and Wislock; but was again assailed at break of day, defeated at all points, and compelled to retreat towards Heidelberg. The blockade of Philipsburg was in consequence raised on the 4th, and the French retreated to a position they had occupied three weeks before; their right towards the Rhine above Neckerau, their centre in front of Schwetzingen, and their left towards the Necker above Heidelberg, their headquarters being fixed at Mannheim.

General Lecourbe then proposed a suspension of arms, to which general Stzaray, who could not venture an assault on the new positions, agreed, on condition of its being ratified by the archduke. The French general hastened, under favour of this provisional compact, to bring back his army safe beyond the Rhine, sending it to take cantonments, part in the Palatinate, part in the bishopric of Spire, and leaving only one battalion at Mannheim and another at Neckerau. He then departed to join the army of Switzerland, leaving the command to general d'Hilliers, who was soon to be superseded by Moreau. The archduke refusing to ratify the convention made by general Stzaray, the French hastily evacuated Mannheim and Neckerau, thus closing the campaign of Germany; in which it is supposed that the allies, by killed and wounded, were deprived of about forty thousand men, and the French of about forty-five thousand. The republicans made about thirty thousand prisoners, while their loss under that head did not amount to twenty-five thousand.

In the spring of 1799, preparations were made in England for the invasion of Holland, and thirty thousand British, and seventeen thousand Russian troops in the pay of Great Britain, were to be employed. In deliberating on the project it was agreed, that the province of Holland, which contains half the population

tion and pays two-fifths of the imposts of the whole republic, and Amsterdam, its capital, were the most desirable object of attainment. The southern frontier was well defended with fortresses; but the country north of Amsterdam was entirely neglected, there being in Friesland only two fortified places, Lewarden and Harlingen, and not one in the whole peninsula of North Holland. The English troops employed in this enterprize formed two divisions; the first, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie, was to effect a landing, and speedily to be followed by a reinforcement, and afterwards by the remainder of the army, the chief command of which was to be assumed by the duke of York. Admiral Mitchell was to escort the first division, and undertake the conquest of the Dutch ships in the Texel. The selection of the first point of attack being left to sir Ralph Abercrombie, he fixed on the Helder; but the squadron was detained at sea till the 20th of August by adverse winds and calms. During this interval the commanders had a conference with lord Duncan, from whom they obtained ten ships of the line, which were placed under admiral Mitchell. Orders were given on the 21st for the disembarkation between Kickduyn and Callants Oog, and a flag of truce with a summons was dispatched to admiral Story and colonel Gilquin, who commanded at the Helder. The republicans had been so completely deceived with respect to the point on which a landing would be attempted, that no means of defence were adopted; and the Dutch fleet and the whole peninsula would probably have fallen without contest into the power of the English, but for an alteration of the wind, which, when they were on the point of disembarking, forced them out to sea.

At the period when the British fleet approached the coast, there were in the United Provinces twenty thousand national and ten thousand French troops, under the command of general Brune; but as the French directory had not expected an attack on North Holland, no preparations were made in that quarter,

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nor was it till after the summons had been delivered to admiral Story that general Daendels received orders to assemble his division. He then collected ten thousand three hundred and thirty-four men, with which he made dispositions for defence. The British, however, soon effected a landing; and the third brigade having reached the shore, under sir James Pulteney and general Coote, compelled the republicans to retire in every direction. Daendels immediately evacuated the Helder; and the British taking possession of that place and Huysduinen, gained a hundred pieces of cannon, the greatest part of which, though spiked, were soon rendered fit for service. A reinforcement of five thousand men arrived the same day under general Don, and the troops were actively employed in securing their position. This was on the 28th of August; and the maritime object of the expedition was achieved before the end of the month. Admiral Story had received orders to defend himself to the utmost; but his subordinate officers and crews were anxious to shew their attachment to the house of Orange; and the admiral finding he could not rely on his men, was compelled to surrender his whole squadron, consisting of thirteen ships of war, together with three Indiamen and some transports.

In the mean time general Abercrombie continued to advance and to fortify himself in the Zype; while Daendels retreating before him, left the whole country open between the sea and Alkmaar. At this place the French troops under general Brune arrived, who ordered new dispositions of the line of defence, and concentrated his army in the front of the town, with its right at Rustenburg, its centre occupying St. Pancras, and its left extending to the sand hills near Groet. The arrival of the Batavian general Dumonceau raised the force in this quarter to twenty thousand, of whom seven thousand were Frenchmen. Other measures were taken for augmenting these troops, arming the national guards, and particularly for defending Amsterdam. During the time that sir Ralph

Ralph Abercrombie was employed in fortifying his position, and expecting the reinforcements from Great Britain and Russia, general Brune, having a considerable superiority of numbers, marched in three columns to attack him. The left, composed of French troops, made a spirited assault, and gained some ground, though ultimately repulsed, and obliged to fall back to Alkmaar. The Batavian division of the centre shewed equal courage, but after two desperate assaults on the entrenchments, they were obliged to retire. The reinforcement of the second division of Russians, and of the duke of York and three brigades of British troops, arrived on the 18th of September, which raised the numbers of the army to thirty-three thousand effective men, of whom one thousand two hundred were light dragoons.

At the time when the duke of York assumed the command he had a superiority in numbers, but that appears to have been his only advantage. The republicans had put into full vigour their measures for defence, and the inhabitants of the country were prepared at every point. The British prince, sensible of the fatal effects of delay, projected an immediate attack on his opponents. He divided his force into four columns; one of which, composed principally of Russians under general Hermann, advancing two hours before day-break on the 19th of September, made a vigorous attack, and after pushing forward with great impetuosity by Camperduyn, forcing the entrenchments of Slaperdike, carrying the villages of Groet and Schorel, and proceeding some space further, was obliged, after expending its ammunition, to retire in confusion towards Schorel. A second column under general Dundas moving at break of day took the village of Warmenhuyzen, carried the entrenched post of Schoreldam, and passing the canal of Alkmaar proceeded to Schorel, when their progress was discontinued by the retreat of the Russians, the inevitable result of their first precipitate advance. In these circumstances the duke of York, by a spirited and suc-

cessful charge on the pursuing forces, gained advantages sufficient to restore the day, had it been possible to rally the Russians, and form them on the right of the English on the sand hills. Every effort for this purpose having failed, no resource was left but to withdraw the British forces to their first position.

These failures were rendered the more mortifying by the complete success of the third column under sir James Pulteney, whose troops soon expelled Daendels from an almost impregnable position on the head of the Langedike, formed a junction with general Coote, and were proceeding to St. Pancras to co-operate in the attack of Koedike, when, in consequence of the disasters attending the Russians, he was directed to secure a retreat, which he effected in good order, having killed and wounded seven hundred of his opponents, made nine hundred prisoners, and thrown into the canal the cannon which he had taken in the entrenchments, which the badness of the roads did not permit him to carry off. Sir Ralph Abercrombie with the fourth column had taken the town of Hoorn without resistance, and was preparing to march towards Schermerhorn when the event was announced to him, accompanied with orders also to retire, which he did without opposition. Besides their killed and wounded the republicans lost three thousand prisoners. The British had one hundred and seventeen killed, four hundred and nine wounded, and four hundred and ninety missing; the Russians one thousand seven hundred and forty-five killed or taken, and one thousand two hundred and twenty-five wounded. After the action both parties resumed their former stations.

Preparations were made by the duke of York for a renewed attack, but this was delayed by storms and tempests which laid the plains and sea-shores under water. The second assault was to be made by thirty thousand men, divided into four columns, to whom about twenty-five thousand, mostly French, were opposed. The object was to dislodge the enemy from the main position of Bergen. This post was to be turned

turned and taken in reverse by the column under Abercrombie; it was to be attacked in front by that of general Essen, supported by two brigades of the third column; the latter had for its object to carry Schoreldam; and the fourth was to act as the reserve. The Russians were placed in the centre, and the English on the two wings. The action took place on the 2d of October, when the hopes of the English were again frustrated by the Russians, who refused to advance, and were with difficulty prevented from retreating from Schoreldam. The contest was vigorous and obstinate in all directions; the allies remained masters of the field, and the republicans retreated during the night to a new position. The victory, however, was not commensurate to the expectations of the British commander. His force was reduced by the loss of two thousand one hundred and twenty-five men, including officers, killed, wounded, and prisoners; nor was he consoled by the reflection that the loss of his opponents considerably exceeded three thousand.

The duke of York had now gained the whole extent of country between Egmont-op-Zee and Alkmaar, and it may be said also of that between that town and the Zuyder Zee, and employed himself in fortifying his new positions. Still he was under the necessity, notwithstanding the diminution of his force and the severity of the season, of making further advances, or renouncing his enterprize. As a preparatory measure, he dispatched general Don on a mission to the Batavian directory, on the 6th of October; but general Brune not only refused him a passport, but detained him prisoner. The duke of York therefore directed the advanced posts of the front and centre to push forward, in order to prepare and facilitate a general attack which he had in contemplation. The Russians took the village of Baccum; but conceiving that the possession of a height beyond it would make them more secure, exceeded their orders by advancing to Castricum. This brought on a general engagement upon unexpected ground; which was fought

with great obstinacy, and proved extremely destructive. It equally frustrated the intended operations of both parties. But the allies found their situation daily worse, their force consuming, and their hopes of co-operation from the natives diminishing; while their antagonists were continually receiving reinforcements, and gaining courage by the prosperous turn of their affairs.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie and the other general officers now drew up a representation to the commander-in-chief, shewing the reduced state of the troops, which had suffered a diminution of nearly ten thousand men; the difficulties opposed to their progress by the season, the bad roads, and the daily augmenting force of the republicans; the increasing impediments to the receipt of supplies; and the impossibility, from the unwillingness of the Dutch to rise in insurrection, of effecting the great objects of the enterprize: and submitting to his royal highness the propriety of conducting back the army to its position of the Zype, where it would be nearer its magazines, and where instructions could speedily be obtained from England. This remonstrance had the desired effect, and the whole army retreated in the face of its opponents without disorder or pursuit. The duke of York now found that it was impossible again to march forward; he could have maintained his position, but the health of his troops must have been sacrificed, nor could the ultimate ends of the expedition have been attained. To return to England was the most beneficial measure he could adopt; but in retreating on ship board before a foe superior in numbers, he found that, even under the most favourable circumstances, he must sacrifice many valuable lives, or inundate the country, a resource from which his humanity and justice equally revolted. Negotiation became the only eligible mode of proceeding, and general Knox was dispatched to the head-quarters of the republicans with proposals for evacuating Holland, which, after several papers had been exchanged, was on the 18th agreed on. The principal

principal conditions were the relinquishment of the Helder in as good a state as it had been taken, the unconditional restitution of eight thousand French and Dutch prisoners to be selected by agents of those nations, and the unmolested embarkation of the allies, which took place before the end of November.

CHAPTER X.

THE affairs of France now began to assume a less unfavourable aspect. They were indeed driven to the extremities of Italy; but they retained Genoa, and Switzerland and Holland continued under their controul. Nowhere but in Egypt had the republicans been completely foiled; and here Bonaparte finding the ground no longer tenable, hastened back to Paris, where he was received with acclamation and applause. The parties in the government were equally balanced, and both the Jacobins and the Moderates equally courted his assistance. The Jacobins still possessed a majority in the council of five hundred; but in the other council their antagonists were superior. The director Sieyes was understood to be of the party of the Moderates, and the Jacobins had unsuccessfully attempted to remove him from his office. Neither party was satisfied with the existing authorities, but none of the usual indications of hostility appeared. The Jacobins were far from suspecting that Sieyes had a plot ripe for execution, which was to overwhelm them in an instant; they were even in some measure laid asleep by an artful scene of festivity, in which the whole members of the councils were induced to engage, on the 6th of November, under pretence of doing honour to the arrival of Bonaparte.

On the morning of the 9th, one of the committees of the council of ancients presented a report, in which they asserted that the country was in danger, and proposed to adjourn the sitting of the legislature to St. Cloud,

Cloud, about six miles from Paris. As the council of five hundred had no constitutional right to dispute the authority of this decree, and as the ruling party in it was completely taken by surprize, its members silently submitted, and both councils assembled on the 10th of November at the place appointed. The council of five hundred, however, exhibited a scene of much agitation. They received a letter from Legarde, secretary to the directory, stating, that four of its members had sent resignations of their offices, and that the fifth (Barras) was in custody by order of general Bonaparte, who had been appointed commander of their guard by the council of ancients. While the council were deliberating, Bonaparte entered the hall, attended by about twenty officers and grenadiers. He advanced towards the chair where his brother, Lucien Bonaparte, sat as president. Great confusion ensued; he was branded with the epithets of Cromwell, a Cæsar, an usurper. The members began to press upon him, and his countryman Arena attempted to stab him with a dagger. He was, however, rescued by the military. Lucien Bonaparte then left the chair, and cast aside the badge of office which he wore as a member of the council. The confusion did not diminish; but in a short time a party of armed men rushed into the hall, and carried off Lucien Bonaparte. A tumultuous debate now began, in which it was proposed that Bonaparte should be declared an outlaw; when the doors of the hall were again burst open, military music was heard, a body of troops entered the hall in full array, and the members were compelled to seek their safety in flight.

In the evening, a select number of the council of ancients met by their own authority, and voted that the grenadiers who had made a rampart of their bodies around the commander-in-chief had deserved well of the country. A committee of five was formed to consider of measures of public safety. At eleven, Boulay de la Meurthe appeared as their reporter, and declared the vices and radical defects of the existing

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constitution, and the council having first decreed the abolition of the executive directory, the powers of the state were vested in Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducos, under the title of Consuls. A constitution afterwards gave to Bonaparte the title of *first consul*; and the whole and absolute government of the state was vested in him, although a source of deliberation was preserved by the establishment of a conservative senate and a tribunate. Most of the members of the council of five hundred now returned to Paris, and on the evening of the same day confirmed all the decrees of the council of ancients. The new government entered upon its functions at Paris on the 17th of November, when the consuls decreed the transportation of a number of the leading Jacobins to Guiana, and ordered many others to be imprisoned. But these decrees were speedily recalled, and affairs went on as smoothly as if nothing unusual had occurred.

THE CONSULATE.

At length, in the middle of December, 1799, the consuls with their legislative committees produced to the public their plan of a new constitution, which they presented to the primary assemblies, and which was said to have been accepted by them without opposition, like all the former constitutions. It was a very singular species of absolute government, neither admitting of representatives, nor indeed of any other form of political freedom. Eighty men, who were to elect their own successors, were to possess, under the appellation of a *conservative senate*, the power of nominating the whole legislators and executive rulers of the state; but could not themselves hold any office in either of these departments. The sovereignty was concentrated in an individual, who, under the title of *chief consul*, was to hold his power for ten years, and might then be re-elected. The whole executive authority was entrusted to him, with the exclusive privilege of proposing new laws. The two other consuls joined

joined at his deliberations, but could not controul his will. The legislative power was entrusted to two assemblies; the one consisting of one hundred members called a *tribunate*, and the other of a *senate* of three hundred members. When a law was proposed by the chief consul, the tribunate might debate about it, but had no vote in its enactment. The senate might vote for or against its enactment, but had no power of debate. Neither the consuls, nor the members of the legislative bodies, nor of the conservative senate, were responsible for their conduct. The ministers of state, however, who were appointed by the chief consul, were to be responsible for the measures they might adopt.

In the primary assemblies the people elected one-tenth of their number as candidates for inferior offices. Persons thus chosen elected one-tenth of themselves as candidates for higher offices; and these again elected a tenth of themselves for all the highest offices of the state. Out of this last tenth the conservative senate were to nominate the consuls, legislators, and members of their own body. But this last regulation was to have no effect till the ninth year of the republic. In the mean time the same committees that framed the constitution appointed also all the persons who were to exercise the government. Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed chief consul, and Cambaceres and Lebrun second and third consuls, in the stead of Sieyes and Ducos, first nominated; for Sieyes, with his usual caution, avoided taking any active share in the management of public affairs, and was appointed, or appointed himself, a member of his own conservative senate, the whole being regarded as produced by him. As a gratuity for his services, the chief consul and his legislators presented to him an estate belonging to the nation called *Croene*, in the department of Seine and Oise.

The first consul thus secured to himself the absolute government, and assumed a popular air of magnanimity, by seeming desirous to conciliate the regard
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of men of all parties. He repealed two odious laws of the directory; one for a forced loan, the other for considering the families of suspected persons as hostages. The persons sentenced to deportation were permitted to revisit their country; several classes of emigrants were erased from a list which the directory had swelled to a most shameful degree of enormity; and the oath of hatred to royalty was abolished. But lest the purchasers of national domains should conceive alarms, they were pacified by a proclamation, and their rights were expressly reserved in the constitution; and the abolition of the oath was declared to originate, not in predilection for the monarchical system, but in a desire to destroy a principal engine of Jacobinical confederacy, and to avoid giving offence to foreign governments, which every commonwealth ought to respect.

A general change now took place in the ministry. Robert Lindet, the minister of finance, was removed, and his place bestowed on Gaudin. Dubois Crance, a ferocious Jacobin, whom the influence of that faction had raised to the office of minister of war, was displaced, and Berthier appointed in his stead. Cambacères was for a short time minister of justice, but on his elevation to the rank of consul, he was succeeded by Abrial. Quinette being deprived of the situation of minister for the home department, it was first given to Pierre Simon Laplace, and afterwards to Lucien Bonaparte. Talleyrand Perigord, formerly bishop of Autun, was minister for foreign affairs; and Forfayt succeeded Bourdon in the administration of the marine. Fouché, in reward for his active co-operation in the late revolution, was permitted to retain his office of minister of the police. In general the measures of the new government were popular, and exhibited hopes of returning regularity, and the abolition of many odious distinctions which had rendered one portion of the nation oppressors of the other.

The continuance of the war was a great impediment to the new prospects of Bonaparte, which not

only required great exertions and sacrifices, but formed a pretext for many oppressive and vexatious exactions, and continually endangered the safety of the ruling powers. To restore peace was at once the most popular and most beneficial object the new government could achieve; and notwithstanding the circumstances of the times could not afford a reasonable prospect of immediate success in such a negotiation, it was however necessary, as the people were impatient, to commence a correspondence on the subject with the allied powers. Messengers were accordingly dispatched to Vienna and London. The tenor of the communication to the imperial cabinet was never disclosed; but the correspondence with the British ministry was immediately made public. Deserting the accustomed forms of diplomatic proceeding, Bonaparte, on the 26th of December, wrote a letter to the king of Great Britain, which was enclosed in one from Talleyrand to lord Grenville*.

By

* The following is the official translation:

“ Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to the King of Great Britain and Ireland:

“ Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

“ The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain grandeur, commerce, prosperity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory?

“ These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will see in this overture my sincere wish to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove in those that are strong only the desire of deceiving each other.

“ France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period.

By the letter from the first consul to the British court it is evident that Bonaparte was exceedingly anxious

riod of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.—Your majesty's, &c.

"BONAPARTE."

"Paris, 5 Nivose, 8th year."

To this letter lord Grenville, as secretary of state for the foreign department, returned an answer rather perhaps more haughty than prudent. It was conceived in the following terms:

"Sir,

"I have laid before the king the letters which you have transmitted to me, and his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return in his name the official answer which I send.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"GRENVILLE."

OFFICIAL NOTE.

"The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for re-establishing tranquillity in Europe. He neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for vain-glory. He had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggressions the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that the necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the desirable object of general peace, till those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, by which it has been since protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. The same system to which France justly ascribes all her present miseries has also involved Europe in a destructive warfare, of a nature long unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, and the Swiss cantons, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged—Italy has been the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty himself has been compelled to maintain an arduous contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone: they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote, both in situation and interest,

anxious to bring about a speedy negotiation. But from this letter no great expectations of opening a nego-

from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was probably unknown to those who suddenly found themselves involved in its horrors.

“ Whilst such a system therefore prevails, and whilst the blood and treasures of a powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties only prepared the way to fresh aggression; and it is to determined resistance alone that whatever remains in Europe of stability, for prosperity, for personal safety, for social order, or the exercise of religion, can be preserved. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place reliance on the mere renewal of general professions for pacific disposition. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe, and whom the present rulers have declared all to have been incapable of maintaining the relations of amity. Greatly will his majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions and those of his allies have been so long exposed has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance shall be at an end; that, after so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have prevailed, and the gigantic projects of ambition, endangering the very existence of civil society, have at length been relinquished. But the conviction of such a change can result only from the evidence of facts.

“ The best pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and consideration abroad. Such an event would at once remove all obstacles in the way of negotiations of peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and give to all other nations that tranquillity, that security, which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

“ But it is not to this mode that his majesty limits the possibility of solid pacification. He makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

“ His majesty only looks to the security of his own dominions, of his allies, and of Europe. Whenever he shall judge it can be in any manner attained, he will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of an immediate and general peace.

“ Unhappily at present no such security exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed;

negociation could be formed. The most ardent friend to peace could scarcely hope, that, in the circumstances in which France was placed at this epocha, just emerging from a great revolutionary crisis, her treasury empty, a fourth part of her territory in open insurrection, her armies, notwithstanding their late victories, driven back nearly within the frontier, and those of her allies,—proposals for opening a negociation for peace would be accepted with the alacrity with which it was offered. The answer of the English minister left no doubt on this subject.

This answer plainly indicated that recourse was only to be had to the sword; and though it was somewhat mortifying to his pride, perhaps this reply was less disagreeable than might have been imagined to the warlike spirit of Bonaparte. He had fulfilled the engagement he had made with the nation, of opening a negociation by even supplicating for peace; and the rejection of these intreaties had left him altogether master of the conduct he was in future to pursue. The guarantee which was pointed out in the minister's letter as the surest and most natural means of a durable peace, namely, the restoration of the Bourbons, was considered as an intolerable insult; the charge of aggression, so confidently introduced, was pointedly commented on; and the determination of abiding by the experience and evidence of facts was considered as the signal of a war which was to end only in extermination.

The whole of the French nation, even those who disapproved of the manner in which Bonaparte opened his communication with the British government, felt

directed; no reasonable grounds of its stability appear. In this situation, therefore, it remains for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of a just and defensive war, which a regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other foundation than such as would contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

(Signed)

“GREVILLE”

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a common sentiment of indignation at this peremptory refusal of peace, except on terms which, it was asserted, were too ignominious to be listened to with complacency. The French government seized with avidity this occasion of rendering the war popular; but, in order to throw the blame of its continuance more effectually on the British ministry, it appeared not to be disconcerted by this first rejection of its offers, and, convinced that further applications would be attended with further refusals, continued the correspondence.

The second note, dated January 14, 1800, written by M. Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, in answer to that of lord Grenville, began with a recrimination respecting the origin of the war, in which he presented a picture of a design and colouring totally different from that which the noble earl had pourtrayed in his letter. The charge of aggression, of which the French nation was accused, was haughtily repulsed, and retorted on the coalesced powers, and particularly on the British government. After expatiating on this subject, the French minister observed, that a sincere desire for peace ought to lead the parties to the discovery of the means of terminating the war, rather than apologies or recriminations respecting its commencement; that no doubt was entertained but that the right of the French nation to chuse its own government was a point which would not be contested, asserting that the British crown was held on no other tenure; that, at a time when the republic presented neither the solidity nor the force which it now possessed, negotiations had been twice solicited by the British cabinet, and carried into effect; that the reasons for discontinuing the war were become not less urgent; on the contrary, the calamities in which the renovation of the war must infallibly plunge the whole of Europe were motives which had induced the first consul to propose a suspension of arms, and which ought likewise to influence the other belligerent powers. The minister concluded with pressing

pressing this object so far as to propose the town of Dunkirk, or any other, for the meeting of plenipotentiaries, in order to accelerate the re-establishment of peace and amity between the French republic and England.

In the answer of the British minister to this note, the recrimination of aggression was as contemptuously repulsed as it had been haughtily urged. Referring to his former note, the minister observed, that the obstacles which had been presented rendered hopeless for the moment any advantages which might be expected from a negotiation; that all the representations made with so much confidence by the French minister, the personal dispositions of those in power, the solidity and consistency of the new government, were points which could not be admitted as motives for opening a negotiation, since these considerations remained yet to be proved, and of which the only evidence must be that already explained by his majesty, namely, "the result of experience, and the evidence of facts."

Whatever were the motives which led the British court to refuse so peremptorily all negotiation, the publication of this correspondence had a very considerable influence in uniting almost all parties in France for a vigorous prosecution of the war, since it was the only measure left for obtaining peace.

The first consul, finding a continuance of the war inevitable, adopted the utmost efforts in forming a system of active operations, and in abolishing the odious and destructive peculations established by the directory. The army began to be supplied with necessities, and vigorous exertions were made for obtaining recruits, and preventing desertion. All these efforts did not, however, promise to be of much avail while the country was depressed and dispirited, and the western departments in a state of formidable insurrection. General Hedouville, who commanded in those departments, had used every exertion to restore confidence; but the rapacious and cruel agents of the directory, by continued acts of tyranny and extortion, had

had rekindled the flames of civil war, and all the west of France flew to arms, from the banks of the Charente to those of the Seine, and from the coast of Brest to the gates of Tours. They numbered among the most conspicuous of their leaders, Chatillon, d'Autichamp, Bourmont, Georges, and Frotté. As it was expected that England would lend assistance to this insurrection, the French government employed great efforts in reducing it, before the advance of spring should enable a fleet to keep the sea, and land in those departments the powerful body of English and Russian troops then quartered at Jersey.

General Brune, who commanded in Holland during the late campaign, and who was now elevated to the dignity of counsellor of state, was nominated general-in-chief of an army of sixty thousand men, intended to reduce the insurgents to subjection. Hodouville accepted a subordinate rank. A proclamation was issued, and two decrees, one forbidding all generals and public functionaries to correspond with the leaders of the rebels, directing the national guards and inhabitants of districts to rise in arms for their expulsion, and ordaining that all individuals preaching revolt and resistance by force of arms should be immediately shot. The other decree declared the constitution suspended in the departments of the Côtes-du-Nord, l'Isle et Vilaine, Morbihan, and Loire Inférieure; and empowered general Brune to make regulations amounting even to pain of death, to impose contributions in the way of penalty, and to adopt all the means used in the countries of foreign enemies to ensure the payment of those contributions, and the maintenance of public peace.

General Brune, on his arrival in Bretagne, learnt that all the insurgent departments on the left of the Loire had laid down their arms, in pursuance of a treaty signed at Montfaucon, on the 18th of January. This event enabling him to concentrate his operations, he began by publishing proclamations to the people, and found that no serious resistance was
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to be apprehended. A few skirmishes enabled him to subdue, in less than a month, all that appeared formidable in the insurrection, and reduced the insurgents to only a small set of detached bodies. This fortunate event was forwarded in no inconsiderable degree by the prudent orders of Bonaparte for restoring the churches to the communes for the purpose of performing divine service, and for celebrating a pompous funeral ceremony in honour of the late prosecuted Pius VI.

As to the chiefs of the Chouans, Georges and Frotté were the most formidable. Georges having learnt that Brune was reconnoitering that portion of the country which was termed *his* government, boldly advanced to a place near the village of Theix, followed only by three Chouans, and after an interview of an hour with Brune, who met him for the purpose in a field, Feb. 9, 1800, he engaged to dismiss his troops, and yield up his arms. Frotté had written to Hedouville, declaring his willingness to surrender; but before he could receive an answer, his correspondence with an officer of his own party fell into the hands of the republicans. In these papers he advised the Chouans to submit to every thing except the privation of their arms, and unguardedly mentioned the place of his concealment. He was by this means apprehended, and brought to trial before a military commission at Verneuil. His behaviour excited the highest admiration: he appeared with his accustomed intrepidity; and in the course of the trial asking for some wine, drank with his companions the sentiment so odious to republican ears, *Vive le roi!* The next day, Feb. 19, he was conducted to execution, and still maintained the same unconcern. He went on foot, attended by his staff; and one of the escort observing to him that he had lost the step, "You are right," he calmly answered, "I did not think of it," and immediately changed. They were all shot standing, and would not have their eyes blindfolded. The officer through whose imprudence he had been discovered,

terminated his own existence with a pistol. The republic was thus freed from all alarm from the Chouans, the bold remnant left by Charette; but the departments were not yet restored to civil government, being kept under the controul of the military.

The first consul's next business was to prepare to open the campaign of 1800, and to infuse new vigour and energy into the republican armies, by every exertion of liberal encouragement and heroic example. On the death of Championnet, the command of the French army of Italy had devolved on Massena; and the death of Suwarrow, who in chagrin had terminated his days in his native country, prevented even the probability of another Russian army appearing in that quarter. The Austrians remained under general Melas, who, with eighty thousand men, was in full possession of all the fortresses at the entrance of the Alps, from the fort of Bard in the valley of Aosta to Coni, and had been during the whole winter in the enjoyment of every necessary, the English fleet having conveyed to him abundant supplies, and facilitated the formation of his magazines for the approaching campaign. The French in the mean while, shut up in various posts from the Bochetta to the Alps of Dauphiny, in the midst of snows, and unassisted by any friendly intercourse, had suffered every privation and hardship; and with a force not amounting to fifty thousand men, had to defend positions against eighty thousand of their enemies.

The lines of the French army on the frontier of Germany extended from Ehrenbreitstein to the Valais; but, on the other hand, the archduke Charles, indignant perhaps at the part he had been obliged to act in the last, and displeased with some circumstances in the plan of the present campaign, renounced the command, which was conferred on field-marshal Kray. As the principal efforts were intended to be made on the side of Italy, the troops were put in motion. Melas quitted Milan on the 6th of April, 1800, to besiege Genoa, having previously addressed a proclamation



TALLEYRAND,
Prince of Benevento.

mation to his troops, reminding them of the glory they had acquired in the last year, and the necessity of maintaining it by new exploits. He attacked the Borchetta in person, while field-marshal the baron d'Elmütz assailed the heights of Vado, and another column of the army reached Savona by the road of Acqui and Sassello. These combined efforts drove Massena into Genoa, while a British squadron cruised off the coast, and the Austrian general made great exertions to gain the surrounding heights. A party in Genoa adverse to the French interest facilitated the dispersion of a proclamation from general Melas, assuring the inhabitants that his intentions were not to subdue, but to deliver them from a yoke which had reduced them to a condition truly deplorable. He promised to respect property and defend the true religion, to establish a provisional government, make their harbour a free port, and protect their commerce. These offers were rendered more impressive by the blockade of the port by lord Keith and the great want of provisions, which obliged Massena to have recourse to severities to limit the consumption.

The Austrians got possession of the heights of Montenotte and San Giacomo, made themselves masters of Finale, Vado, and Savona, and drove general Suchet after many severe conflicts into the county of Nice. In these several actions the French lost nearly ten thousand men: they captured many Austrians, but were obliged to set them at liberty on parole for want of provisions. The besiegers gained possession of the suburb of San Pietro d'Ancona, and made an unsuccessful attempt to force the gate called la Lanterna. Beset with internal as well as external foes, and determined to defend his post to the last extremity, Massena took measures for organizing the Cisalpine refugees within the walls, invited the citizens to deposit their private stock of provisions in the public stores, and by proclamations exhorted his followers to resist the efforts of malevolence, and maintain good discipline; and animated the inhabitants to endure with

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firmness

firmness the rigours of a siege, affirming the promises of Austria to be insidious, and her views treacherous, and reminding them of the glorious defence made by themselves unaided in the year 1746. These efforts produced great effects, though flour was almost entirely wanting, the inhabitants being reduced on the tenth day of the siege to four ounces of bread each as a daily allowance; but the slaughter of horses supplied the shambles, and wine and brandy were in great abundance.

The English admiral, lord Keith, having landed at Votri the heavy artillery, and the Austrians being masters of Savona and of all the surrounding heights, the operations were secure from interruption; but Melas fearing that the loss of time on this object would frustrate the general plan of the campaign, changed the siege into a blockade, relying on the effects of famine rather than the operations of force or skill. Leaving therefore generals Ott and Hohenzollern with fifty battalions before the city, he marched with the remainder of his force, on the 28th of April, towards San Giacomo, to join general Elnitz, and attack the French under Suchet and Rochambeau, who defended Oneglia, San Remo, and the county of Nice.

The Austrian army, divided into two parts, pursued both the roads to France; that by the Col de Tende was feebly guarded by the French, and that by the Corniche was protected by the British squadron, whose light vessels sailed close to the shore. The left of the army, issuing out by Montferrat, in the marquisat of Finale, and passing the Cento took possession of Albenga. The right of the French immediately retreated to Marina di Diano, and learning that the right of the Austrians had reached the Col de Tende, which could not long hold out, they made a precipitate retreat from Porto Mauricio to Nice. Even this city was evacuated in the night on the approach of Melas; but the French left garrisons in the castle and in that of Montalbano, and withdrew all their troops to the other side of the Var.

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In Germany, however, the campaign commenced under circumstances less auspicious to the imperial arms. The forces in this quarter were considerably weakened by detachments sent into Italy, and the position extended from the Mein to the Adda. The right, under Sztaray, was cantoned from Frankfort to Baden on the Murg, comprising the divisions of general Szenterekey in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, of prince Hohenlohe between Mannheim and Heidelberg, and of baron Klinglin near Rastadt. The centre, under general Kray, extended from Murg to the lake of Constance, and included the division of general Kenmager, occupying the environs of Offenberg, general Giulai in the Brisgau and Friburg, and that of the archduke Ferdinand, which defended the shores of the Rhine and of the lake of Constance, from Schaffhausen to Lindau. A corps de reserve, composed of battalions of grenadiers, was posted near Villengen. The left wing, placed from the lake of Constance to the bailiwicks of Switzerland along the Rhetian Alps, was composed of the corps of the prince de Russ in the Grisons, general Huller in the Voralberg, and general Dedovich near Mount St. Gothard. This army amounted to fifty thousand men.

In like manner the republican army was divided into three corps, and amounted to a hundred thousand men, under the command of Moreau. The left, led by St. Suzanne, who occupied the left bank of the Rhine from the confluence of the Moselle to Strasburgh. The centre, extending from that city to the left bank of the Saar, was led by St. Cyr, Delmas, Ney, and d'Hilliers. Lecourbe commanded the right wing, stationed in the mountains of Switzerland.

General Kray receiving information of the movements made by the French to cross the Rhine, assembled about thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry in the neighbourhood of Rastadt and Offenburg; ordered Sztaray to draw near Philipsburgh to support it if attacked; and preserved an imposing force in the important post of Donaueschingen, whence
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he could, according to circumstances, proceed to the duchy of Wirtemberg, the borders of the lake of Constance, or the frontiers of Tyrol. These forces were very inferior to those opposed to them by Moreau; but Kray could not imagine that Lecourbe would dare to quit Switzerland to approach Upper Suabia; and the court of Vienna relying on the success of the expedition under Melas, considered that, even if the French should gain some ground in Suabia, it would have the good effect of disabling them from sending reinforcements to Provence.

The principal object of the French was to pass the Rhine, and, gaining the rear of the Black Forest, to unite at Schaffhausen and Smettingen. To execute this, St. Suzanne crossed the river at Kehl, and St. Cyr at New Brisac: the latter without opposition took possession of Friburg; the former, after a smart contest, placed his right at Vilstett, Giessen, and Tant, and his left at Roderverer, Valassen, and Appenvir. A division under general Richepanse, passing the river by the bridge of Basle, reached the mountains of Huhlingen, and gained the defiles of Kander. The four following days were spent in manœuvring and gaining more central positions, the Austrians not being able, from inferiority of numbers, to make resistance at all points; and while the divisions who had already crossed were thus employed, Lecourbe passed the river between Schaffhausen and Stein, and the whole army was at length united at Wutach. The imperial troops, compelled to retreat, took an excellent position on the heights of Pfullendorff; their right supported by the Danube near Sigmaringen, their centre at Mœskirch, and their left under the walls of Stockach.

Although this position was exceedingly strong, the imperialists were attacked by the French on the 3d of May, and, after a battle which lasted three days, compelled to retire. Their right passed the Danube at Sigmaringen, their centre and left united at first on the shore of the Federsee; but soon abandoning these posts,

posts, the whole army retreated to the right of the Iller under the cannon of Ulm, and on the right and left of the Danube. In consequence of the battle of *Mæskirch*, the French became masters of the whole circle of Suabia. The duke of Wirtemberg abandoned his residence at Stutgard, which was garrisoned by St. Suzanne; Philipsburgh was again blockaded; Moreau seized all the magazines on the banks of the Danube as far as Ulm, on the Necker, and on the lake of Constance. Lecourbe placed a body of troops in the city and defiles of Bregenz. The advanced detachments of the army entered Augsburg, Kempten, and Memingen, and made incursions beyond the Lech into the heart of Bavaria, plundering and levying contributions in every direction. Kray had no longer any communication with the Austrian corps stationed in the Tyrol and the Italian bailiwicks of Switzerland, but by making long circuits towards the sources of the Lech and the Inn. Yet the imperial cabinet appeared to view these events as objects of minor importance, compared with the expected results of the invasion of Provence in France.

Among the earliest measures of the new government of France for impeding the projects of the allies, was a decree for forming an army of reserve of sixty thousand men, to be assembled at Dijon, under the immediate command of the first consul. All soldiers who had obtained their discharges, all who were even superannuated, if in a condition to make a campaign; and all the youth of the requisition and conscription were to be summoned to join this standard before the 5th of April; and on the 10th of that month a public report was to be made in honour of those departments which had furnished the greatest proportion of volunteers.

The hopes and the fears of Europe were now balanced between the achievements of Melas and the exploits of Moreau; and while the events of the campaign were supposed in a great degree to depend on the siege of Genoa, this army of reserve was speedily supplied

supplied with all necessaries. Under the command of Berthier it had quitted Geneva, and following the shores of the lake, traversed the Pays de Vaud; when Bonaparte, suddenly leaving Paris, joined it near Lausanne on the 13th of May, and having reviewed and encouraged the troops, he assumed the chief command. The superior conduct and ability of the first consul now came into view. He pursued his route into Italy along the lake of Geneva, and afterwards by the borders of the Rhone, through Villeneuve, l'Aigle, and Bex, to the confluence of the Rhone and Durance near Martinach. So far the roads had been practicable; but, in order to enter the valley of Aoste, it was necessary to traverse for more than twenty Italian miles the mountain called the Great St. Bernard, situated between those of Simplon and Mont-Blanc. From Martinach to St. Peter's the road, though extremely bad, was not absolutely untrodden: human abodes, vegetation, and pasturage, were found; but after passing this place, Nature, entirely still, presented no object to the eye but snow and naked rocks. From St. Peter's it is three leagues to the summit of the St. Bernard, by a road which cannot be passed by two men a-breast.

At the top of this mountain is the monastery, from the founder of which it derives its name. The tenants, celebrated above all eulogy for their benevolence to way-worn travellers, were on this occasion made auxiliaries to Bonaparte. The progress of the soldiery had been singularly laborious and heroic. For transporting the artillery general Marmont and Gassendi contrived two ingenious devices: the first was, to hollow out trunks of trees like canoes, in which were deposited the artillery and mortars; then a hundred men, harnessing themselves to a cable, dragged the piece along, while others, furnished with hand-spikes to prevent its falling over the precipices, directed its course. The other scheme was the use of sledges on casters; the gun-carriages being taken to pieces were transported separately, except the carriages of four-pounders,

potunders, which were laid on a kind of litters and conveyed entire. The caissons were emptied, and the ammunition stowed in chests borne by men or by mules. Every thing in the expedition savoured of romance: the solitude of the region; the concurrence of individual efforts to the general advantage, which made every man a hero; the singularity of the route, and the importance of its results; all aided the predisposition to lofty contemplations, which the most judicious philosophers have observed to prevail in mountainous countries. While the troops were thus animated, and their imaginations exalted, Bonaparte had contrived that even the ordinary solace of reflection should harmonize with the general sublimity of the scene and sentiment. By his orders, and with money supplied by him, the monks of St. Bernard had prepared a feast for the whole army; and when the panting soldiers reached the heights of the monastic abode, tables spread, as if by enchantment, on the snow, and well furnished with bread, meat, and wine, were suddenly descried, and the holy fathers, with religious solemnity, solicited the army to partake of their humble fare.

In the descent from St. Bernard to Verney fatigue was diminished, but peril augmented. For a league a road is formed on a rugged mountain: the horseman is there obliged to lead or follow his beast, as he cannot walk a-breast without danger of falling into an abyss. On one side the road is bounded with frightful precipices; on the other, mountains of snow suspended over the head of the passenger threaten to descend and bury him and every opposing object in their irresistible course. In descending, some soldiers imagined the scheme of sliding over the polished snow to abridge their toil; the general himself, it is said, set the example, and many who followed it reached in a few minutes a small plain at the bottom, at which they could not have arrived by the path under several hours. The whole journey was performed without any other loss than one piece of artillery and

three men, and four or five horses, who fell over the precipice. As the army descended the air became more mild, and grass and flowers again relieved their eyes; in half an hour afterwards the heat became suffocating; so that in one day the army experienced three seasons, winter, spring, and summer.

General Lasnes, with his advanced guard, having reached the valley of Aosta on the 18th of May, took the road to Turin by Dora Baltea. In their way lay the castle of Bard, which protects the entrance into Piedmont, and is defended by an excellent citadel, and might have arrested the progress of the army; but their diligence and sagacity in planting, after three hours' labour, a battery on a point in the rocks which commanded the fort, compelled it to surrender. When they were masters of this castle, the French had before them two roads by which they might march to the relief of Genoa; the one by Chivasso, Turin, Asti, and Alessandria; the other by Vercelli, Navarre, Milan, Lodi, and Placenza. The first was the shortest; but in preferring the other Bonaparte avoided the necessity of passing under the cannon of Turin and Alessandria, which he had neither time nor force to besiege, and gained the advantage of seizing the principal magazines and stores formed by the Austrians on the Tessino, the Adda, and the Oglio. After a feint, which deceived the imperialists entrenched near Romano, Bonaparte took Vercelli on the 26th of May; after which Chivasso, Masserano, Borgo di Sessia, and all the towns in Upper Piedmont from Fenestrelles to the confluence of the Sessia and the Po, opened their gates. Moreau was enabled, in consequence of his success in Germany, to detach twenty-five thousand men under general Moncey, which entered Italy by the Simplon and the St. Gothard.

The whole French army under the command of the first consul was united on the Tessino by the 31st; on the other side of which the Austrians under Laudolin were entrenched, and had removed the bridges and

and carried over the boats. Several ingenious manœuvres, and a bold exploit of a French demi-brigade, enabled them, however, to seize some of these vessels, and by means of a flying-bridge which they afterwards established, the whole army crossed the Tessino on the 2d of June. Bonaparte entered Milan, and invested the castle; an Italian general named Lechi gained possession of all the territories of the Cisalpine republic between the Sessia and the Serio, except the fort of Arona; and Lasnes took possession of Pavia, which was hastily evacuated by the troops of the emperor.

Thus, in the short space of a fortnight after his descent from the Alps, Bonaparte was placed in the midst of his former conquests, having taken the Austrian magazines and the garrisons left by Melas, and his central position intercepted the communication of that general with the Tyrol. Yet he was with his whole army perfectly isolated, and it appeared certain that a single reverse of fortune must expose him to inevitable destruction. On his entry into Milan, Bonaparte hastened to re-establish the Cisalpine republic; released those who had been confined since the abolition of the republican system; the magistrates formerly appointed by him, having come to Paris for the purpose, were reinstated in their offices; the national guard was re-organized, and armed from the magazines of the Austrians; and the first consul issued three proclamations, suited to his present purposes, and calculated to promote the views he had in contemplation.

While these affairs were going on, a detachment under Murat and Lasnes, proceeding rapidly along the left bank of the Po, seized Placenza on the 4th of June, and having repaired the bridge of boats, made preparations to march for the relief of Genoa, by ascending the left bank of the Trebbia. This project was, however, rendered abortive; and the strict maintenance of the blockade by the Austrian army and the British fleet, soon reduced the garrison and inhabitants,

tants, amounting to a hundred thousand souls, to the most deplorable state of want, when Massena was obliged to yield to the solicitations of the people, and accepted on the 4th of June favourable terms of capitulation; terms which, it is supposed, would not have been granted, but the besieging army had received orders to quit their positions, and combine with Melas in resisting Bonaparte.

So soon as Bonaparte was apprised of the loss of Genoa, he perceived that it would be improper for him to remove to a considerable distance from the Po, as the Austrians had still eighty thousand men in the Ligurian mountains, although it was not easy for them to combine this whole force in one body. Half the army under general Ott was in the vicinity of Genoa; the other half in the county of Tende, near the source of the Tanaro. The great object of the Austrian commander was therefore to unite these two bodies, and that of the first consul was to attack and defeat them separately. To effect this purpose, Bonaparte marched rapidly towards the Bormida, seeking a position where he could be fortified between the Tanaro and the mountains, and able to attack at pleasure the division coming from Genoa by Gavi or Novi, or that coming from Nice by Ormea or Asti. To frustrate this project, general Ott united his army by forced marches between the Bormida and the Scrivia, pressing forward and endeavouring to impede the progress of the French. Frequent skirmishes were occasioned by this mode of proceeding, the most considerable of which took place on the 9th between Broni and Voghera; and although the republicans gained some advantage, they could not prevent the junction of Ott and Melas, which was no sooner effected, than preparations were made for a general attack on the French.

At day-break, on the 14th of June, 1800, the Austrians passed the Bormida by two bridges, formed in three columns, and marched to encounter the advanced guard of the French, who were also divided in three; the

the left and centre being commanded by Victor, the right by Lasnes, and supported by the cavalry under Murat. The right wing of the Austrians ascended the Bormida, the centre was placed on the great road towards the village of Marengo, from which the battle took its name, and the left extended towards Castel Genolo. After an obstinate contest, which lasted six hours, the Austrians had gained possession of Marengo, and compelled general Victor to retreat; and his movement compelled Lasnes to adopt the same measure. The victory appeared complete. The republicans, defeated in all directions, retired to the plain of San Guilio, where Dessaix, the celebrated conqueror of Upper Egypt, was stationed with a corps de reserve. With this body he made a sudden and desperate charge on the Austrian army, who were already uttering shouts of victory. The republicans turned and rallied to second this gallant effort: the Austrians were broken, a division of six thousand was surrounded and made prisoners, and after a close engagement of thirteen hours, victory remained with the republicans. Their account of killed and wounded made the loss of the Austrians amount to eight thousand, and seven thousand prisoners; while their own did not exceed five thousand killed and wounded, and very few captured. The honour and advantages of the victory remained with Bonaparte; but general Dessaix was killed on the field. He was generally esteemed and beloved in the French army, and the peculiar circumstances attending his death procured for him general and undissembled expressions of homage and regret.

In the battle of Marengo it was obvious that Bonaparte had fame, rank, and even life, at stake; but on the part of the Austrians it appeared only an ordinary encounter: if successful, they annihilated the hopes of the French in Italy; if defeated with far greater loss than the French ascribed to them, they had still abundant means of retreat, and a great series of exertion would have been requisite to reduce the numerous fortified

fortified places still in their possession. The temporary loss of victory had not dispirited the imperial troops; they were still equal to their opponents in numbers, still ready to renew the engagement, and for the most part unwilling to allow that the incident which closed the day entitled their opponents to claim the honours of the victory. Melas, however, seems to have been over-awed by the influence of circumstances, his judgement dazzled by the supposed ascendancy of Bonaparte, or his faculties enfeebled by the temporary failure of his hopes. Influenced by this unaccountable panic, for no sufficient authority exists to accuse him of evil intentions, he concluded, two days after the battle of Marengo, a convention with Bonaparte, by which he surrendered to him the fortresses of Genoa, Savona, Coni, Ceva, Turin, Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Pizzighitone, Arona, Urbino, all Liguria, Piedmont, and the Cisalpine, except the towns of Peschiera, Mantua, Borgo-Forte, Ferrara, and Ancona, on condition that the Austrian army might be permitted to cross the French cantonments, and retire behind the line of the Mincio, and that a truce should be established, and not broken without ten days notice. The general aspect of affairs did not allow the cabinet of Vienna to refuse the ratification of this inglorious compact; and in a few days Genoa was restored by prince Hohenzollern to general Suchet.

By those persons who are so much prejudiced against Bonaparte as to deny him talents, the success of this battle has been ascribed merely to an oversight of his opponent; for they say, that had not Melas too much despised his strength, and even disbelieved his having entered Italy at the time he did, he would have opposed him much earlier, and prevented his concentrating his forces so as to meet the Austrians on the fatal day of the battle of Marengo. The fact is not less singular than true, that the Austrians would not believe that Bonaparte with an additional army was in Italy. They said, that some fellow resembling him,

him had taken his name, and collected together a parcel of brigands; but that it was impossible he could have passed the Alps with an army, when he was only a few days before in France. And even Melas himself, in an intercepted letter written to his mistress at Pavia, observes, "They say in Lombardy that a French army has entered Italy; but don't be afraid, and on no account leave Pavia." In twelve hours after, the French were in that very city.

Thus the success of Bonaparte and the armistice in Italy frustrated the principal hopes of the cabinet of Vienna, and it remained only for the republicans to complete their attempts so auspiciously commenced on the Danube, in order to crown all their expectations, and return to Paris with the honours of universal victory. Moreau and Bonaparte had been correctly informed of the proceedings of each other, and till the great blow was struck at Marengo, hostilities were relaxed in Germany. In order to keep Kray at a distance from Ulm, Lecourbe had proceeded towards the Lech, made himself master of Augsburg, and threatened Munich; but this attempt was not crowned with success, as Kray still remained in his camp under the walls of Ulm*. When Moreau was apprized of the event of the battle of Marengo, he prepared to pass the Danube between Ulm and Donauwert; and achieved the exploit, after an obstinate resistance from general Sztaray, who being advantageously posted on the plain of Hochstet, or Blenheim, disputed his ground with vigour and ability, though without success. The French were highly elated with this victory, which, by compelling Kray to retreat and leave Ulm to its own strength, gained them possession of part of the circle of Franconia, and that of the Lower Rhine from Suabia to the line of neutrality

* This city being built on the left bank of the Danube, over which there is a bridge, is famous for the excellency of its fortifications; and it afforded the imperialists the advantage of acting at pleasure on either side of the river.

of

of the north of Germany protected by the Prussian monarch.

In the space of a few days another engagement took place in the neighbourhood of Neubourg, which also terminated advantageously to the French, and was rendered remarkable by the death of the celebrated Latour d'Auvergne Corret. This extraordinary man derived his descent from the celebrated marshal Turenne, and had acquired a reputation as well in literature as in arms. After his exploits in the Western Pyrenees, he embarked for Brittany, but was captured, and for some time a prisoner in England. He expired like Turenne, his great-grandfather, in the arms of victory; and his memory was honoured by the erection of a monument on the very spot where he fell.

After this engagement the Austrians were compelled to retreat beyond the Iser, and afterwards behind the Inn; while the republicans, occupying almost all Bavaria, established their head-quarters at Munich on the 5th of July. The hereditary states were defended by the imperialists from the banks of the Mein and the Rednitz to those of the Danube; and following the course of the Inn, from the mouth of that river to the mountains which separate the Tyrol from the Grisons, they abandoned the lower country, to concentrate themselves between the Inn, the Tyrol, and those states of Italy which remained to them after the convention of Marengo. The French troops formed an uninterrupted line from the shores of the Rhine near Frankfort to those of the Mediterranean in the neighbourhood of Lucca. In this position the provisional armistice established in Italy was extended to Germany, and it was agreed, that the French should not pass beyond the Iser; that the imperialists should retire to the right of the Inn, from the source of that river to Passau; and the country situated between the Inn and Iser and the Danube was declared neutral during the term the armistice was to continue.

Bonaparte having confided the command of the army

army of Italy to Massena, immediately returned to Paris, accompanied by Berthier and a few other generals. In passing through Lyons he laid the first stone of several new buildings, intended to replace those which had been destroyed during the reign of terror. He arrived in the capital in less than two months after quitting it on this brilliant and important expedition, and was received by all orders of the people with every heartfelt demonstration of joy and satisfaction.

Great Britain was now again the only formidable power capable of acting against and keeping in check the extensive views of the victorious republicans; and her exertions were sensibly felt in all parts of the globe where France yet possessed or wished to acquire an ascendancy. While the Austrian armies were able to keep the field, the British fleet created continual alarms on the coast, and blocked up the fleets of the republicans in their own harbours. The British forces also captured the island of Goree, and the Spanish settlement of Curaçoa; and after a long blockade, made themselves masters of the island of Malta, which the French had seized upon and garrisoned in their way to Egypt.

At length a congress to treat of peace was established at Luneville; but although the emperor expressed a desire not to negotiate except in conjunction with Great Britain, the French, affecting to apprehend some hostile design, prepared to re-commence the war at the first favourable moment. General Brune, who had been lately promoted to the command of the army of Italy, altered the western limits of the Cisalpine republic by seizing Lamellino and the Novarese, which had been ceded to the king of Sardinia in 1707, and the Sesia formed the barrier between this republic and Piedmont. On pretence of some insurrections of the inhabitants of Arezzo and the neighbouring mountains, general Brune ordered Dupont to occupy Tuscany. The supposed insurgents were defeated without difficulty in the Appen-

nines; the French took possession of Prato, Peschia, Pistoia, and Leghorn; and Arezzo was taken by assault, the inhabitants massacred, and the fortifications razed to the ground. Moreau, who had just married and retired into domestic life, hastened to his troops, who were rapidly collected. Augereau, at the head of the army of Holland, directed his march to the right of the Rhine; while Macdonald from the Grisons prepared to force a passage into Italy over the snows which crown the Rhetian Alps. The army of the Rhine thus hastily assembled was cantoned in Bavaria; the right commanded by Lecourbe, the left by Grenier, and the centre by Moreau. Its operations were supported on the Danube by the army of St. Suzanne, and the Gallo-Batavian troops under Augereau; and on the right, in the Tyrol, by those of Macdonald. Before the commencement of his march, Moreau addressed to his troops a proclamation, assuring them of the pacific dispositions of their government; blaming count Cobenzel for refusing to negotiate for peace except in the presence of English plenipotentiaries; and exhorting them to contemn the rigours of the season, as they had done in conquering Holland and defending Kehl.

After some slight skirmishes, in which the Austrians proved successful, a decisive engagement was fought on the 3d of December, 1800, between the Iser and the Inn, on the heights which separate Bierkram and Neumarckt, and near *Hohenlinden*, where the last armistice was concluded, and which gave name to the present battle. The snow fell in great abundance the whole day, during which victory was obstinately contested from seven in the morning till near night, and at last decided by the bayonet. About three in the afternoon, the centre of the imperialists gave way; their wings were some time after put to the rout; eleven thousand prisoners and a hundred pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the republicans, and the remainder of the Austrian army was saved by night alone. They retreated to the right bank of the

the Inn; nor could the presence of the archduke Charles, who in this dreadful emergency consented to resume the command, restore their spirits. The French, rapidly crossing the Inn, the Salza, the Enns, and the Ips, had made themselves masters of Salzburg and Linz, and were on the 25th upon the banks of the Trazen, within seventeen leagues of Vienna; while Augereau having defeated the Austrians in several encounters, ascended the Rednitz, and approached the Danube. The capital became a prey to the most anxious alarms, and felt a renewal of all the terrors which occasioned the signature of the treaty of Leoben.

The affairs of the emperor were not more propitious in Italy. Macdonald having scaled the rocks of the Splügen, and traversed in the midst of winter the chain of mountains which separates the valleys of Maiera, Adda, and Oglio, penetrated into Italy by the Upper Adige, to take in the rear the formidable lines of the Adige and the Mincio. General Brune having collected his forces on the banks of the Po, pursued the Austrians to the states of Venice. Count Bellegarde, the successor of Melas, defended the Mincio from Peschiera to Mantua; but his entrenchments were forced after a spirited resistance on the 17th of November. For twenty successive days the French general continued his victorious career, passing the Adige, the Alpone, the Feassana, the Brenta, and establishing his head-quarters at Treviso, within a few leagues of Venice. Augereau and St. Suzanne were approaching the hereditary domains; while Macdonald, master of the mountains of the Tyrol, could with equal ease descend upon Italy or Germany.

Under these disagreeable circumstances the imperial cabinet again proposed an armistice, which was executed on the 25th of December, between the archduke Charles and general Moreau at Steyer, and which, according to Moreau's expression, "put it out of the power of the house of Austria to resume

hostilities." A convention for Italy equally favourable to the republicans was executed at Treviso, on the 16th of January, 1801, by which the fortresses of Peschiera, Ferrara, Porto Legnano, and Ancona, were ceded to France. To these Mantua was added by a subsequent treaty. These cessions were the forerunners of a general pacification on the continent. The king of Naples obtained an armistice, and shortly after concluded peace, on condition of opening his ports to the French, and shutting them against all English vessels; engaging to furnish neither provisions nor ammunition to Malta, and paying a large sum to the French republic. A congress at Luneville speedily arranged preliminary articles of peace between the continental powers, which were definitively ratified by the imperial diet on the 9th of February, 1801, leaving Great Britain to fight her own battles against the united powers of France, Spain, and Holland.

The French, however, began now to feel the benefit of their continental victories, as well as of an union of sentiment in their constituted authorities. Many salutary regulations took place, new laws were promulgated, and personal safety and private property became more secure. After so long a storm, the tranquillity that ensued was enjoyed with rapture, and the respite from proscription and domestic broils was considered as a boon conferred by Providence. In the mean time the chief consul, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of troops, affected to blend all the state of the ancient kings of France with that of the emperors of the west, being surrounded by numerous guards, attended by the prefects of the palace, and appearing on great occasions with condescension in presence of the people. Foreign potentates and princes bent before the consular dignity, and the fasces of modern Gaul appeared to regulate the movements of the whole continent. Those powers which had waged war against the republic were now eager to supplicate peace, and ready to consent to almost any terms which the victor thought fit to insist on.

The

The elector-palatine of Bavaria about this time negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the duchies of Juliers, Deux Ponts, and their dependencies, together with the bailiwick of the palatinate of the Rhine, situated upon the left bank of that river. The regencies of Algiers and Tunis also hastened to acknowledge the consular government, and agreed to release such of the French as had been made slaves, to restore all the sequestered property, and to grant new and beneficial privileges to the French.

The policy of Bonaparte was, however, most singularly displayed by a pacification with another power, an intimate alliance with which contributed not a little to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the pope, September 10, 1801, the first consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy of France, so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities were granted for the Gallican church. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief consul was to nominate to all the vacant sees. A new and more suitable formula of prayer was introduced, adapted to the consular government: "*Domine, salvam fac rempublicam; Domine, salvos fac consules.*" His holiness likewise solemnly covenanted, in behalf of himself and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed. By a concordat, agreed to soon after, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the established religion of the state, and the catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray the expences of public worship. But, on the other hand, its processions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power; while the chief consul was to be declared the head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests were to make a solemn promise of fidelity to the consular supremacy.

It was in the midst of these laurel-crowned honours, and in the hope of extending a copious enjoyment of them

them to the people of France, as well as to himself, that Bonaparte most anxiously panted for a peace with England. For some time past an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments, but which was notwithstanding still prolonged by the lofty demands of the first consul. Flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time on the coast of France; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were blockaded by the English fleets, the ports of Dover and Calais were open to the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries. At length the news of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and the entire re-conquest of that country by the British arms, directed by those able generals Abercrombie and Hutchinson, suddenly arriving at both courts, the tone of the first consul was lowered, and the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on the one part, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other, on the 1st of October, 1801, was speedily announced, to the undissembled joy of Europe. Amiens, the city assigned for the discussion of a definitive treaty, was visited in the course of a few months by the ministers of the respective powers; on which occasion the marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain; Joseph Bonaparte, France; don John Nicholas Azarra, Spain; and Roger John Schimmelpenninck, Holland. This long-expected treaty was signed, ratified, and promulgated, according to the established forms, on the 27th of March, 1802. This event diffused a lively joy throughout the British empire; but in France the acclamations were unbounded, and all ranks were alike emulous to celebrate a period which to them might be considered less as a cessation from the innumerable perils of war, than a triumphal epoch, when the independence for which they had so long combated was not only ascertained, but their innumerable acquisitions solemnly recognized in the face of Europe and of all mankind.

The sacrifices of England upon this occasion were both

both numerous and important, as the cessions on her part consisted of all the possessions and colonies captured or acquired during the war, with the exception only of the Spanish island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. It was however stipulated, in behalf of her allies, that the territories of her most faithful majesty the queen of Portugal were to be maintained in their integrity in the same manner as previously to the commencement of the war; but an agreement was entered into in opposition to the spirit and letter of this article, that the limits of French Guiana in America should be extended, and the dominions of Portugal in Europe curtailed, conformably to the treaty of Badajos.

The house of Nassau was also to receive an adequate compensation for its losses in Holland. Yet it appeared by a separate declaration, signed on the same day with the treaty of Amiens, on the part of the French and Dutch ministers, that the Batavian republic was not to furnish any portion of the indemnity. Certain it is, that this interposition excited so little gratitude in the bosom of the prince of Orange, that he left England, after exhibiting the most unequivocal marks of his disapprobation in a letter addressed to the king.

The republic of the Seven Ionian Isles, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, &c. erected under the protection of the Russian and Ottoman emperors, was at the same time acknowledged. Malta, Gozo, and Comino, were to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and it was agreed that the forces of his Britannic majesty should evacuate those possessions within three months after the exchange of the ratifications; but the stipulations were so numerous, and the arrangements so intricate, that this tenth article of the treaty soon became productive of unceasing jealousies.

The princes of the house of Bourbon, in behalf of whom England appeared at one time to have armed, and for whose cause the continental powers pretended to have first taken the field, were left unnoticed; while the

the unfortunate house of Savoy, the dominions of which had been specifically guaranteed by a solemn treaty, was left to its fate.

Thus ended one of the longest, most interesting, and most bloody, contests, which modern times have witnessed. It is not a little singular, that no one of the great objects originally aimed at by any of the belligerent powers, except that of France, was obtained by an appeal to arms. The treaties of Luneville and Amiens, however, by changing the relative situations of the various states in this quarter of the globe, forced Europe to assume a novel aspect, and to become in a great measure tributary and dependent. The boasted balance of power was changed, and the political chart was henceforth to be calculated on a new scale, and distinguished by titles and dignities erected as monuments to the victorious arms of the French republic, the sole parent of these new states.

The Cisalpine republic, chiefly composed of territories dismembered from the house of Austria, was at once created and protected by France; while the Venetian possessions on the continent were subjected in their turn to the government of the court of Vienna. Genoa, anciently rescued from dependence by the wisdom and firmness of Andrew Doria, and once famous in the annals of war and of commerce, was formed into the Ligurian republic; while, by an express convention allowed to take place between Russia and the Porte, the settlements in the Ionian Sea recently subjugated by their arms were to assume the name of *the republic of the Seven Isles*. This republic, by a solecism in politics, was to be at once free and dependent; to be regulated by no superior, and yet to be tributary to the grand sultan; and the sum of 75,000 piastres was to be transmitted annually to Constantinople by a solemn embassy!

The holy prelate who has ascended the pontifical throne under the name of Pius VII. retained but a portion of the patrimony of St. Peter; and in state and grandeur scarcely equalled a cardinal of those times

times when the terrors of the triple crown appalled the most powerful sovereigns of Europe. Chiaramonti, the pope, more politic, more sage, and more humble, than his predecessor Braschi, Pius VI. was, at the same time, better acquainted with the spirit of the age in which he lived; and, in imitation of the primitive fathers of the church of Rome, knew how to bend like a willow beneath that storm, which would root up the opposing oak, and scatter its branches in the air.

The situation of the house of Savoy, so prosperous during the early part of the preceding century, had become peculiarly disastrous. The descendant of Victor Amadeus, now Emanuel V. on whose head the crown of Sardinia has been scarcely permitted to totter, disgusted with his fate, and but little anxious to visit the unhealthy isle that constituted at once his royalty and his territories, abdicated his throne, and declared his intentions of living in Italy as a private gentleman.

Ferdinand IV. king of the Two Sicilies, who, flying before an insurgent people and an invading enemy, scarcely deemed Palermo secure from the vengeance of the Parthenopean republic; aided, however, by the martial spirit of an adventurous priest, shielded by the protection of Russia, and supported by the victorious fleets of England, he once more returned to his capital; and after annulling a solemn treaty entered into in his own name with his viceroy, and threatening to annihilate the whole order of nobility from the golden book, he quietly resigned a small portion of his dominions as the price of peace.

The archduke Ferdinand, brother to the emperor, and grand duke of Tuscany, bereaved of Florence, Leghorn, and the adjacent territories, was referred to the rent-rolls and monastic institutions of the German dignitaries, for a compensation: while France, which had sworn an immortal antipathy to kings, conveyed his dominions to a stranger, and invested the son-in-law of the king of Spain with the ensigns of royalty.

France, herself, after sustaining ages of persecution, and after undergoing the manifold afflictions enumerated in the preceding pages, thus obtained every object which could be coveted by a brave and adventurous people. With the exception of one single nation alone, she either terrified or overpowered every foe with her devouring armies; while countries hitherto accustomed only to the shouts of triumph, shrunk and withered beneath the ardour of her innumerable warriors. The Alps, the Apennines, the Pyrennées, were scaled; and the Rhine, the Trebia, the Inn, and the Danube, were successfully crossed, by her intrepid legions.

The battles of Fleurus, of Lodi, of Marengo, and of Hohenlinden, added a population of thirteen millions to an empire which, during the early part of the reign of Louis XIV. had nearly wrested the sceptre of independence from Europe associated against it. The narrow seas, the Pyrennées, the Mediterranean, and the utmost frontiers of Piedmont, convey but a feeble idea of the limits of consular France, armed with the support of Holland, Spain, and Switzerland, against every opponent in the north, and wielding the new republics of Italy against its enemies in the south, of Europe. From the house of Austria she obtained the county of Falkenstein, the Frickthal, a portion of the isle of Elba, and the whole of the Belgic provinces. The empire surrendered all that important tract of country situated on the left bank of the Rhine, including the duchies of Deux-Ponts, Juliers, and the bailiwick of the Palatinate; even Prussia was obliged to yield a portion of her territories in the same quarter. The king of the Two Sicilies ceded Porto Legano; his brother, the king of Spain, besides some advantageous arrangements for the extension of the French frontiers in Europe, relinquished his moiety of St. Domingo, together with the whole of Louisiana. The Ottoman Porte granted to France certain commercial privileges: and, in addition to similar ones on the part of Portugal, the prince-regent agreed,

that the dominions of that crown in Guiana should in future be limited by the river Carapanatuba. The Batavian republic surrendered Dutch Flanders, the right side of the Hondt, together with Maëstricht and Venlo: France also obtained an equal claim with Holland to the port of Flushing; and, in all future hostilities, her garrisons were to be freely admitted into Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

From the crown of Sardinia the first consul acquired Piedmont, Savoy, in short, every thing valuable appertaining to the fallen monarch: she was also able to confer part of her spoils on the kings and commonwealths which she constrained to associate in her fortune. Tuscany, together with the presidial states and the territory of Piombino, were accordingly transferred to the hereditary prince of Parma, by the title of king of *Etruria*, at the expence of the grand duke and the court of Naples; while the Cisalpine republic, carved out of the Italian dominions of the pope and the emperor, was swayed by the same sceptre, or rather by the same sword, that regulates the destinies of France. All the possessions of the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine between Zarsach and Basle were ceded to Switzerland, now the Helvetic republic: in return for which, a new constitution was sketched out in the cabinet of the consular palace, recommended by an imperious mandate, and enforced by republican bayonets. Such are the triumphs of a people whose measure of military glory was complete, and who wanted nothing but civil liberty to rival the splendour of the most famous nations of antiquity!

During the course of this arduous conflict, Britain alone was victorious by sea, and successful in every naval battle; the capture of near five hundred ships of war, of which upwards of eighty were ships of the line, fully attests this memorable fact, and exhibits nobler trophies than were ever won by any other maritime power. Nor was any other quarter of the globe exempt from her conquests. In America, she

acquired Tobago, part of St. Domingo, the whole of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, from the French; Trinidad from the Spaniards; Demarara, Isequeibo, Surinam, Curaçoa, Berbice, and St. Eustatia, from the Dutch. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, Malacca, Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda, yielded either to her arms or influence. In Africa, Goree, the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, and Egypt, by turns confessed her sovereign power; while in Europe, Toulon, Minorca, Corsica, and Malta, either surrendered by capitulation, or were subjugated by force.

Under so many circumstances of triumphant victory, of personal and national aggrandisement, and of acquisitions of additional territory so extensive and important as those just mentioned, it were to be expected from every analogy that can possibly be drawn from reason, or the practice of civilized nations, that the first consul, and the government and people of France, would, from that moment, sedulously embrace every means of cultivating the arts of peace, rather than direct their views to new acquisitions of foreign conquest, boundless in the extent, and visionary in the pursuit; at least while Great Britain maintains the sovereignty of the ocean. Yet such a plan did Bonaparte conceive; and very early measures, after the ratification of the peace of Amiens, were taken by the republican council for putting it in force.

General Sebastiani, a confidential officer under the first consul, and commander in chief of the French army in Holland, was dispatched on a secret mission into Egypt, Syria, and the Grecian Isles, to tamper with the leading persons of the respective governments, and to form a plan, as it should seem, for subjugating the whole of those extensive regions, as a prelude to the subversion of the Turkish empire; which Bonaparte had formerly intimated that he could confer on the "*present pretender to the crown of France, in lieu of those dominions forfeited by Louis XVI.*"

XVI. upon condition of his revoking for ever his hereditary claim!"

Upon this extraordinary errand Sebastiani set off from Paris early in September, 1802, travelled over land to the port of Toulon, and there embarked on the 16th of the same month for the Levant. At Tripoli he offers his mediation between the dey and the king of Sweden, which is accepted, and a treaty concluded under his auspices; and he procures from the former power an acknowledgement of the *Italian republic*, for so was the Cisalpine republic now called. At Alexandria he peremptorily requires, in the name of the French government, the immediate evacuation of that city by the English force: proceeds to examine the state of the fortresses, and the disposition of the Turkish government towards the French: announces the assembling of the French commercial agents in Egypt, and commences a series of intrigues with the beys. At Grand Cairo he takes nearly the same course, every where endeavouring to revive an interest in the French nation and Bonaparte; inso-much as to distribute among the chiefs of the country, multitudes of portraits of the first consul. To so great a pitch was his inquisitive research carried on in this latter capital, as to excite the murmurs of the Turkish garrison, and even to incur personal danger. Rosetta, Damietta, the present state of every post of consequence, are the objects of his inquiry. After quitting Egypt he proceeds to Acre, where he informs himself of the state of Syria, and the fortifications of the former place, which however Djezzar Pacha was too wise to let him visit. He next arrives at Zante, one of the members of the newly-formed republic of the Seven Grecian or Ionian isles. Here he assembles the people, harangues them in public, exhorts them to unanimity and concord, and promises them the future support and protection of Bonaparte. This is the last stage of his active career of inspection. He next gives a summary of the number and condition of the English army at Alexandria, of the Turkish army in Egypt.

Egypt, and of that of the beys. And he concludes with a view of the military state of Syria. The grand results of this mission appear to be, that the islands of the Ionian Sea would declare themselves *French* as soon as an opportunity should offer; and that six thousand French troops would suffice at the present moment for the recovery of Egypt.

Before the discovery of these transactions in Egypt and Syria, by general Sebastiani, the English government were extremely dissatisfied with the French troops still keeping possession of Holland; and also with the measures of coercion and authority assumed by the French government in Switzerland; events equally and obviously repugnant to the treaty of Amiens. The disputes in Switzerland between the Helvetic government, which was entirely in the French interests, and the democratic states, who insisted on having their ancient laws and constitutions restored, commenced as early as the month of April, 1802, and assumed a serious aspect on the 13th of the following July; when the great majority of the cantons formally protested against the interference of the French, and claimed their rights and privileges, as a free people, to restore to their country their pristine form of government. From this period till the 3d of October, 1802, open warfare subsisted between the people and the Helvetic government, when, in a general action, the insurgents totally defeated the troops of the latter, who were obliged precipitately to retreat; to abandon their functions; and they were hesitating whether to retire to Geneva or the territory of Savoy, when the arrival of a French general suspended their flight, and promised them, in the name of the first consul, instant re-establishment. A French army under general Ney immediately advanced into the heart of the country, restored the revolutionary government, and dispersed the representatives of the Swiss nation, who found themselves unable to oppose, with their handful of troops, and unsupported by any of the powers of Europe, the arms of the consul of France.

However,

However, on the 10th of October, the English government presented a remonstrance, at Paris, on the interference of that court, in the internal regulations adopted by a free and independent country; referring to the treaty of Luneville, for an explicit declaration to that effect. Other complaints were made, that the republican troops had not evacuated Holland, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens; and that the authority of France was still exercised over the government of the Italian republic. Mutual recriminations were now resorted to, and Bonaparte finally answered, "that so soon as the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens were executed in every quarter of the globe, particularly at Malta, by the evacuation of the British troops, that then, and not before, Holland should be evacuated by the French forces." To the complaints respecting Switzerland and the Italian republic, no answer whatever was given.

In this state of mutual suspicion and jealousy, and of occasional remonstrances and evasive answers, affairs were carried on, until the mission of Sebastiani came to be developed at the court of St. James's. This manifestation of a deep-laid design underwent the scrutiny of the privy council, and dispatches were forwarded to lord Whitworth, the English ambassador at Paris, to demand satisfaction from the French government on the subject of general Sebastiani's report, which contained "the most unjustifiable charges against the officer who commanded his majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter." He was farther directed to state, that the whole report developed a system so injurious to the interests of his majesty's dominions, and so entirely repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of Amiens, that it would be impossible for his government to enter into any future discussion on the subject of Malta, until satisfactory explanation should be given relative to that event.

For this explanation M. Talleyrand was completely prepared, by treating it as a matter entirely misconceived

received by the British court. He disclaimed on the part of his government all intention of giving reasonable cause of dissatisfaction to the English government; and declared that the mission of Sebastiani was purely commercial. Lord Whitworth was in consequence invited to a personal interview with the first consul, which took place at the Thuilleries three days afterwards. The first consul departed himself with temper, and expressed a wish to preserve a good understanding between the two countries. He deprecated the idea of a recommencement of war, but added, that if it were inevitable, he must put the only means of offence he had in execution, which was a descent upon England; a project, the danger and difficulty attendant on, he was well aware of, yet which he was determined to attempt. On the subject of Malta, he said he would never in any event allow it to remain in the possession of England, in whose hands he would rather see the principal faubourg of Paris!

Upon lord Whitworth's allusion to the aggrandisement of, and influence gained by, France, since the treaty of Amiens, the first consul abruptly put an end to this part of the discourse, by saying, "I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland—those were trifles, which must have been foreseen whilst the negotiation was pending. Trifles, indeed, (he added,) when it is considered that France and England, in strict union, might dictate the law to all the world." Bonaparte then said, that "Egypt must sooner or later belong to France, either by the dissolution of the grand signior's dominion, or by some arrangement with that power." After dwelling with expressions of resentment against those in the British legislative body, who "were notorious for their eternal hatred of France," he added, "that, while they persist in their declamations, five hundred thousand men ought and should be kept in readiness to avenge her injuries! That whatever success intrigues might have in London, other powers would not be involved; and the French

French government avows, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France."

This menace produced from the English nation the strongest sentiments of resentment. Lord Whitworth was instructed to demand an explanation of this menace from M. Talleyrand; and also to make a reiteration of the demand for satisfaction in the affair of Sebastiani; and obtain fresh security for the fulfilment of any new arrangement that should be made on the subject of Malta; otherwise a renewal of the war would be inevitable.

The effect this message produced on the mind of the first consul, may be best conceived from his conduct to the English ambassador, when the latter made his next appearance at the court of the Thuilleries; for immediately on the appearance of lord Whitworth and the first consul, on the 14th of March, 1803, at the court which was held at the Thuilleries on that day, the first consul accosted lord Whitworth with great agitation. He began by asking him, If he had any news from England? His lordship told him he had received letters from lord Hawkesbury two days ago. Bonaparte immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war?—No, replied lord Whitworth, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.—*Nous avons*, said he, *déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans*; i. e. *We have already been fifteen years at war*.—As he seemed to wait for an answer, lord Whitworth observed only, *C'en est déjà trop*.—*That is already too much*.—*Mais*, said he, *vous voulez la faire encore quinze années*. But, said he, you would continue it for another fifteen years. His lordship said, that was very far from his majesty's intentions. The first consul then proceeded to count Marcou and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from lord Whitworth, and said to them, *Les Anglois veulent la guerre, mais s'ils les premier à tirer l'épée, je serai le dernier à la remettre*: that is, *The English are desirous of a war, but if they be the first to draw*

the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to lord Whitworth, and resumed the conversation, by saying something personally civil to him. He began again, Pourquoi des armemens ? Contre qui des mesures à précaution ? Je n'ai pas un seul vaisseau de ligne dans les ports de France ; mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi. That is, Why are these armaments ? Against what are they measures of precaution ? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France ; but if you arm, I shall arm also. After a little further conversation, Bonaparte said, Il faut dans respecter les traités ; malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités ; ils en seront responsable à tout l'Europe. That is, Regard should be paid to treaties ; and misfortune attend those who are regardless of their treaties. For such a violation they are accountable to all Europe. Bonaparte appeared to be too much agitated to render it adviseable for lord Whitworth to prolong the conversation ; he therefore made no answer, and Bonaparte retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase. All this conversation was loud enough to be heard by about two hundred people who were present ; and it is supposed there was not a single person, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of the first consul's conduct.

Lord Whitworth called on M. de Talleyrand to converse with him on what had passed at the Thuilleries, between Bonaparte and his lordship on Sunday the 14th of March : he said he went to the Thuilleries to pay his respects to the first consul, and to present his countrymen, and not to treat of political subjects ; and that unless he had the assurance from him, that he should not be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, he should be under the necessity of discontinuing his visits to the Thuilleries. M. de Talleyrand assured his lordship, that it was very far from the first consul's intention to distress his lordship ; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English government ; and that it was incumbent on him

him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe. He assured him, however, that nothing similar should again occur.

The king of England, hearing of this behaviour of Bonaparte, signified by lord Hawkesbury, that he had a right to expect, that his ambassador should be treated with the respect and attention due to the dignity of the sovereign whom he represents; and that it would be impossible for lord Whitworth to present himself on any days of ceremony to the first consul, unless he receives an assurance that he shall never be exposed to a repetition of the treatment which he experienced on that occasion.

The island of Malta appears to have been the point upon which the negotiation terminated; a variety of notes were exchanged. The English government required that they should retain possession of the island for ten years, on account of the alteration which had taken place in the constitution of the order of St. John since the treaty of Amiens; while Bonaparte insisted on the evacuation, but proposed that it should be garrisoned by one of the three powers, Russia, Austria, or Prussia. In reply to this proposition, lord Hawkesbury observed, that Russia was the only power to which England (if she were so disposed) would resign Malta, but that Russia would not agree to such an arrangement.

Concerning the restrictions wished to be imposed on the liberty of the press in this country, the following extract from a note, presented by general Andreossi, will sufficiently explain the desires of the French government on that head. The chief consul has had cause to be convinced, that all his representations on these points were useless, and that his Britannic majesty, regardless of the neighbouring powers, was resolved to authorize every thing within his dominions; but he did not, on that account, entertain a doubt of the continuance of peace, nor alarm Europe with the notification of war. He confined himself to this principle

ciple of conduct, to permit or prevent in France with respect to England, whatever should be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France. He has, however, expressed, and again expressed it, a wish that means should be adopted to prevent in future any mention being made of what is passing in France, either in the official discussions, or in the polemical writings in England, as in like manner in the French official discussions, and polemical writings, no mention whatever should be made of what is passing in England.

In a conversation which took place between M. Talleyrand and lord Whitworth, the former mentioned the calamities which would follow the failure of our endeavour to avoid a rupture. He insisted that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the first victims of the war, Lord Whitworth asked him, whether he thought such a conduct would add to the glory of the first consul, or whether an attack on the innocent and defenceless would not rather tarnish it, and ultimately unite against him not only the honest men in his own country, but every government in Europe. That it certainly would excite more detestation than terror in England; at the same time that it would serve to impress upon them still more strongly, the necessity of omitting no means of circumscribing a power so perniciously exerted. His lordship added, that no act of hostility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our industry, and our credit, had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, it would bear the same construction; as it tended to prove, in addition to the general system of the first consul, that his object was to pursue, under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted.

After this the conduct of Bonaparte became more conciliating; and a further proposition to the French government, for a perfect accommodation of all existing

isting differences, was made by lord Whitworth, as follows: Malta to remain in perpetuity in the possession of his Britannic majesty, by whom the knights of St. John were to be indemnified; Holland and Switzerland to be evacuated by the French forces; the island of Elba to be confirmed to France by his majesty; and the new king of Etruria was to be acknowledged; as were the republics of Italy and Liguria, provided an arrangement were made in Italy for the king of Sardinia. After a considerable degree of discussion, which lasted until the 9th of April; on the part of France it was formally declared, that no stipulation not perfectly consistent with the independence of the island of Malta, could be entertained for a moment; but that the first consul had no objection to make a particular convention, for doing away the remaining causes of dissatisfaction existing between the two nations.

Fresh instructions were given to lord Whitworth on the 13th of April, that "by way of saving the point of honour to France, the civil government of the island of Malta should be given to the order of St. John, the Maltese enjoying therein the privileges which were reserved to them by the treaty of Amiens; and that the fortifications of the island should be garrisoned in perpetuity, by the troops of his Britannic majesty. But if neither of the two propositions, already detailed, were agreed to on the part of France, that then his lordship might propose the occupation of Malta for a term of not less than ten years, provided that his Sicilian majesty could, for a valuable consideration be induced to cede Lampedosa to England*. At the end of that period, Malta was to be surrendered to the inhabitants, and declared an independent state; and an arrangement was to be made in the interim, for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe."

* The island of Lampedosa is a small uninhabited spot, situated between the island of Malta and the coast of Tunis, in Africa.

On

On the 29th of April, a person, supposed to have been employed by Bonaparte, waited on lord Whitworth, for the purpose of ascertaining his sentiments. He informed his lordship, that in the course of the day he would receive a letter from M. Talleyrand, drawn up under the inspection of the first consul, which, though not exactly what his lordship might wish, was so moderate as to afford him a well-grounded hope, and might certainly be sufficient to induce him to delay for a short time his departure. Lord Whitworth assured him that it would afford him great satisfaction to perceive a probability of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, and that he should be extremely sorry to impede the business by any useless precipitation. His lordship added, that he acted in conformity to instructions, and that those instructions were positive; and that by them he was enjoined to leave Paris on the following Tuesday, unless certain conditions were agreed to in the intermediate time. Lord Whitworth, however, received no letter in the course of that day; therefore he went about four o'clock to M. Talleyrand, and expressed great anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to communicate: if he had not, his lordship begged him to recollect that Tuesday was the day on which he must leave Paris; and also requested that he would have the necessary passports prepared for him and his family. Talleyrand appeared evidently embarrassed; and after some hesitation observed, that he could not suppose he should really go away; but that at all events the first consul never would recal his ambassador. To this lord Whitworth replied, his majesty recalled me in order to put an end to the negotiation, on the principle that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspense in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a period.

After this his lordship relates a number of shifts and expedients which were put in practice by the French minister to gain time. He afterwards found it

it extremely difficult to find Talleyrand; and when he did get a sight of him, the old arguments were repeated on both sides. Talleyrand talked of a *contre-projet*: lord Whitworth said he could not attend to it, his orders being peremptory. Talleyrand said it should be given him, when he might either accept it, send it to London, or leave Paris. Lord Whitworth waited some time in expectation of it, but it did not arrive; he therefore demanded his passports by an official note which he sent to Mr. Mandeville. After experiencing some delay, he renewed his demand of passports; which he obtained, and prepared to leave France.

A specific answer from the French government was given to all the articles of these final propositions of the English court, on the 2d of May. With respect to Lampedosa, the first consul alledged, that as it did not belong to France, he could neither accede to nor refuse the desire of the acquisition of that island by his Britannic majesty. Nevertheless, in the hope of preventing a renewal of the war, he would consent to Malta being placed in the hands of one of the three powers who had guaranteed its independence, either Austria, Russia, or Prussia. On this proposition (dated the 4th of May), the obvious intention of which was to give Malta to the emperor of Russia, the English government, without a moment's delay, put a decided negative. The dispatch, however, announcing this refusal contained yet *another* ultimatum, which, if not acceded to by the French government, lord Whitworth was instructed to quit Paris in thirty-six hours.

The following is the *projet* sent by lord Hawkesbury in his last dispatch, and on which lord Whitworth and Talleyrand had their last conference.

" I. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies.

" II. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession

session of the island of Malta, until such arrangements shall be made by him as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

“ III. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this *projet*.

“ IV. The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

“ V. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

“ VI. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the king of Sardinia in Italy.

“ *Secret Article*. His majesty shall not be required by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta, until after the expiration of ten years.

Articles IV, V, VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

Another inclosure contains a letter from lord Whitworth to Talleyrand, informing him that he could not find him; and therefore, as he must leave Paris within a limited time, he would leave the *projet* of a convention with his secretary, Mr. Talbot.

Lord Whitworth set out from Paris on the 12th of May, and arrived in London at eleven o'clock at night on the 18th. It was at one o'clock on the morning of the 9th that lord Whitworth received dispatches transmitted by Silvester, the messenger; but in consequence of an accident which had happened to Bonaparte, he deferred delivering in the final determination of his government till noon on the 10th. A decisive answer was at the same time demanded by the ambassador in the course of thirty-six hours; and if the proposal was rejected, he expressly informed the minister for foreign affairs, that he had orders to quit Paris at the expiration of that time. An answer was soon after sent to lord Whitworth, that Bonaparte intended

tended to submit to his council of state the decision of the question of war or peace. The council was accordingly assembled; and notwithstanding the opposition both of Joseph Bonaparte and Talleyrand, the issue of their deliberations was the renewal of hostilities.

Constituted as this council was, no other result could be reasonably expected. It does not appear that either the senate or the legislative body were in any respect consulted; and no other advice was asked than that which was previously known to accord with Bonaparte's avowed opinion. The council was occupied in the consideration of the question till the afternoon of the 12th. The expedient of referring the points in dispute to the decision of the council of state was a subterfuge calculated for giving another day's delay, and taking off as much as possible from the first consul the odium of involving the people of France in a war. Lord Whitworth quitted Paris three hours after the opinion of those counsellors was communicated to him.

In consequence of the failure of the negotiation, lord Pelham, on the 16th of May, 1803, carried the following message from his Britannic majesty to the house of lords:

"G. R.

"His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of lords, that the discussions which his majesty announced on the 8th of March, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, have terminated. The conduct of the French government has obliged his majesty to recal his ambassador from Paris; and the ambassador from the French republic has left London. His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of lords, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as may be proper for the information of parliament on this important subject. It is a consolation to his majesty to reflect, that no endeavour has been wanting on his part to preserve the blessings of peace; but, under the

circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his majesty relies with perfect confidence on the zeal and public spirit of the house of lords, and upon the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support his determination to employ the power and resources of the country, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment which now actuates the conduct of the French government, in upholding the dignity of the crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and essential interests of his people."

Thus, after a peace of barely one year and fifty days, did Europe again see her quiet disturbed, and her tranquillity threatened, by the renewal of a contest between her greatest continental and her greatest maritime power; and in which, sooner or later, her other states would most probably be involved.

CHAPTER XI.

THE die is at length cast, and war is declared by both nations. On the renewal of hostilities, Bonaparte dispatched the following message to the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate:

"*St. Cloud, May 20.*—The English ambassador has been recalled: forced by this circumstance, the ambassador of the republic has quitted a country where he could no longer hear the words of peace. In this decisive moment, the government places before your eyes, it will place before the eyes of France and of Europe, its first relations with the British ministry; new discussions, which seem to end with an absolute rupture. The present age and posterity will see all that it has done to put an end to the calamities of war; with what moderation, with what patience it has laboured to prevent its return. Nothing could interrupt the course of the projects formed to rekindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens was nego-

negotiated in the midst of the clamours of a party hostile to peace. Hardly concluded, it became an object of severe censure; it was represented as fatal to England, because it was disgraceful to France. Speedily inquietudes were spread, dangers were pretended, on which the necessity of such a state of peace was established which served as a permanent signal for new hostilities. Those wicked wretches were kept in reserve, and paid, who had torn in pieces the bosom of their country, and were destined to tear it again. Vain calculations of hatred! It is no longer that France divided by factions and agitated by storms; it is France restored to internal tranquillity, regenerated in its administration and its laws, ready to fall with all its might upon any foreigner who shall dare to attack it, and to connect himself with those brigands whom an atrocious policy shall vomit again upon its soil to organize pillage and assassination. At length an unexpected message alarmed all England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia, which assumed that important discussions divided the two governments, while no such discussion was known to the French government. Forthwith formidable armaments appeared on the coasts and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea is covered with ships of war; and it is in the midst of this preparation that the cabinet of London demands of France the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. They want, they say, new guarantees; and they forget the sacredness of treaties, the execution of which is the first of guarantees that nations can give to each other. France has in vain invoked plighted faith; in vain has she consented to shut her eyes upon the actual inexecution of the article of the treaty of Amiens, which England pretends to free herself from; in vain has she wished to delay taking a definitive part till the moment that Spain and Batavia, the other two contracting powers, had manifested their will; and, lastly, in vain has she proposed to call in the mediation of the powers who had been requested to guarantee, and who have, in

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effect,

effect, guaranteed the stipulations, the abrogation of which has been demanded. All these propositions have been rejected, and the demands of England are become more imperious and more absolute. It was not in the principles of government to bend under the menace; it was not in its power to bow the majesty of the French people under laws which were prescribed to it with forms so haughty and so new. If it had done it, it would have consecrated to England the right to annul, by its sole will, all the stipulations by which it was bound towards France. It would have authorized her to exact from France new guarantees at the least alarm which she might feign; and from thence two new principles would be placed in the public law of Great Britain, by the side of that by which she has cut off other nations from the sovereignty of the seas, and subjected to her laws and regulations the independence of their flags. The government confined itself within the line which principle and duty traced out of it. The negotiations are interrupted, and we are ready to fight if we are attacked. At least we shall fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and for the honour of the French name. If we had given way to a vain terror, we should soon have had to fight to repel new pretensions; but we should have fought dishonoured by this first instance of our weakness, degraded in our own eyes, and lowered in the eyes of an enemy who would on some future occasion have made us sink under their unjust pretensions. The nation will rest confident in the sentiment of its strength, whatever wounds the enemy may inflict in parts where we can neither prevent them nor reach them. The result of this contest will be such as we have a right to expect from the justice of our cause, and from the courage of our warriors.

“BONAPARTE, first consul.

“H. B. MARET, secretary of state.”

Several speeches occurred on this message in the legislative body on the 20th; but they did not, in the smallest degree, resemble an English debate, the speakers

ers being all of one opinion, and attributing the rupture entirely to the bad faith, jealousy, and ambition of the English nation.

On the 22d of May, 1803, ten days after the departure of lord Whitworth from Paris, appeared a decree, of which the following contains the particulars:

“ Art. I. Ordered, That every commander of the squadrons or naval divisions of the republic, captains of the ships of war, do bear down upon those of the king of England, as well as upon all vessels belonging to his subjects, to attack, take, and bring them into the harbours of the republic.

“ II. Commissions shall be delivered in course to such of the French privateers as shall demand them, and who shall obtain them on condition of conforming for the said armaments in course to the laws and rules now existing, or which may hereafter be made.

“ III. All the English enrolled in the militia between the age of eighteen and sixty, or who hold commissions from his Britannic majesty, now in France, shall be immediately constituted prisoners of war, to answer for the citizens of the republic who may have been detained, or made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic majesty, before the declaration of war.

“ IV. The ministers are charged, each of whom it may concern, with the execution of this order, which shall be inserted in the bulletin des Loix.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE, first consul.

“ By order of the first consul,

“ H. B. MARET, secretary of state.”

The king of England's declaration of war against the French republic appeared also about this time, and is couched in firm and masterly language, though we do not conceive that the matters mentioned therein, and so plausibly and positively asserted, were of sufficient weight to force the nation into a war, although it has terminated in the dethronement of Bonaparte, and in replacing the Bourbons on the throne of France.

But

But while the inhabitants of Great Britain were consolidating their strength, and preparing the most powerful means of resisting invasion, the French government was on the alert, and every exertion for renewed warfare was resorted to. Admiral Linois sailed for the East Indies with a strong squadron, having six thousand troops on board, who were destined not only to strengthen the garrisons of the French colonies in the east, but also to put the Cape of Good Hope in such a condition as to resist any attack made upon it by Great Britain. The army of Italy was strongly reinforced, and pushed forward a very large detachment upon Tarentum, and all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples which lie on the Adriatic Sea. The French generals charged with the execution of those orders, expressed in their proclamations, that it was necessary, while England retained Malta, that France should occupy those important positions.

In Germany, the French government was no less active; for, on the 25th of May, general Mortier, from his head-quarters at Coeverden, summoned the Hanoverian electorate to surrender. In this attack upon Hanover, Bonaparte formally professed that he wished to occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens. It was not possible that the electorate alone could pretend to oppose itself with effect to the immense power of France; yet his royal highness the duke of Cambridge was sent over from England as commander-in-chief, and proclamations were published in his name, and that of the Hanoverian government, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms to defend their country to the last drop of their blood. But so unequal were they to the task of opposing the French with effect, that they positively refused to rise in mass, and tamely submitted to their fate. On the 26th of May, the invading army entered the town of Bentheim, where the Hanoverian garrison, consisting of an officer and thirty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. On the 28th, the

the French passed the river Ems at Mippen; and the next day a body of ten thousand entered the principality of Osnaburgh. The main body of the Hanoverian army, commanded by general Walmoden, amounting to near eighteen thousand regulars, appeared determined to make a stand in their position on the Hunte; and general Hammerstein occupied the town of Diepholtz with a considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The French immediately prepared to dislodge them: a division of their infantry under general Schiner, and another of cavalry under general Nansouty, forced the passage of the Hunte, and directed their march to Suhlingen, with a view of cutting off whatever force might be stationed between that town and Diepholtz. General Hammerstein, finding his right turned by this manœuvre, was obliged to retreat in the night to Borstoen. On the 1st of June there was a smart skirmish between a Hanoverian rear-guard and the French advanced pickets. On the 2d, notwithstanding a severe cannonade from the Hanoverian artillery, general Drouet, who commanded the French advanced army, attacked them, and after a charge of cavalry, obliged them to retire. The Weser was now the last line of defence for the Hanoverian army: the banks of it were well planted with artillery, and it appeared as if the passage of it would be attended with some difficulty. The town of Nienbourg was the Hanoverian head-quarters, against which Mortier was in full march, when a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of the regency of Hanover, to intreat him to suspend his march; which he positively refused, until they had signed a convention, (which was done on the 8d of June,) agreeing to put him in possession of the entire electorate, and all the strong places dependent upon it, together with all the artillery, arms, and ammunition. The Hanoverian army were, by the conditions of this convention, to retire behind the Elbe, and to engage not to serve during the war against France or her allies, until regularly exchanged. The terms of the

the convention were, however, conditional, depending entirely on the ratification of it by the first consul and his Britannic majesty. It was evident, however, that his majesty could not ratify this convention as king of Great Britain; and, as elector of Hanover, it would have amounted almost to a renunciation of his sovereignty were he to consent to such terms as those. On the 5th of June, the French took possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled them to remount their cavalry and recruit their treasury, the French were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, and were determined to use their power to the injury of the British commerce in Germany. Being now in the immediate neighbourhood of the rich commercial hanse-towns of Hamburgh and Bremen, they were also enabled, under the shape of loans, to levy considerable sums of money upon them.

Thus by the convention of Sublingen, the French general was placed in possession of the whole of the electorate of Hanover lying on the south side of the Elbe, the Hanoverian army having retired across the Elbe to the duchy of Lauenburgh*. But as this convention was only conditional, and required to be

* The Hanoverian minister, previously to the signing of the treaty of Sublingen, had furnished a communication to the diet, that the elector, his master, had determined to observe the strictest neutrality in the war betwixt England and France, and therefore called on the diet, in conformity to the treaty of Amiens, to interfere for the protection of the electorate from the invasion of the French troops. The other ministers took this declaration *ad referendum*. It was, however, generally understood, that the ministers of Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, the arch-chancellor, &c. had in private declared, that they regarded the contest betwixt France and the minister of Hanover, as well as the neutral occupation of the states of the king of England in Germany, as a matter totally foreign to the interests of the Germanic empire; therefore they could not see in what way the emperor and the empire could interfere in behalf of the electorate.

ratified

ratified by the British and French governments, so soon as it was known in Paris that the courier had arrived announcing his Britannic majesty's refusal to ratify it, Bonaparte sent express orders to his generals to re-commence the campaign. General Mortier thereupon sent a letter to field-marshal count Walmoden, the Hanoverian general, informing him that the refusal of his Britannic majesty to ratify the convention, had rendered it null and void. He therefore sent him a fresh proposition to surrender with his army prisoners of war, to be sent into France. The field-marshal replied, that those terms were so very humiliating, that his army preferred perishing with their arms in their hands; that they had already made sufficient sacrifices for their country; and that they must now defend their own honour. The officer, however, who carried this answer, was empowered to state, that if any acceptable terms were offered, they would probably not be rejected. Mortier refused to make any other propositions, and immediately prepared to cross the Elbe in the face of the Hanoverian army, who had taken a strong position on the banks of the river, which was well defended with artillery. But general Walmoden, seeing that the French army was determined to force its passage, sent new propositions, which were at length agreed to; and on the 5th of July a convention was settled, by which the Hanoverian army was to be disbanded, and return to their homes upon their parole, not to serve against France or her allies until regularly exchanged; and its artillery, horses, and military stores, were to be given up to the French*.

* General Mortier, in his letter to the first consul, said, that "it was only from generosity to an enemy imploring clemency that he granted those terms; that general Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart; and that it was difficult to paint the situation of the fine regiment of the king of England's guards at dismounting."

At the period of the French invasion, the military force of Hanover amounted to thirty thousand men; but there was not a single fortified place of strength within the whole territory, sufficient to impede for any considerable time, the progress of the French army, consequently it was no very difficult matter for general Mortier to become master of the whole country, and in particular of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. "I have issued orders," says this general, "to seize all the vessels on those rivers."

It was on the 11th of June that the French army entered the city of Hanover, and general Mortier notices on this occasion, "That the most exact discipline had been maintained, and that two soldiers of the forty-eighth demi-brigade, convicted of having abandoned themselves to pillage and other excesses, had been shot." In the metropolis of the electorate, the enemy found fifteen thousand new muskets, five thousand pair of pistols, sixty new ammunition waggons, one hundred pieces of artillery, a bridge equipage adapted to the passage of the Elbe, magazines filled with powder, a foundery in the best condition, and completely furnished. According to the inventory of the pieces which were found in *La Place d'Hameln*, there were sent to the French army more than five hundred pieces of cannon. The park of field-artillery of the army of Hanover, which is at Zell, was delivered to general Dulauroy, commandant of artillery, and was composed of forty field-pieces, and two hundred caissons, all drawn by good horses. The infantry was stated at twenty-six battalions, of five hundred men, including officers; making from eleven to twelve thousand men, and the cavalry at twenty-two squadrons, forming in all more than five thousand men. The inventories arrived from the different places of Hanover, amounted to more than four hundred millions of powder, three millions of cartridges, and forty thousand muskets, which were found in the different magazines. The number of artillery was estimated

mated about seven hundred men. The garrison of Hameln was composed of three battalions of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, a regiment of veterans of one thousand men, four officers of artillery, and an officer of miners.

General Leopold Brotheir, chief of the staff-major, transmitted an account of the forced marches of the army, the least day's journey of which amounted to ten leagues. These rapid marches were performed through a marshy country affording no resource. The soldiers supported their fatigues and most painful privations with a confidence and courage of which they constantly received the example of the general in chief. The soldiers were recompensed for their ten days of fatigue and privation, by their present situation, and particularly by the satisfaction of having fulfilled, with so much celerity, the intentions of the government.

On the evening of the 4th of June, a French general entered the city of Bremen. He immediately waited on the chief burgomaster, and desired "that all English property, under whatever denomination it might be, should be taken possession of; and that all English sailors in the place, as well as other persons belonging to the English service, should be put under arrest." As soon as this demand was made, the officer who had come with it, went away to general Mortier. The answer given to this request was, that the senate "begged to decline the execution of a measure so inconsistent with their interests." Upon this the French commander threatened in person to carry his wishes into effect; and three ships belonging to the city were seized for the use of general Mortier and his army. The city of Osnaburgh, and indeed every place where property was supposed to be treasured, soon became a prey to the French forces. After these transactions Bonaparte made proposals to the English government for the restitution of Hanover on certain terms; but when the proposal was submitted to his majesty in council, the proposals were rejected.

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appointed in his views, and thwarted in his projects, the first consul ordered all the English in Hanover, in Piedmont, and in all the powers which were under his controul, to be arrested; he issued orders that no merchandize should be admitted into the electorate without a certificate from the commercial agent of the French republic at Hamburg, attesting that they were neither British productions nor manufactures, nor had paid British duties. This was a severe blow upon the English merchants, whose consignments to the different parts of Germany, to Switzerland, &c. were sent by Luneburg, and other cities of Hanover.

The shutting up the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, was the next step pursued by the French government; thus all mercantile concerns were stagnated, industry was impeded, and thousands of individuals reduced to distress and beggary. The mercantile communications were now converted to the North, by the way of Gottenburgh.

The adulation poured in from all quarters of the French republic, whilst it buoyed up the vanity of the first consul, served to dignify the warlike preparations carried on in every part of the French nation. The military, the members of the senate, the tribune, the legislative body, &c. severally addressed the first consul, entreating permission to accompany him in his projected expedition against England. The principal cities and towns voted men of war and frigates for this important service, and preparations for this desperate enterprize pervaded all classes of society in France.

The journals of Paris, in the pay of government, now thought it necessary to pour forth invective against the British ministry, respecting the declaration of war against the Batavian republic:

“ If,” say they, “ his Britannic majesty had acted with regard to the Batavian republic, as he had acted with regard to Spain; if, without his having seized on any of the ships, either of war or of commerce, belonging to the Dutch, Holland had, in consequence
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of the treaties which bind her to France, declared war against England, England might justly say that the calamities of war brought down upon Holland were the consequences of her connection with France.

"But his Britannic majesty has engaged in a war with Holland, by acts of hostility, on the same day that he commenced hostilities against us; and at the very moment when the message of the king of England contained a declaration of war against Holland, eighty Dutch ships were already in the British ports, in which they had been carried, not by privateers, but by brigs, frigates, and cruizers, belonging to the royal navy!

"And they will venture to appeal to the opinion of Europe, while they do not hesitate to commit every act calculated to excite the just indignation of all Europe! Their public law is enough to shame Tunis and Algiers; but it is worthy of them!"

Mr. Liston, the British ambassador, soon after took his departure from the Hague; but previously, he made overtures to the Batavian government, on the part of his court, by which Great Britain undertook to acknowledge the neutrality of Holland, upon condition, that the republics should refuse to join France in the war, or assist that power with troops. He was authorized to promise, besides, that the Batavian vessels, which had been taken as prizes, and were then in British ports, should be restored. Another demand was added, that the English agent of the post-office, arrested at Helvoetsluys, who was charged with sending information to the British commanders, should be released.

The intemperance which the first consul entertained towards the English, now broke forth in the most undisguised manner. He fulminated the most violent and rigorous injunctions against the introduction or continuance of the English commerce in his dominions, by enacting the following decree:

Paris,

Paris, June 20.

The government of the republic, in consequence of the report of the minister of the interior, decrees as follows :

“ 1. From the date of the publication of this *arrêt*, there shall not be received into the ports of the republic, any colonial produce from the English colonies; nor any merchandize that comes directly or indirectly from England. Consequently, every kind of merchandize, or produce of English manufacture, or from the English colonies, will be confiscated.

“ 2. Neutral vessels, bound for the ports of the republic, must be furnished with a certificate, from the commissary or agent for the commercial concerns of the republic at the port from whence they sailed; which certificate shall contain the name of the vessel, and that of the captain; the nature of the cargo, the number of the crew, and destination of the voyage.—In this declaration, the commissary shall certify, that the vessel was laden under his own immediate inspection; and that the merchandize is not of English manufacture, and does not proceed from England or its colonies.—A counter-part of this declaration shall be addressed to the minister of the interior, by the commissary of the republic, on the very day of the vessel's departure.

“ 3. All captains, who from a negligence of the necessary forms, or a change in the place of their destination, shall not be furnished with similar declarations, will be refused admittance into the ports of the republic, but on condition that they shall reload their vessels with the produce of the French manufactories, to an amount equal to the value of his cargo. The director of the customs shall send to the prefect of the department, an account of the cargo, and the goods taken in return; and having examined it, the prefect will deliver the permit to leave the port.

“ 4. The ministers of the interior, and of the finances, are charged with the execution of the present *arrêt*,

arrêt, which will be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

“ The first consul, (Signed) BONAPARTE.”

The army was increased in all quarters. A number of fresh corps were marched to several parts of Holland. The Hague was furnished with a French brigade, in place of a Dutch regiment that had been removed, and general Victor, was declared by the Dutch government, commander-in-chief of the Batavian army. It appears, however, that the great object of Bonaparte was not so much the invasion of England, though that was held to be the ostensible design, as the means of keeping his troops employed. The south of Germany held out no temptation for war, as that unfortunate part of the continent had been already exhausted, during ten years' hostility; but those princes in the north of Germany, as well as the Hanse Towns, were in possession of considerable treasure, mostly in specie: these were, the king of Prussia, the electors of Hanover and Saxony. The first, with two hundred thousand men at his command, could not be immediately attacked, therefore a good understanding was kept up with him. A pretext was soon found for a war on the second; and contributions, exactions, forced loans, were found indispensable by the first consul, as they enabled him not only to support a numerous army, without encumbering the people more immediately around him; but occasioned at the same time a vast circulation of foreign specie in the French territory.

Conscriptions now took place throughout the republican territory; the utmost severities were exercised in raising these conscripts. This revolutionary oppression was invented by Robespierre, improved by the directory, and organized by Bonaparte.

The aspect of Europe at this time was rather singular; all was trepidation or apathy; the Germanic body was a chimera, formed of jarring interests; Russia, and the powers of the north, seemed to fear the menaces of the first consul; whilst Naples, Portugal,

tugal, and Spain, alike dreaded his friendship or his hatred: the latter, aware that if a rupture took place between England and France, she must be inevitably drawn into a war, began to prepare for the worst. Naturally allied to the French, she considered their interests as congenial as their territories were contiguous; and a perpetual treaty of alliance against the common enemy could alone preserve her rich possessions from the attacks of the first consul. In short, she considered that if she did not support France in the contest, she could expect no assistance when her turn should come to sustain the attacks of England. The strict union of two powers, who possessed such an extent of coast in the ocean and the Mediterranean, and who ought always to join in a common cause, would oblige the English to spread their maritime forces over a variety of points, by which division they would be so weakened as to be incapable of offensive operations, particularly as the considerable armies that must be kept to protect their own metropolis from the threatened attack of an enthusiastic enemy, would prevent them from attempting distant expeditions. It, however, appeared that England would not leave to Spain the choice of peace or war, as, from the extent of her navy, she was possessed with the opinion, that she was capable of attacking the whole world, and that Spain was the first upon the list of her enemies. But the extreme anxiety of France to effect a reconciliation, by every plausible method, had been of infinite service, as it had enabled the Spanish ships from the colonies to arrive with an immense quantity of specie, and afforded the means of defraying the expences of a long continued war.

From the commencement of the war, the first consul began to make preparations to carry into effect the menace which he had thrown out to lord Whitworth, of invading England. The threat of invasion, also, against Great Britain, assumed shape and consistency. An army of reserve was formed at Deventer, under the command of general Desolles; this, with the
number

number of troops already assembled between that place and Flushing, was estimated at nearly eighty thousand men. To this force, by way of pre-eminence, was given the pompous title of "The Army of England!" A camp of ninety thousand men was formed at Dunkirk, and another of sixty thousand men was raised at Calais, at which place the first consul had arrived on his military tour into Belgium; having previously ordered that all the English should be removed. Independently of his grand fleet at Brest, an immense number of transports was ordered to be built and collected with the greatest expedition. He asserted that it would be possible for some thousands of these vessels to force their way across the channel in spite of the British navy. This idea was universally received in France, and in the course of the year such astonishing exertions were made, that a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France should choose to employ.

This menacing disposition, and the mighty preparations for carrying it into effect, were ultimately advantageous to Great Britain. The evident necessity of defending the country against invasion obtained a ready consent to every plan which could be proposed for increasing its military defence; and independently of the regular and supplementary militia, an additional army of fifty thousand men was proposed under the title of an army of reserve, and a general *levy en masse* of all persons capable of bearing arms was generally approved of: but this measure was rendered unnecessary by the spirit of the country, which in a short time presented above three hundred thousand effective volunteers, as an additional defence to the country. This vast accession to its military force, placed it on such a footing of security, that the people no longer feared the visit of the French, but felt so conscious of their superiority as to wish the enemy to try that experiment. Thus it appears, that until the year 1803, Great Britain was a stranger to her own strength, and to the extent of her resources. The

power of France, for the first time since the revolution, appeared now to have received the most serious check; and the British Channel seemed a barrier beyond which it could not pass. Other powers appeared to catch somewhat of the fire which animated that country, and the cause of Great Britain was felt to be that of all the independent nations of the universe.

Great Britain, at the same time, however, was not inattentive to the annoyance of the enemy in the vulnerable part. Expeditions against the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Issequibo, and the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago, were dispatched in the course of the year. St. Domingo, the most valuable colony that France ever possessed, was wrested from her by the black population, assisted by a British squadron*.

The

* The island of Hispaniola, St. Domingo, or Hayti, is one of the Great Antilles, or Caribbee Islands, in the West Indies; being about four hundred and eighty miles in length from east to west, and one hundred and fifty in breadth from north to south. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1491, and was by him called Hispaniola, or Little Spain, in honour of the country by whose sovereign he was employed. This island is separated from Cuba by a strait, called the Windward Passage, which is about thirty-five miles in width. Next to Cuba, it is the largest island in the West Indies, the most fertile, and the most pleasant. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the French began to resort to and settle on the island: the first that came were buccaneers; but these were some time afterwards followed by others, who became regular planters. The court of France pretended to discourage these settlers, but took no effectual means to hinder them; and in 1697, by an article in the treaty of Ryswick, the Spaniards ceded the north-west part of the island to the French, containing one of the finest territories in the world. At the cession of St. Domingo to the French, the whole island was divided into five departments, viz. of the South, of the West, of the North, of Samana, and of l'Inganne. But France never fully enjoyed this great accession of West Indian territory.

Several years before the treaty of Basle, the spirit of revolt had broken out in the French part of St. Domingo, and in 1791 a most alarming insurrection of the negroes had deluged half of the northern province with blood. In the short space of two months upwards of two thousand white persons perished; one thousand

two

The reduction of the French army in the island of St. Domingo was the severest blow which France sustained

two hundred families were reduced to indigence; one hundred and eighty plantations of sugar; about nine hundred of coffee, cotton, and indigo, were destroyed, and the buildings consumed by fire; Everywhere destruction marked the progress of the blacks; and resistance, says Mr. Bryan Edwards, who was an eye-witness of their ravages, was considered as unavailing and hopeless. From the northern province the rebellion spread to the west, where it was, however, soon quelled by the concordat of the 11th of September. The wavering conduct of the first national assembly of France, however, with respect to the abolition of the negro slavery; the decree of the legislative assembly, which acknowledged the political equality of the free negroes and people of colour with the whites; the appointment of three commissioners noted for the violence of their republican principles; and the arrival of a force of eight thousand men in September, 1792, instead of restoring the peace of the colony, kept alive the flame of discontent, which raged with fresh fury in 1793, when the two remaining commissioners of the convention, Santhonax and Polterel, proclaimed the emancipation of all the slaves in the colony. On the 21st of June, Macaya, a leader of the blacks, entered Cape François with upwards of three thousand slaves, and began an indiscriminate slaughter of the French.

Under these circumstances, some of the planters invited the British government to take possession of St. Domingo. A small armament of about eight hundred and seventy rank and file, sent from Jamaica, took Fort Jeremie and the mole of Cape St. Nicholas. In the middle of January, 1794, the British troops entered Tiburon, and directed their views towards Port de Paix. The fort of L'Acul, in the vicinity of Leogane, was carried on the 19th of February; and the town of Port au Prince surrendered on the 4th of June. But from this period the British power in Hispaniola declined; the yellow fever broke out among the troops; forty officers and six hundred rank and file fell victims to its ravages within two months after the surrender of the garrison.

In the mean time the French commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, returned to France; while Rigaud, a mulatto, and the negro chief Toussaint l'Ouverture, who headed the army of the blacks, re-captured Tiburon, Leogane, Jean Rabel, Petite Riviere, and retained the whole of the northern province, except the Mole and Fort Dauphin. A reinforcement of seven thousand British troops arrived at the Mole of St. Nicholas in May, 1796; but a dreadful mortality impeded the progress of the British arms. The armed negroes commenced operations in every quarter round the capital; and at the very time when general Simcoe arrived at

tained in the course of the year. The blockading squadrons of England cut off all supplies from France; and

St. Domingo to recover the British character, Toussaint received the sanction of the chief command which he had assumed, by being appointed generalissimo of the armies in Hispaniola by the French government, who thus resolved to supplant the English, by pretending to give up the island to the natives and blacks. General Simcoe in consequence returned to England in August, 1797; and general Maitland, who arrived at Port au Prince in April, 1798, withdrew the remainder of the English forces, and evacuated the island.

At this period the force of Toussaint l'Ouverture in the northern province amounted to about forty thousand men; but in 1800 it had increased to more than double that number. He declared the independence of Hispaniola, and was proclaimed emperor on the 1st of July, 1801. But in the month of December, the same year, an expedition sailed from France with a force of twenty thousand men, commanded by general le Clerc, brother-in-law to Bonaparte, then first consul. They arrived in the bay of Samana, on the eastern coast of the island, on the 28th of the same month; but before they entered Cape François, the city was laid in ashes. On the 17th of February, 1802, le Clerc commenced the campaign, and fought with varied success till the 1st of May, when hostilities ceased with generals Toussaint and Christophe, in consequence of an assurance that the French would concede to them their rights and liberties. But during this treacherous truce, the unfortunate Toussaint was seized in his plantation, and conveyed a prisoner on board a French vessel, with his wife and children. He lingered in a dungeon at Paris till April, 1803, when, it was generally supposed, he was secretly dispatched.

This supposed treachery on the part of the French roused the blacks to a more vigorous opposition; and general Dessalines, who succeeded to the command of the black army, soon began to carry every thing before him, notwithstanding the French, it was said, had recourse to the savage cruelty of hunting down and destroying the negroes with blood-hounds trained for the purpose.

By the middle of October, 1802, Fort Dauphin, Port de Paix, and several other important posts, were completely lost to the French; and their general-in-chief, Victor Emanuel le Clerc, died in the night of the 1st of November. His successor, Rochambeau, continued the war with no better fortune until the beginning of 1803, when another treacherous cessation of arms gave place to fresh cruelties. During this armistice, the blacks under Dessalines took care to provide great reinforcements, and on its expiration they drove the French in every direction, and, on the 30th of November, 1803, forced them to surrender and evacuate the island.

and general Rochambeau, and the remains of that great army which had been judged fully sufficient to re-conquer the colony, were necessitated to surrender prisoners of war to the naval force of Britain. This was not the only loss which France sustained in the West Indies. On the 1st of July, the island of Tobago surrendered to general Grinfield, who, after the conquest of St. Lucie, directed his force thither. The garrison immediately proposed a capitulation, by virtue of which they were to be sent over to France at the expence of Great Britain. Beside the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago in the West Indies, the Dutch settlements of Berbice and Demerara fell into the hands of the British in the course of the year 1803. But the loss of St. Domingo to France was considered of the most serious consequence; for, previous to the war, Bonaparte had determined to establish a colonial power in St. Domingo and Louisiana, which would bid fair not only to out-rival the British empire in the West Indies, but also to check the rising greatness of the United States of America. These objects were entirely deranged by the rupture with

island. To avoid being sunk with red-hot shot in the harbour, the French put themselves under the protection of an English squadron then cruising before the Cape, which conveyed them prisoners to Jamaica. General Rochambeau was sent to England.

The independence of Hispaniola was now again proclaimed on the 29th of November, 1803; and, to obliterate every remembrance of their former slavery, the chiefs who had thus effected the freedom of the island restored to it, on the 1st of January, 1804, its original name of Hayti. In the beginning of May, general Dessalines was invested with the government of the island for life; and, on the 8th of September, he assumed the title of emperor of Hayti, by the name of Jacques the First. His reign, however, was of short duration. He fell in a conspiracy in 1806, and republican principles revived at his death, under the command of the black general Christophe, who, instead of the title of emperor, assumed that of "president of the federal government of Hayti." Against him one Petion, a Frenchman, revolted; and a predatory war was carried on for a long time between their partisans.

England;

England; his plan of subjugating Egypt and the Levant was crushed by the constant superiority of the British fleet in the Mediterranean; and his scheme of superiority in the West Indian settlements being rendered abortive by the loss of St. Domingo, he was induced to sell his claim on Louisiana to the American states for thirty millions of dollars. Thus the first year of the renewed war, 1803, ended with the conquest of Hanover, and the acquisition of an enormous sum of money for a district which France had never possessed, and upon which it had no other claim than the pretensions transferred to Bonaparte by the court of Spain.

Early in the month of February, 1804, a plot was detected, the object of which seems to have been the overthrow of the consular government. The principal persons implicated were Pichegru, Georges, Cadoudal, Lajollais, a confident of the former, and several other individuals attached to the latter. It likewise appears that general Moreau had, to a certain extent, entered into the views of Pichegru, having had some secret interviews with him since his return to Paris. It was also positively asserted, that the conspirators had come to the resolution of destroying Bonaparte in the first instance. The first intimation of this intrigue seems to have been given by a confidential agent of the parties, who had been arrested near Calais. Lajollais, Moreau, and several others were hereupon arrested; but Pichegru and Georges, though known to be at Paris, found means for a short time to screen themselves from the researches of the police. On the 17th of February, a detailed report of this conspiracy was made to the government by the grand judge or minister of justice; and the president, after making a few observations on the subject, concluded by declaring, in the name of the tribunate, that they would be responsible for the life of Bonaparte, which secured to France her glory and her prosperity. He then proposed that the tribunate should in a body wait on the first consul, in order to express their detestation of the medi-

meditated attempt, and to congratulate him on his escape from the threatened danger.

The brother of Moreau, who was a member of this body, testified his deep concern to find that endeavours had been made to traduce a man who had rendered such important services to the republic, and who was deprived of the liberty of exculpating himself. He made a solemn declaration of his brother's innocence, and demanded that he should be brought to trial before any ordinary tribunal, for he could easily make it appear that the accusation against him was an infamous calumny. It was said, in reply, that the defence of general Moreau should have all the latitude, liberty, and publicity, of which so important a cause was susceptible.

Deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, accordingly waited on the first consul, and in terms of strong indignation deprecated the conspiracy which had been revealed; attributed it to the instigation of England; and exhorted him to pay greater attention than his natural courage prompted him to do to his personal safety, which was so inseparably connected with that of the nation.

Bonaparte replied to these addresses, that, "since he had attained the chief magistracy, many plots had been formed against his life. Educated in camps, he never regarded as important dangers what caused in him no fear. But he could not avoid experiencing a serious and painful feeling, when he reflected on the situation in which that great nation would have been involved had this last conspiracy succeeded; for it was principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny, of the French people that it was planned. He had long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All his days were employed in fulfilling the duties which his fate and the will of the French people had imposed upon him. Heaven would watch over France, and defeat the stratagems of the wicked. The citizens might be free from alarm: his life would continue as long as it should be of utility

lity to the nation. But he wished the French people to understand, that, without their confidence and affection, existence would be to him without consolation, and to them without an object."

These measures were accompanied by communications to the same effect, issued in general orders to the French armies, and were followed, of course, by corresponding addresses. That from the sailors composing what was stiled the right wing of the national flotilla, concluded thus: "Citizen first consul, we wait with impatience for the moment when you shall proclaim the hour of vengeance."

On the 28th of February, Pichegru was arrested in a private house at Paris, having been betrayed by a person with whom he had lodged; and, on the 29th, a law was proposed and passed, in the course of a single sitting, by which the punishment of death was denounced against all those who should conceal Georges, or any of his accomplices; and a deputation was charged to communicate this law to Bonaparte. At the same time a proclamation was issued from the police office, notifying the law which had just passed; informing the inhabitants that Georges and his associates were still at Paris, from whence it was impossible for them to escape, the barriers and roads being guarded with the utmost vigilance; and summoning all those who had or did conceal them to profit of the period allowed by the law, for the purpose of averting its axe. Accordingly, on the 9th of March, 1804, Georges, accompanied by a person of the name of Loridan, was arrested in a cabriolet, attempting to escape from Paris in the dusk of the evening. He killed with a pistol-shot the peace-officer who stopped the horse, and wounded another who endeavoured to seize him.

Madame Moreau, the wife of the general, was however suffered to remain at liberty; and indeed, during his confinement, she experienced open marks of attention and compassion from the inhabitants of Paris. But this lenity towards madame Moreau was more a measure of policy than of humanity; for the high

high military reputation of her husband had rendered him the idol of a great proportion of the army, and had gained him the esteem of many persons in France. It was therefore judged expedient to proceed against him with caution, lest any apparent harshness might cause a clamour and dissatisfaction on the part of the troops; and although he was found guilty of the charges adduced against him, his sentence was remitted, upon the condition that he should retire to the United States of America.

Bonaparte availed himself of this opportunity to get rid of one of the princes of the house of Bourbon, from whom it is asserted he entertained considerable apprehensions. In this he was not actuated solely by the spirit of revenge, for he had been previously heard to say, that the only individual of that family who could be deemed dangerous to the existing French government, resided in an obscure manner in a small town in Germany. The duc d'Enghein had acquired the highest reputation under his grandfather the prince of Condé, and had so much distinguished himself by his skill and bravery as an officer, added to his unbounded generosity and humanity, as to be universally admired and esteemed. Shortly after the disbanding of the army of Condé, his highness fixed his residence at Ettenheim, in the electorate of Baden. His principal occupation was study, his recreation hunting. In this situation he was seized, on the 15th of March, by a body of French cavalry, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, under the command of general Caulincourt, aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, and instantly conveyed to the citadel of Strasburgh. On the 17th he was sent forward to Paris, and was obliged to continue the journey, a distance of about four hundred miles, without the smallest intermission, escorted by relays of *gens d'armes*. At six o'clock in the morning of the 20th, he arrived at Paris; and was conducted first to the Temple, and then to the castle of Vincennes, where a special military commission had been convened. At nine o'clock in the even-

ing of the same day he was forced to appear before his judges; who, in the course of two hours passed upon him the sentence of death*!

Bonaparte,

* The duc d'Enghein was accused, 1st, Of having borne arms against the French republic. 2dly, Of having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people. 3dly, Of having received and accredited agents of the said government; of having procured for them the means of maintaining an understanding in France, and having conspired, with them, against the internal and external safety of the state. 4thly, Of having placed himself at the head of an assemblage of French emigrants, and others in the pay of England, formed in the countries of Fribourg and Baden. 5thly, Of having maintained a correspondence in the town of Strasburgh, tending to stir up the neighbouring departments, for the purpose of effecting there a diversion in favour of England. 6thly, Of being one of the favourers and accomplices of the conspiracy planned by the English against the life of the first consul, and intending, in case of the success of this conspiracy, to enter France hostilely. Upon each of these charges the court found the prisoner guilty, and judgement was pronounced in the following words: "The special military commission unanimously condemns to the pain of death Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, duc d'Enghein, in atonement for the crimes of being a spy, of carrying on a correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and of an attempt against the internal and external safety of the state." No evidence whatever was produced upon the trial, which was a mere formality, preparatory to the execution of a sentence virtually pronounced by the order for the prince's attestation.

During the whole of this distressing scene, the duc d'Enghein manifested the greatest calmness and fortitude. Four gens d'armes were posted in the dungeon where he was confined; and it is said that he was not permitted to speak with the clergyman who attended him on the occasion, otherwise than in a tone of voice loud enough to be overheard by his guards. In the course of the night, general Morat, brother-in-law to the first consul, arrived at Vincennes, under an escort of mamelukes, accompanied by four aides-camp, together with generals E. Mortier, Duroc, Hulin, and Louis Bonaparte. The castle was surrounded, and the avenues to that part of the wood of Vincennes appointed for the execution, guarded by Italian troops, while each mameluke was provided with a torch for the occasion. The duke, on being informed of his sentence, tranquilly replied, "I am ready and resigned." Upon hearing that the grenadiers commanded to shoot him were Italians, of Bonaparte's guard, he said, "Thank God they are not Frenchmen! I am condemned by a foreigner, and God

Bonaparte, in all his actions, evinced that he had studied the character of the French nation, and that the portrait which their own countryman Montaigne drew of them was not overcharged*. His creatures that looked up to him for bread, found that his ear was always open to flattery, and they lavished it on every side. Even the literati, forgetful of that dignity and independence of mind which learning ought to inspire, were among the first to sound his praises: he was compared by one to Alexander, by another to Cæsar, and by a third to Scipio. The only persons who appear at this period to have given the chief consul uneasiness, were general Moreau and the abbé Sieyès. He well knew that it was not easy to blast the laurels that the former had reaped in the tented field, and that his military fame was heightened by those amiable qualities which always accompany

God be praised that my executioners are also such. It will be a *staïn* the less upon my countrymen;" and at the place of execution he lifted up his hands to heaven, exclaiming, "May God preserve my king, and deliver my country from the yoke of a foreigner." It was proposed to bind a handkerchief over his eyes, but he prevented it, saying, "That a loyal soldier, who has often been exposed to fire and sword, can face death with open eyes, and without fear." He then looked at the soldiers who had levelled their pieces, saying, "Grenadiers, lower your arms, otherwise you will miss or only wound me." Of the nine who fired, seven hit him: two bullets pierced his head, and five his body. A coffin, partly filled with lime, was ready to receive his corpse, and a grave had been dug in the garden of the castle, where he was interred. Thus perished in the prime of life the only son of the duc de Bourbon, a prince who inherited all the virtues of the illustrious house of Condé.

* The French scarcely see a new object but they will it. The wish almost instantaneously follows the perception, and as they seize with greediness, they let go with equal haste. The camelion does not change its colour with readier obedience to the objects which surround it, than they do their inclinations. They determine solemnly this moment, the next they have already changed their mind, and in one moment more come round again to the first thought. Their will is perpetual vibrations, and every day has its own whim.—*Essais de Montaigne*, liv. i. chap. iv. 18.

real valour, and distinguish the true soldier from the barbarian. He had nothing to dread from the abbé, but his cunning, and the pliability of his temper with regard to political subjects.

Bonaparte saw that it was impossible to accomplish the ambitious views which he appears to have cherished, so long as the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press remained; and in order to suppress them both, he resorted to power: a swarm of spies were let loose upon the public; and the press, that great medium through which we "think aloud," as Addison expresses it, was so completely shackled, that it was converted into a mere state engine, calculated to promote the ends of those who trampled on the ruins of their country.

The first consul conceived it necessary, at this period, to visit the coast, that he might learn to what degree of popularity his fame had ascended; to see the country, and above all, perhaps, to give a consistency and colour to the promise he had made, that he would invade England; but that he intended to invade this country is much doubted. Bonaparte, therefore, paid a visit to Calais, where he arrived on the 20th of October, 1803." The entrance of the "greatest man in the world," as the French papers stiled him, was announced by a discharge of cannon; the town hall was decorated with boughs of trees; the windows and carriages newly painted, and a range of flags of all nations displayed from the balcony over the entrance; the market-place was strewn with fine sand, and all the principal streets decorated with rows of artificial trees; the gates of the town were also ornamented with wreaths of flowers; an inscription was hung up in the street leading to the port, "The Liberty of the Seas," and another in large characters was affixed on the gate which opens to the passage for embarkation, "The Road to London." Some of the young men of the town came forward as a guard of honour to attend him in all his movements.

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The following in letters of gold was inscribed on their flag:

“ BONAPARTE,
Amidst the descendants of
EUSTACE ST. PIERRE,
12th of Messidor, year 11.”

Bonaparte was so well pleased with his reception, that on his return to Paris, he ordered a letter to be addressed to the inhabitants of Calais, in which he assured them, “ *no request they could make, would ever be denied them.*”

It was apprehended in England, that the powers on the continent, would be roused at the temerity of Bonaparte, that it would be their interest to unite in reducing France to its ancient bounds, and by that means restore what is called the balance of power: but instead of shewing any hostile disposition towards the first consul, they publicly avowed their intention of observing the strictest neutrality. The emperor of Germany published an ordonance to this effect, in which he forbade any of his subjects to enter into the service of France or of England, by land or by sea. This edict consisted of twenty-one articles, in which the admission of prizes into the Imperial harbours, and the manner in which they were to be disposed of were regulated. The emperor of Russia was employed in the internal regulation of his immense empire; agriculture, manufactures, the useful arts, and those that embellish human life, successively engaged his attention.

That system of polity which had influenced the cabinets of Europe from the days of Charlemagne, down to the present, now seemed to yield to another of a very different complexion. Ambition, gratified by splendid victories, was the soul of the first, and interest appeared to be that of the second. It was indeed the policy of Bonaparte to hasten the dissolution of the old system, and to bring the other forward as fast as possible. With this view he paid every court
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to the king of Prussia, and probably held out plans of territorial aggrandizement to that potentate.

It was now generally supposed, that Bonaparte would attempt the invasion of England, towards the close of October, or the beginning of November. The preparations in the ports of France and Holland, for that enterprize were immense. Every ship-carpenter, nay, every man that could handle an axe, was put into a state of requisition, and obliged to work night and day. Troops were marched from every quarter of France to the coast; and camps were formed at Boulogne and Calais, so that the English really thought Bonaparte intended to put his threat into execution, especially as every thing he wished was at his nod: men, money, and gun boats.—Men who were desperate; money that dared not be refused; and gun boats built chiefly at the expence of the Dutch. But we do not think he ever seriously intended it.

Bonaparte's threats of invasion were not confined to England; they were extended even to Portugal. General Lasnes, the French ambassador to the court of Lisbon, had presented several notes to the prince regent, in which he made the most exorbitant demands in the name of his government. He insisted, that the Portuguese harbours should be shut against all the shipping of England; and at the same time, he exacted the most extravagant pecuniary subsidies, and threatened, that if every requisition was not complied with, an invasion would be the immediate consequence. The prince regent of that country, however, was not to be alarmed by these menaces, into any action that would have tarnished his dignity as a prince, or that would have thrown his country out of the arms of England into those of France.

Bonaparte perceiving at this period that the emperor of Russia leaned to the court of England, he treated count Markoff, the Russian ambassador, at first with a degree of coolness, and sometimes with a
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species of rudeness, especially in the presence of the foreign ministers. The count was by no means mortified at this "peculiar mark of distinction," as he called it; he wrote to his court, and he was recalled. The chief consul affected to make light of this matter, but from the conduct of Talleyrand, it should seem, that Bonaparte began to repent that he had carried his insolence to such a height to the representative of a powerful court, and a young monarch, who could not forget the indignities offered to him in the person of his ambassador. Talleyrand waited on count Markoff, a few days previous to his departure, and apologized for some hasty expressions which his master had made use of, but all his protestations of esteem and friendship for the court of St. Petersburg were ineffectual. The first consul was doubly mortified on this occasion; he saw that this circumstance put an end to all the hopes which he had entertained of being able to stand fair with Alexander the First; and secondly, that it would throw all the good wishes of that prince into the English scale. A short time, however, previous to this suspension of communication between the courts of St. Petersburg and the Thuilleries, the emperor of Russia had offered his mediation between Great Britain and France, but the terms proposed were neither agreeable to France nor England. But it does not appear that either Austria or Prussia interested themselves in this mediation; nor is it evident that either one or the other would profit by the accomplishment of it. It is more probable that they did not wish that the emperor of Russia should intermix with European politics. From being a mediator, such a colossal power might become a dictator; of which they had an example in the days of Peter the First, when Russia was enveloped in barbarism, and scarcely one-third so extensive and populous as it is at the present period.

In the London Gazette of the 1st of October, 1803, is an account of the attack of captain Jackson, of the *Autumn* sloop, on the French gun-boats in the port of

of Calais. "After we anchored a-breast," says the gallant captain, "of the town (Calais) and pier-head battery, the enemy opened their fire on us from all directions, amongst which I found they had mortars. The first shell fell within a ship's length of us, and burst under water. Our vessels at that time were so close, that I thought there was a great probability some of their shells might fall on board; whilst I found our shot, though they all reached the pier head, would not go so far up as their ships. I therefore made the signal to weigh, and open to a greater distance, remaining at anchor myself. The squadron has been very fortunate in receiving no damage from the fire of the enemy. The bombs were now keeping up a well directed fire, many of the shells evidently falling in the midst of their gun-boats. The shells that fell over the boats went into the town, and must have done great damage: the east end of the town appeared to be on fire for some time. From the enemy's boats and vessels being covered under the land, it was impossible to judge what damage they sustained; but it must have been considerable."

The British cruizers likewise profited from the distracted state of St. Domingo. The Snake sloop of war, captain Roberts, on the 2d of August, captured twelve vessels which were coming out of Jeremie, and carried them into Jamaica. The English squadron closely blockaded Cape François, where three frigates and sixty merchant ships lay with their cargoes, many of which fell into the hands of the English.

Thus were the prospects of France frustrated in the West Indies: St. Domingo was wrested out of their hands; Martinique and Guadaloupe were so closely blockaded, that vessels of any kind could not pass in or out of either; the rich settlement of Surinam menaced by the British arms; and the distribution of their naval force in every sea so judiciously appointed, so well manned, and so ably commanded, that Bonaparte centered all his threats against the united kingdom. Therefore, on the 4th of November, he went a
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second time to Boulogne, where he arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately went on board one of the ships, where he remained till midnight in the port, inspecting the different works. The next day, the advanced guard of the flotilla, consisting of upwards of two hundred vessels, went into the harbour, and a number of English ships sailed along the line of coast. The cannonade then began, and even the French accounts could not conceal the effects of the fire from the English vessels, and the confusion which it occasioned even in the presence of Bonaparte himself. Many of the gun-boats were destroyed, but it was impossible to ascertain the precise number.

On this occasion, the boats of the *Merlin*, captain Brenton, destroyed the French lugger *Les Sept Freres*, off Calais. The British ship *Raisonné*, sixty-four guns, the *Immortalité* and *Leda* frigates, attacked eighty-four gun-boats on the coast of France; sunk two of them, and damaged many more. Lieutenant Shepherd, in the armed cutter *Admiral Mitchel*, drove a French gun-boat on shore; and a gun-brig which was armed with twelve guns, thirty-two pounders, off Boulogne. Sir Sidney Smith, with a squadron of five ships of war, off the Texel, drove twelve armed vessels off the enemy on shore, on the coast of Holland: of these three were taken by the English, who likewise took many of the Dutch fishing-boats. The taking of the fishing-boats was considered as a harsh measure, since it deprived many poor people of bread; but it was a measure of precaution, because they could have been easily converted into gun boats and invasion transports; which might have been a terrible engine in the hands of an enterprising enemy.

On the 10th of December, 1803, the London Gazette announced the surrender of the garrisons of Port Dauphin and St. Marc, in the island of St. Domingo, and several vessels of war, to the British squadron employed in the blockade of different parts of that colony.

The garrison of St. Marc was reduced to the great-
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est distress. They had subsisted for some time on horse-flesh. General Dessalines was on the point of putting the whole to death, when captain Watkins, of the Vanguard, humanely interposed, and offered to take them on board, which he did, and treated them with a humanity highly honourable to the British character. Port Dauphin surrendered to captain Bligh, of the Theseus. This gallant officer having learned from the prisoners, that their general Dumont and his suite had fallen into the hands of the blacks, and that they were in the most imminent danger of their lives, he was induced from motives of humanity to solicit their freedom from the chief of the people, and with much difficulty obtained it. Previous to the surrender of Port Dauphin, the boats of the Theseus cut out of the harbour the national corvette La Sagesse, from under a heavy fire of the batteries; and the boats of the Desirée frigate cut out from Monte Christie the schooner L'Amiable Sophie. The only loss sustained in all these engagements was that of the Garland frigate, off Cape François. The crew were happily saved. The conduct of the British officers and seamen through the whole of this transaction deserved the highest esteem.

The design which Bonaparte entertained on our possessions in the east was manifest on the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, when the chief consul sent out a squadron to Pondicherry, under the command of admiral Linois. When questioned by our ambassador as to the sailing of that fleet, he smiled, and said it was with a view of prosecuting discoveries in astronomy and natural history, and that those who were called officers were no other than naturalists and astronomers. But by letters received from Bombay, December the 15th, it appeared, that the squadron consisted of one ship of the line, with three frigates and several transports, having between two and three thousand troops on board.

In fact, all the plans of the consular government at
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this period appear to have been directed against Great Britain. Taxes, subscriptions, the money voted for the repair of the roads, bridges, &c. was to be employed only for this purpose. The fortifications of Brussels, Lorraine, Diest, Tirlemont, Ghent, Axel, Lerneuse, &c. were suddenly ordered to be abolished, and the money arising from the sale of the materials was directed to be put in the public treasury, that it might be applied to facilitate the projected invasion of England. Two thousand men were likewise employed at work on the harbour and fortifications of Boulogne*.

The Paris papers, in the middle of March, 1803, contained an account of the arrest of general Moreau, charged with being in a conspiracy with general Pichegru, Georges (the Vendéan chieftain), and others, to assassinate Bonaparte, at the instigation of the Bri-

* The mighty preparations carrying on in France roused the active spirit of the English government, who adopted various plans for the defence of the kingdom in case of an invasion. Every attention was paid to the recruiting and discipline of the army; every place where it was practicable for an enemy to land on the coast of Kent was planted with cannon and lined with military, as well regular forces as militia. The foot-paths which the smugglers had cut on cliffs to ascend secretly with their commodities were either entirely destroyed, or altered so that only one man could ascend at a time, and be exposed to the fire of the musketeers from above in various directions. The pilot-boats, the fishing-boats, &c. were fitted up as gun-boats, so as to carry each an eighteen-pound carronade. Fifty of these lay at that time in Dover harbour, in such a state of readiness, that they could all be equipped in a quarter of an hour, and manned with some of the best seamen in the world, viz. the pilots and fishermen, who were brought up in storms and dangers. It was calculated that between Margate and Dungeness upwards of two hundred of these boats could be collected in the space of a few hours by a signal along the coast. Their guns lay on the piers and the quays, numbered and marked with the names of the boats and those to whom they belonged, ready to be mounted in an instant. Some of them were placed as batteries, ready to be used as such should any unexpected occasion occur. New lines of defence were also erected at Eastware Bay, near Folkstone, and manned by the Cinque Port volunteers, under the command of colonel Pitt.

lish government. Generals Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges were arrested: Moreau was transported from the Abbey to the Temple, and nobody was allowed admittance to him. On his examination before the grand judge, in the presence of Bonaparte, he denied all the charges brought against him. When general Pichegru was taken, he was carried before the counsellor of state and police, director Réal, and underwent a long examination, in which he is said to have behaved with great insolence, but which we do not give credit to*. His examination was soon followed by

* The manner of Pichegru's arrest was as follows: The broker Le Blanc was the person who betrayed Pichegru, who occupied a fifth floor in his house, for which he paid fifteen thousand livres a month. Le Blanc went to general Murat, the governor of Paris, and offered to inform him of Pichegru's place of concealment, and to deliver him up, for one hundred thousand livres (about four thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling). This sum was promised him. The manner of arresting him was then planned. Le Blanc introduced the gens d'armes into his house at night, when Pichegru was asleep, and gave a key to his room, as they were informed that Pichegru had with him two pistols and a dagger; they opened the door with as little noise as possible, and rushed on his bed. Though surprized and alarmed, Pichegru conducted himself with the greatest presence of mind, and in such a manner that even his enemies were forced to speak highly of his courage, and even to pity his misfortunes. He jumped out of his bed, naked and without arms; knocked down four gens d'armes, and they were unable to hold him though six in number. He almost choaked two in pushing them against the chimney; a third he struck with such force upon the breast that he spit blood; and the fourth he gripped with such strength by the arm, that he cried out in agony, "If you do not let me loose, I will shoot you through the head." With a loss of part of the flesh he got loose, and Pichegru exclaimed, "Fire, rascal, and you will receive a sword of honour." At last he was obliged from fatigue to capitulate and surrender himself, upon condition of not being tied or chained. He was, however, wounded in the head and on the shoulders, and had lost a great deal of blood. In dressing himself he declared, "that if he had not been deprived of his arms, he should not have fallen into their hands." Bonaparte had ordered the gens d'armes to take him alive, and they were all picked men.

The particulars of the death of this unfortunate man are too interesting to be passed over in silence. The following is the account

by the report of the grand judge, to which a series of letters and papers were annexed; the object of which

count as it appeared in the French papers: "The ex-general Charles Pichegru having repeatedly requested, and having given his word of honour that he would make no attempt on his life, Pichegru had obtained the dismissal of his guards during the night. Every morning an attendant in waiting came to light his fire with a bundle of wood. Pichegru on one of the preceding mornings had laid aside a part of a faggot, by which he thought he might put an end to his existence. In short, on the 5th inst. (April) after having supped very heartily at eleven o'clock, he went to bed about twelve. The attendant in waiting having retired, Pichegru drew from under his pillow, where he had placed it, a black silk handkerchief, which he tied round his neck. The piece of wood which he had kept in reserve he then made use of to assist him in the project of suicide. He introduced this piece of wood into the two ends of the handkerchief where it was tied; he turned this little stick close into the glands of the neck as often as he thought necessary to put a stop to respiration. When on the point of losing respiration, he drew the stick behind his ear, and threw himself on the same side of his head in order to prevent its shifting. Pichegru, naturally fat, full of blood, suffocated by the full meal which he had just taken and the great pressure which he made, expired during the night.

Next day, in the morning, the attendant came to kindle his fire; he looked towards Pichegru's bed, saw him, as he supposed, in a profound sleep, and retired to do his other work. About half past seven the attendant came again, saw the head of Pichegru quietly resting on his pillow, and again went away, still fearing to interrupt his sleep. At nine o'clock, he went up a third time, and observed no alteration in the posture of the prisoner, who usually spoke to him when he was awake. The attendant began to be surprized at his sleeping so long, went up to the bed, when he saw his face pale and distorted; he then moved the body, and found it lifeless and without motion. He immediately gave information to the gaoler, who went that instant to inform Thevenot, the judge, and solicitor in this important trial. Eight physicians and surgeons were employed to draw up the *proces verbal* of the state in which the body was found; and this *proces verbal* and the corpse were brought before the criminal tribunal on the 6th, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The four sections of the tribunal immediately assembled, appointing eight physicians and surgeons to open, in the presence of four commissary judges, assisted by C. Lasfuterie, the body, and state the circumstances of his situation, and the cause of his death. An inquest was immediately held, which was followed by a judicial report of considerable length, stating that the corpse was the body of the ex-general Pichegru, and that he was guilty of suicide.

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was to shew that Mr. Drake, the British minister at Munich, was employed in the project of destroying the French government, blowing up the powder-mills, and disorganizing the French armies. Among the accusations exhibited against him in this report was one, accusing him of having sent an agent to Paris to execute this project; and these instructions, said to be furnished to him, as well as his correspondence after his arrival at Paris, are given at full length. In one of the letters Mr. Drake desires him to print an address to the army, not to suffer Moreau to fall a victim to the jealousy of the consul. This mass of fabrications was printed and distributed gratis over all France, and copies of it immediately sent to the respective courts by extraordinary couriers.

On the 17th of February, Joubert, the president of the tribunate, opened that assembly with a speech, in which he said, "When a great empire, after long struggles, is at last placed on its basis, what can the efforts of enemies, or the delirium of passion accomplish against it? The enemy's government organized assassination; and to complete the evil, we find involved in their plots a name (he alluded to Moreau) which has long been accompanied with illustrious recollections."

In this sitting, the brother of general Moreau, who was also a member of the tribunate, attempted several times to speak, but in vain, for some time. Having at length obtained a hearing, he gave way to his fraternal affections in the following words: "Citizen president, you have heard the orators of the government, you have this morning read the orders published by the governor of Paris; both these publications are in part directed against general Moreau. I cannot see without the greatest sorrow that so much pains have for a long time been taken to calumniate a man who has rendered important services to the republic, and who has not at this moment the liberty of defending himself. I declare to the whole nation, that my brother

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is innocent of the atrocities ascribed to him. Let him have the opportunity of justifying himself, and he will clear himself from those imputations. I request in his name, in my own, in the name of his afflicted family, that his trial may be conducted with the greatest solemnity. I request that he may be tried before one of the ordinary tribunals; it will be easy for him to prove his innocence. I affirm that all that has been said is an infamous calumny." As soon as Moreau had done speaking, he left the tribunal.

The apprehending and punishment of the above personages left an indelible stain on the character of Bonaparte, who perceiving that the opinion of the people was generally favourable to the imprisoned persons, sought to conciliate their good wishes by an apparent shew of lenity, in commuting Moreau's punishment into banishment; which was accordingly put in execution, and that general, as we have elsewhere mentioned, was transported to the United States of America, together with his wife and family.

No season could be more auspicious for the advancement of Bonaparte's personal ambition, than the present state of affairs. All ranks of Frenchmen were more than ever ready to anticipate his wishes for the crown of France, the object to which he now aspired.

The elevation of the first consul to the imperial dignity is perhaps the most extraordinary event in the annals of modern Europe; an event that involved the most important consequences: and as we have hitherto noticed the means by which he ascended into the consular power, we deem it necessary to point out the manner in which he obtained the imperial crown. Many were of opinion that Bonaparte would be gratified with the high office of first consul, in which he was invested with all the authority of a crowned head, and which he exercised; but those who marked his ambition foresaw that he wished to render the sceptre
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of France hereditary in his family. The levity of the French character, their fondness for shew and novelty, were well known to Bonaparte, who saw that the time had now arrived when he could avail himself of the tide of popular opinion, which seemed to run entirely in his favour. His flatterers and dependents began to propagate the idea of the necessity of bringing back France again to a monarchical form of government; and that, as the first consul had arrested the revolutionary system in its sanguinary career, he ought, as the reward of his services, to be called to the throne. The first hint of this kind in print appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 21st of April, 1804, in these words: "It is asserted that a deputation of the council of state will shortly present to the senate the new *consulat*, relative to an hereditary succession in the family of the first consul. The nation desires that solid system to be introduced for the public good; and this desire has been already expressed by several departments. The factious will thereby be deprived of every hope." This paragraph was immediately followed with a number of addresses, in which the inconveniencies attached to the elective system were deprecated, and a more stable form of government recommended. The council general of the department of Jura at length ventured to speak out in bolder terms in their address to Bonaparte, which, amongst many other passages, contained the following: "The attack which threatened your life, has filled us with horror at the thoughts of the calamities into which all France was about to be plunged by a single crime. This attempt of our enemies is an important admonition which shall not have been given in vain. Those instigators of plots must be deprived of that chance of troubles and disorders which is the object of their hopes. Let a more stable order of things present to the friends of tranquillity a stronger security against all events. Let this order prevent for ever any vacancy in the supreme magistracy, by designing before hand, and in perpetuity, the successor

successor to the head of the state. But, at the same time, let institutions equally strong and liberal secure to our posterity a sufficient protection against the fluctuation and abuses of power. We address these our wishes, with all frankness, to Napoleon Bonaparte: to his genius it belongs, by realizing them, to eternize his own work and the happiness of France."

The first decided step towards the accomplishment of this extraordinary measure was an address to the first consul on the part of the senate, dated 27th of March, proposing to constitute him *hereditary emperor of France*. His answer was dated the 25th of April, from St. Cloud, and was communicated by a message in the following terms:

"SENATORS—Your address of the 6th of last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my constant meditation. You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French nation completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations arising from rival ambition. It likewise appears to you, that many of our institutions require improvement, in order permanently to secure the triumph of equality, and public liberty, and present to the people and to the government the double guarantee of which they stood in need. We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people; in the sense, that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for their interest, their happiness, and their glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme magistracy, the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, the electoral body, the electoral colleges, and the different branches of the administration, are and ought to be instituted. In proportion as I fix my attention on these great objects, I am the more convinced of the truth of those sentiments which I have expressed to you; and I feel more and more that, in a circumstance as new as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to

fix my ideas. I request you, therefore, to make known to me the whole of your thoughts. The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which they have surrounded me: but my most sacred duty, and that dearest to my heart, is to secure, to their latest posterity, those advantages which they have acquired by a revolution that has cost them so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights. Fifteen years have elapsed since, by a spontaneous movement, you ran to arms; you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every storm, they are preserved to you, and to your children. Institutions, conceived and commenced in the midst of the hurricanes of internal and external wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated in the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of such measures as the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated, as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness."

The grand question of the investiture of Bonaparte with the imperial purple was submitted to the opinion of the tribunate on the 1st of May, 1804. The debates on this momentous topic were so interesting, that we trust we shall be excused if we insert a few extracts from them. Fabre de l'Aude, the president, addressed the assembly as follows: "On the 23d of last month (April) our colleague Curée, laid on the table a motion of order, in which he demanded, 1st, That the government of the republic shall be confided to one emperor: 2d, That the empire shall be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul: 3d, That such of our instructions as are only traced out, shall be definitively suppressed. Curée, after a long introduction on the importance of the subject and the purity of his own patriotism, called the attention of the tribunes to the memorable epoch

epoch of the revolution, when the French with one unanimous will, and a voice as powerful as that of the Creator, the first day of the existence of the universe, exclaimed, "Let equality be established, let privileges disappear, and let the nation be as it ought to be." He then took a view of the government of Charlemagne, and the abuse introduced into France after that glorious epoch, when one of the most powerful families of the feudal system was called to the sovereignty. Having then made some observations on the constituent assembly, and the constitution of 1791, and the state of things down to the time in which he was speaking, he observed that the happy situation of the French people, who were then in the full possession of all the rights which were the sole objects of the revolution in 1789, was disturbed only by uncertainty in regard to the future. "The enemies of our country," said he "are alarmed at our prosperity; their plots have been multiplied, and one might say, that instead of a whole nation, they had to combat only one man. Him they attempted to strike, in order to effect his destruction, being well assured that France, deprived of its chief, would be divided by ambitious rivals, and torn by parties; would sink amidst the storms let loose against it in every direction. What security can we give it against the fear of so many misfortunes? What remedy can we oppose to so many evils? Opinion.—The armies, and the whole people have pronounced it:—Hereditary succession in a family rendered illustrious by the revolution, consecrated by liberty and equality; in the family of a chief, who was the first soldier of the republic before he became the first magistrate; a chief who would have been eminently distinguished by his civil qualities, even if he had not filled the whole world with the fame of his arms, and by the splendour of his victories." He concluded by saying, "I do not find any title for the chief of the national power, more worthy of the splendor of the nation than the title of Emperor. I move then, that we refer to the senate a

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wish, which is that of the whole nation, and of which the object is—1st, That Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul, be declared Emperor, and in that quality remain charged with the government of the French republic. 2d, That the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family. 3d, That such of our institutions as are only traced out shall be definitively suspended.”

Carnot was the only member of that body who ventured to oppose the proposition. He began, by declaring that he should preserve the same moderation, in delivering his opinion, which had been exhibited by the tribunes, who had spoken in favour of the motion. He asked if it were to grant the first consul a reward for his services, to offer him the sacrifice of liberty? If it were not to destroy Bonaparte's own work, to make France his private patrimony? “I voted (continued he) against the consulate *for life*; and I will not this day pursue a different course. I will be consistent with myself. But the moment that the proposed order of things is established, I will be the first to conform to it, and yield to the new authority proofs of my deference. May all the members of the community follow my example.”

He then proceeded to examine the form of government proposed to be established; cited a number of examples from the history of Rome, and drew an inference from them, that a government by one individual, was not a sure pledge of its stability or tranquillity. He applied the same inference to the history of France, where intestine commotions and civil discord so often existed under the government of princes, weak or unworthy of governing. After the peace of Amiens, continued Carnot, Bonaparte had the choice between a republic and a monarchy; but he had sworn to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, which had made him their guardian. Now it was proposed to make of that power a property, of which at the present time the administration was only possessed. The Romans were
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most jealous of their liberty, and Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus, only saved the country, because they relinquished the power which had been confided to them after they had saved their country. But the liberty of Rome perished as soon as Cæsar wished to grasp at absolute power.

Carnot cited the example of the United States of America: it was reserved for the new world to shew to the old the practicability of a nation's enjoying liberty, and the rising prosperity of the people. The destinies to which they appeared to be called, left no doubt remaining of the existence of that truth. He then made some particular observations. Will, said he, the opinion of the public functionaries be the free wish of the whole nation? will there not be inconveniencies attending the expression of an opposite sentiment? Is the liberty of the press so much restrained and degraded, that it will be impossible to make in the public prints the most respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Does the expulsion of the Bourbons at all involve the necessity of a new dynasty? Does not the establishment of that new dynasty throw obstacles in the way of a general peace? Will it be recognized by foreign powers? and, in case of a refusal to recognize it, would not arms be resorted to, and for an empty title would not the security of the French nation be endangered? It was not the only means which the existing government had of consolidating itself. The means of this consolidation consisted in adherence to justice. I am ready, continued he, to sacrifice my personal opinion to the interests of my country; my respect for the law will remain unalterable; and I desire above all things, to see every opinion and every sentiment united against an eternal, an implacable enemy (England); that enemy which is now meditating universal oppression. I vote against the motion.

Foure spoke next: he asked Carnot if he had forgotten the regime of 1793, and that horrible decimal committee which, in cold blood, signed arrests

rests for death and proscription? He was astonished to hear of any opposition to that proposition which alone could prevent the return of such miseries. The assembly was not called on to consider the interests of an individual family, but the interests of the whole nation.

Chapian contended that the intention of the French had always been to establish a monarchical form of government.

Peree confined his observations to one point, namely, to shew what a powerful guarantee posterity would possess in the hereditary succession proposed. The latest descendants of the head of the government, said he, will seek in the history of Bonaparte the example which they ought to follow. They will respect his glory, and never shall our posterity have reason to reproach us for the wish which we now form.

This is not the time, said Carret, when the people were the property of kings. The interests of both are now common: their repose, their stability, and their happiness, are henceforth inseparable.

Favaid observed that the pens of the eloquent were employed in celebrating the glory of the first consul, and posterity, which would be the judge of great men, would only re-echo the language of the age in which he lived. He said he knew the place which he occupied in the hearts of the people; he knew, if he could judge by himself, the devotion which he merited, and with which he had inspired the whole assembly. He wished at the same time, however, to examine abstractedly from all personal feelings of gratitude and love, if the unity and hereditary succession of the chief consul would be consistent with the government of France. Different states had a right to that form of government which they enjoyed, according to the principles invariable as that nature from which they originated. Political maladies in vain affected and suspended those principles for a moment; the crisis would come, and nature would resume her rights. It was the nature of things that a country

country of vast extent, whose security was not guaranteed by its physical position, and whose relation with its neighbours incessantly menaced its tranquillity, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at its birth had kings, because the surrounding states were governed by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the kings and created consuls. When her power had gone beyond the limits of her territories, when she had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the excessive love of liberty, could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and emperors were elevated to the throne. Happy would have been that great nation, if the first of their emperors had, as he had it in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The scenes which covered the throne with blood, the civil wars which desolated that vast empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have sullied the page of history of the masters of the world; but one great error led to dreadful abuses. On the ruins of the monarchy destroyed, an attempt was made to substitute a monarchical government. France must have been destroyed, if the genius of Bonaparte had not created the consulship, to precede for a few years the creation of the imperial dignity. He was called to that elevated post by the unanimous wish, and that wish was the first sentiment which ought to give rise to military services. He had, as consul, the power of performing vast services, and all the world had seen that he had used it with a degree of success of which no example was afforded in the history of the universe: that was enough for his own glory, but it was not enough for the happiness of France. It was in the nature of things that if empires prospered under a great man; the moment which deprived them of his services menaced them with some dreadful explosion, if the same moment did not supply his place with a successor. It was then that ambition became inflamed, and long before ambition prepared in secret the

the means of supplanting rivals. Long disputes, succeeded by civil wars, will agitate the minds of men, disturb for ages, the union of citizens, and the people are often so unfortunate as not to see who is the most worthy amongst the rival candidates to receive the sceptre of which death has bereaved the object of their regret. What then could prevent these disasters? A constitutional law which would fix the line of succession, and which would give to the family of the chief the new dynasty.

Cortas laboured to prove that the motion was founded in utility, and that it was salutary and patriotic.

Savie Rollen said that absolute monarchy was the most degrading of systems. Monarchy connected with the representative system, conciliated political and civil liberty. There could be no stability in government, if arbitrary, but if founded on law, it was incorruptible. Frederick said, that laws could not succeed, except by the preservation of a proper equilibrium between the powers of the government and the liberty of the people.

The sitting concluded with the motion declaring the discussion to be closed, and that a report should be made the next day on the original proposition. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, the tribunate having heard the report of the special commission, it was decreed as follows:

“ The tribunate, considering that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power.

“ That the family of the Bourbons, having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government.

“ That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from those trials only the miseries of anarchy.

“ That the state was in the greatest peril, when Bonaparte, brought back by Providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation.

“ That, under the government of a single individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the highest degree of consideration and glory.

“ That the plots formed by the house of Bourbon, in concert with a ministry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the dangers which threatens it, if, losing Bonaparte, she continued exposed to the agitation inseparable from election.

“ That the consulship for life, and the power granted to the first consul, of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the preventing intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power.

“ That, in declaring that magistracy hereditary, conformity is observed at once to the practice of all great states, ancient or modern; and to the first wish of the nation, expressed in 1789.

“ That, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish, more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides.

“ That in all political changes it has been usual for nations to confer the supreme power on those to whom they owe their safety.

“ That when France demands for her security an hereditary chief, her gratitude and affections call on Bonaparte.

“ That France will preserve all the advantages of the revolution by the choice of a new dynasty, as much interested for their safety as the old one would be for their destruction.

“ That France may expect from the family of Bonaparte, more than from any other, the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people who chose

them, and all those institutions best calculated to support them.

" That there is no title more suitable to the glory of Bonaparte, and to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation, than the title of Emperor.

" The tribunate, exercising the right given them by the twenty-ninth article of the constitution, have come to the following vote:

" That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic.

" That the title of emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture.

" That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities the modification rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the president of the tribunate, it was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of Carnot, as above mentioned.

As we have given the most interesting parts of the speeches delivered in the tribunate on the momentous question of the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial throne, in order to follow up the subject to its close, we shall present the reader with some extracts from the speech of Carion Nisas in the senate, the first orator in that assembly, who, no doubt, had collected all that could be said in support of a proposition that formed a new feature in the history of Europe, and as such can never be indifferent to those who make history their study.

The great object of Carion Nisas appears to have been an attempt to refute the arguments of Carnot, who still had the courage to maintain his opinion. " Citizen Carnot," said Nisas, " is afraid that the measures proposed amount to nothing short of the
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total and absolute destruction of the republic; and that those who support them have either the intention, or are so unfortunate, as to give up the country to the prey of a despot. What! because the first magistrate shall be called emperor, and because his power shall be hereditary, shall we have no law or a social compact? for, according to his opinion, these first wants of a people are inconsistent with such species of dominion, such a form of the supreme magistracy. Thus thought not that zealous republican J. J. Rousseau, who has formally declared that every legitimate government (that is, a government founded on law,) is a republic. What! is there any man who would now talk of putting men above law? What government is more legitimate than that which proposes, organizes, and accepts itself; which is consistent with the liberty, the maturity, and the solemnity which preceded it; which inspired the measures we adopt, and which presides over their discussion? Citizen Carnot is afraid of beholding the return of the ancient monarchy of France, of feudal and proprietary royalty. Very little reflection is necessary to shew, that betwixt that species of royalty and that which we now propose, there is as great difference as betwixt light and darkness. Royalty began with taking possession of the land, with the seizure of the persons who inhabited it; the inhabitants were then *homines potestates adscripti glebæ*. It was on these monstrous fictions that the rights, titles, and *jus* of the government of royalty were founded. The king of the French, such as the constituent assembly wish to appoint him—the emperor of the French, such as we now wish to establish, is neither the proprietor of the soil nor of those that inhabit it: he is the head of the French by their voluntary choice; his dominion is moral, and no servitude can legally proceed from such a system. Citizen Carnot seems to believe, that the result to which we now direct our attention has been long before hand prepared by the first consul, with an art as skillful as a desire constant and indefatigable. On the contrary,

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it is a fact, and I call on those who know it best to declare, that the first consul was the last to enter into this sort of holy conspiracy in favour of the country, formed on the 9th of November, by a small number, among whom I had the honour to be one. It is true that the object was at first concealed; that the end in view was disclosed with a certain degree of address; and that the precautions necessary to secure its success were also adopted. There were a number of citizens, and Carnot was one of them, who, full of revolutionary prejudices and errors, had not benefited by the lessons of instruction and experience, and who were not yet capable of admitting truth. It was this that rendered address necessary in disclosing the light to a person diseased, who has been long deprived of it. In the midst of this activity of wise opinions, which were advancing to improvement, and of erroneous notions, which were daily dying away, the first consul shewed a resistance and a reluctance, as seemed for a long time invincible to the result of which he perceives the necessity. He was, however, the last to perceive it; and it is only a day since that, compelled by the public voice, you see him publish those addresses which six months ago poured on him from all parts of the republic, supported by the warm solicitations of the magistrates and public functionaries, which he has hitherto suppressed. The alarms created by the attempts at assassination against the person of the first consul, by the prospect of the frightful evils which would have followed from them, had they taken effect, have strengthened every resolution, and hastened every measure. The first consul is ambitious of glory, he is zealous for it; but it is proper that he should consider power as glory. A word from him, a single emotion of that great soul which he could disclose to the country, will render that truth more evident than all the details and all the assertions which I could adduce. One day the first consul spoke with the most profound sensibility of the miseries of the revolution. Some one who wished to waken his emotion by a representation

presentation of the results of that great crisis, and in conclusion said to him, "It does not belong to you, citizen first consul, to be afflicted at the revolution; without it you would never have been elevated to the rank which you now hold, and you would never have acquired that immense glory with which you are covered." "Well!" exclaimed Bonaparte, "would to God that France had never heard of me, that its government had never been guilty of such errors, and that its people had never experienced such miseries." No! the man whose heart gave birth to such expressions, sees in the aggrandizement of his power only the increase of the means of public happiness. He seeks his own grandeur only in the glory of the nation." The speaker then indulged his imagination in portraying Bonaparte in the warmest colours as a statesman and a soldier. Having finished this studied panegyric, he laboured to prove that the unbridled conduct of the Cæsars, and the disorders of the Roman empire, arose from that power not being hereditary. This led Nisas to combat Carnot's objection to the hereditary system. He confessed that that species of government sometimes made nations enter into domestic interests, and enhance family quarrels. That, no doubt, was a danger; but what human institution was without danger. But those interests had at least some reality, some utility among the people at large; and that danger was less than that to which nations were often exposed in consequence of espousing the quarrels and enlisting themselves on the side of the personal passions, quarrels, or interests of those rulers or orators. Pericles was not an hereditary prince; but, for an insult offered to Aspasia, the Grecian republic was set in flames. In the best times of the Roman republic, espousing sometimes the interest of a tribune, and at another that of some other factious party, involved the senate in constant alarm; and the senate sacrificing the people to their private interests and private quarrels, embroiled them with their offending and unoffending neighbours. The pretext for
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a foreign war was never wanting when the senate dreaded the approach of civil broils, and the blood of the people continued to flow with respect to foreign powers. Nisas contended, that they would prefer a government analogous to their own to one that was always menacing, because the principle of its establishment would be opposed, and consequently inimical. The eternal effervescence of popular governments, a prey to every passion, constantly threatened and agitated the interest of surrounding states, and confounded all the relations of external politics. "This," said the speaker, "recalls to my recollection the observation of the profound and prophetic remark of M. de Mercé Argenteau, the minister of the house of Austria, who, about the time of the great revolutionary convulsions, was asked, Whether, if he thought seriously that with German arms he could replace the Bourbons on the throne, he would not rather leave the republic quiet to govern itself, as those then in power judged most expedient? We know well (answered this wise politician) that we cannot make France accept masters whom she has determined not to receive: we know also, that raw and inexperienced as her armies are, they will more than once beat our troops, and cause dreadful loss. We will support these reverses, and we will continue to fight, sometimes advancing and sometimes retreating, according to the varieties of fortune. At the end of some years, a general or a politician must necessarily arise in France, who will seize on the government, who will reduce every thing to regular order, and with him even shall conclude a peace. That would be impossible with a revolutionary species of government, which would for ever threaten to set Europe in flames."

Carnot said, Nisas proposes to us to follow the example of the United States of America; it is not for the first time, added he, that this example has been held forth, and it is not for the first time it has been combated. After the shameful and perfidious flight of the late king to Varennes, Vadice proposed in the consti-

constitutional assembly the example of the American government, and invited that assembly to give to France a similar constitution. Barrere spoke against that proposition; his arguments and his words on that occasion were worthy of repetition; they were as follow: "A population thinly scattered on a most extended soil, a new people on a new land, a people whose activity will for a long period be satisfied by numerous and easy means of subsistence, a state insulated on a vast hemisphere, surrounded by impenetrable forests and vast seas, can never be brought into comparison with a people encircled by enterprizing and restless nations, itself restless and enterprizing, like all those populous and civilized states among which the means of provision are dear and scarce in proportion to their luxury and population." He then adjured them to consider what Barrere had said, and the impression which it made on the constituent assembly, which was so powerful, that not a word more was said of a presidential or federal government.

This speaker was followed by Jaid Pauvilliers; his speech consisted chiefly of a recapitulation of the leading arguments that had been delivered by Curée, and afterwards elucidated and enforced by his colleagues. In order that a link may not be omitted in the chain of this extraordinary and almost unexampled procedure, we shall insert the answer of the vice-president of the senate to the deputation of the tribunes, on the 18th of May, 1804.

"Citizens tribunes, this day will form a remarkable era. It is the day on which you are called, for the first time, to exercise with the conservative senate the republican and popular privilege which the fundamental laws of the constitution have delegated to you. You could not exercise this prerogative at a more favourable moment, or apply it to an object of more importance than the present. Citizens tribunes, you express to the trustees of the national rights a wish truly national. I cannot remove the veil which concealed for a time the labours of the senate on this important

portant subject. I must inform you, however, in the mean time, that since the 27th of March, the senate has directed the attention of the first magistrate to the same subject: the senate had previously sounded the public opinion, and had announced it to the government. But you will prize your advantages and privileges, when you observe that what we have been thinking of in silence for two months, the peculiar nature of your institution, and the place you hold in the constitution, has enabled you at once to submit to discussion in presence of the people. You have served at once the people and the government by disclosing and enforcing this opinion, pregnant with so many advantages, and at first secretly cherished in the bosom of this assembly, where you have now so gloriously reported it. The happy developement which you have given this great idea, procures to the senate, which opened the tribune to you, the satisfaction of being able to congratulate themselves on their choice, and to approve what they have done. In your public speeches we have found the basis of our opinions. Like you, citizens tribunes, we do not wish the return of the Bourbons, because we do not wish a counter-revolution, which is the only benefit we could derive from those unfortunate exiles, who have carried with them despotism, nobility, feudal tyranny, slavery, and ignorance; and who, still to augment their crimes, have encouraged the hope, that a return to France might be forced by the way of England. Like you, citizens tribunes, we wish to raise a new dynasty, because we wish to secure to the French people all their rights which they have re-conquered, and which the folly of their enemies would take from them. Like you, citizens tribunes, we wish liberty, equality, and knowledge, may no longer have a retrograde motion. I do not speak of the great man called up by his glory to give his name to the age in which he lives, and who ought to be called on by our wishes to consecrate to us his family and existence. It is not to himself, it is not to us, that he ought to devote himself. What
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you propose with the ardour of enthusiasm, the senate will consider with cool deliberation. Citizens tribunes, we are the corner-stone of the social edifice; but it is the government and hereditary chief that must constitute the key-stone of the arch. You repose in our bosom the wish that this arch may be at last consolidated. In receiving this wish, the senate does not forget that what you solicit is not so much a change of the state of the republic as a means of perfecting and establishing it; and this certainly is what we are most interested in. In this national temple the constitution ought to repose in some measure in the god *Terminus*. If we are induced to interfere in any respect with the sacred compact, the guardianship of which is entrusted to us, it is only to add to its strength, and to extend its duration."

On the 19th of May, the *Senatus Consultum* finally adopted the decree for conferring the imperial dignity on Bonaparte. The senate, accompanied by several bodies, repaired to St. Cloud, and being admitted to an audience of the newly-created emperor, the consul Cambaceres, after a long address, presented the act of the *Senatus Consultum*, which abrogated the consular government, and formed a totally new constitution.

This act contained one hundred and forty-three articles, which were in substance as follows:

"Napoleon Bonaparte is declared emperor of the French, and the imperial dignity hereditary in the legitimate descent, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, to the exclusion of females and their descent. The first consul may adopt the children or the grand-children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years complete, and he himself have no children. Adoption, however, is prohibited to his successors. In default of a natural heir of the first consul, or of an adopted heir, the empire will be transferred to Joseph Bonaparte, and his descendants; and in default of Joseph and his descendants, to Louis and his descendants. In case of the failure of the heirs of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, a

Senatus Consultum, proposed to the senate by the titularies of the great dignitaries of the empire, and submitted to the people, shall appoint an emperor.

“The members of the imperial family shall bear the title of French princes. The eldest son of the emperor shall bear the title of imperial prince. A French prince who shall marry without permission from the emperor shall be deprived of all right to the inheritance, unless he shall have no children by this marriage, and it shall be afterwards dissolved.

“The brothers of Bonaparte are to be created French princes. Imperial palaces are to be established in four principal points of the empire. Females are in all cases excluded from the regency; and the reigning emperor may, previous to his death, appoint a regent from among the French princes, if his heir-male be a minor.

“The titularies of the great dignities of the empire are, the great elector, the arch-chancellor of the empire, the arch-treasurer, the constable, and the high-admiral. They shall be nominated by the emperor, and they shall enjoy the same honours as the French princes, and rank immediately after them. They shall be senators and counsellors of state, and shall form the great council of the emperor.

“The other great officers are, one marshal of the empire, chosen from amongst the most distinguished generals; twenty-eight inspectors and colonels-general of artillery, cavalry, and the marine; three great civil officers of the crown, such as shall be instituted by the statutes of the emperor. The laws are to be thus promulgated: Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the republic, emperor of the French, &c. &c.”

On the 18th of May, consul Cambaceres, the president presented the organic *Senatus Consultum* to Bonaparte, at the palace of St. Cloud. This circumstance furnished Cambaceres with an opportunity of addressing the newly-appointed emperor in a speech; and as it turned on the most extraordinary event in modern

modern times, we shall lay some of the most eloquent passages of it before the reader.

“SIRE—The decree which the senate has passed, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your imperial majesty, is only the authentic expression of a will already manifested by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, and which after you secures the dignity hereditary to your race, adds nothing either to your glory or your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years, entrusted to your majesty the reins of government, and the constitution of the state has reposed in you the choice of a successor. The more august denomination decreed to you is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its dignity, and to the necessity it experiences of giving you daily testimonies of respect and attachment, which every day encrease.

“How could the French nation find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and solicitude for it? Preserving the remembrance of the evils which it suffered when abandoned to itself, how could they reflect without enthusiasm on the happiness it has experienced since Providence inspired it with the idea of throwing itself into your arms! Its armies were defeated; its finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our ancient splendor; every idea of morality, and even of religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power left the magistrates without consideration, and even rendered every kind of authority odious. Your majesty appeared: you recalled victory to our standards; you established order and economy in the public expences. The nation, encouraged by the use made of your authority, resumed confidence in its own resources; your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars raised; ideas of justice and injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded with honourable distinctions. In the last place,

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and it is no doubt the greatest of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whose civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every restraint, and hostile to every authority, were by your means made to cherish and respect a power, which was exercised only for their glory and repose.

“ The French people do not pretend to establish themselves judges of the constitution of other states ; they have no critical remarks to make ; no examples to follow ; experience in future will become their guide. They have tasted for ages the advantage of hereditary power ; they have made a short, but painful trial of the contrary system ; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights, to delegate to your imperial majesty a power which your interest forbids you to exercise by yourself. They stipulate for future generations, and by a solemn compact entrust to the offspring of your race, the happiness of their posterity. The former will imitate your virtues, the latter will inherit our love and fidelity. Happy the nation, which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its bosom a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, of conciliating all interests, and uniting all voices ! Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and affection, of the citizens !

“ If it be in the principles of our constitution (already several examples of this kind have been given) to submit to the sanction of the people that part of the decree which concerns the establishment of our hereditary government, the senate have thought that it ought to entreat your imperial majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into execution ; and that, for the glory, as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French.”

The emperor replied in the following words :

“ Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness.

I accept

I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditaments. I hope France will never repent of having surrounded my family with honours. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation."

The senate being then admitted to an audience with her majesty, the empress, Cambaceres, the president, spoke as follows:

"Madame: We have just presented to your august spouse the decree which confers on him the title of Emperor, which establishes the government hereditary in his family, and associates future generations in the happiness of the present race. A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the senate, that of offering to your imperial majesty the homage of its respect, and an expression of the gratitude of the French. Yes, madame, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing; it says, that, being always accessible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the chief of the state only to relieve distress; and that, to the pleasure of obliging, your majesty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude sweeter, and the kindness more valuable. This disposition presages that the name of the Empress Josephina will be the signal of consolation and hope; and as the virtues of Napoleon will always serve as an example to his successors, to teach them the art of governing nations, the living remembrance of your goodness will teach their august consorts, that the care of drying up tears is the most effectual means of preserving an empire over all hearts.

"The senate thinks itself happy in the opportunity of being the first to salute you Empress; and he who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants."

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The Organic Senatus Consultum was then proclaimed by the emperor, and published in Paris the following day at noon.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EMPIRE, UNDER NAPOLEON I.

NAPOLEON Bonaparte being now appointed emperor of the French, the first exercise of the imperial authority was the nomination of his highness prince Joseph Bonaparte to the dignity of *grand elector*; his highness prince Louis Bonaparte to that of *constable of France*; consul Cambaceres to be *arch-chancellor of the empire*; consul Lebrun to be *arch-treasurer*. These persons then took the prescribed oaths, in presence of the emperor. The arch-chancellor then presented the ministers and the secretary of state, who likewise took the oaths. The constable presented generals d'Avoust and Bessieres. General Murat, governor of Paris, was also presented; and general Duroc, who took the oaths, as governor of the imperial palace.

It was likewise ordered that the French princes and princesses should be addressed by the title of their *imperial highnesses*, and the sisters of the emperor are of that number. The great officers of the empire received the title of *serene highness*; and they, as well as the princes, are to be addressed *monseigneur*. The secretary of state and the ministers shall have the titles of their *excellencies*. The functionaries of the departments, and those who present petitions, are to address them by the title of *monseigneur*. The president of the senate shall have the title of *excellency*. And the mareschals of the empire, when addressed in writing, are to have the title of *monseigneur*.

Authority was given to Bonaparte, provided he have no male issue, to adopt an heir from amongst the

the children and grand children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years. On the failure of this limitation the imperial dignity is to devolve first to Joseph Bonaparte and his male issue; and, on failure of those, to Louis Bonaparte and his male issue; and finally, on failure of those branches, an emperor is to be nominated by the senate. The members of the imperial family, in the order of inheritance, shall bear the title of prince, and the eldest son of the emperor that of *imperial* prince. The education of those princes to be under the direction of the senate, and they are prohibited from marrying without the consent of the emperor. Any marriage so contracted incurs the privation of the right of inheritance, both of the individuals and their descendants. The minority of a young emperor to cease at the age of eighteen. Until he arrives at that age, his functions shall be administered by a regent, the rules for whose appointment are prescribed, and his powers limited, from which office females are excluded.

On the 20th of May, the generals Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, d'Avoust, Bessieres, Kellerman, Lefevre, Perignon, and Serrurier, were promoted to the rank of *mareschals* of the empire.

Bonaparte then notified his elevation to the bishops of France; and a circular letter was addressed to them, on the same occasion, by cardinal Caprara, *legate à latere*, resident in France, which was thus:

“ MY LORD,

“ Napoleon Bonaparte having been appointed emperor of the French, you are to make use of the following prayer:—‘ O Lord preserve our emperor Napoleon,’ instead of that which was ordained by the concordat passed between the holy apostolic chair and the government of France. After this the following prayer may be recited, as it has already been used in the imperial chapel: ‘ O God, the protector of all kingdoms,

kingdoms, and especially of the French empire, grant unto thy servant, Napoleon, our emperor, that he may know and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he whom thou hast appointed our sovereign, may be always powerful through thy grace."

On the 28th of May, this event was officially announced by the French chargé d'affaires to the diet of Ratisbon, and a similar notification was made to the several foreign courts; and regulations for the coronation were laid down by an imperial decree, dated from the palace of St. Cloud, July 9th. This ceremony was then appointed to take place in the month of November following (the 18th Brumaire), and the public functionaries from the several departments, together with detachments from the different military corps, were summoned to attend at Paris on the occasion.

Whilst the French government was thus anxiously engaged in making arrangements for placing the crown of France on the head of Bonaparte, the court of St. Petersburg presented, on the 26th of May, by M. Oubril, the Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris, the following note:—"The undersigned has been ordered to declare, by his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris, unless the following demands be complied with. 1st, That conformably to the fourth and fifth articles of the secret convention of the 11th of October, 1801, the French government shall cause its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and, when that is done, that it shall engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the present and any future war. 2dly, That in conformity to the second article of the said convention, the French government shall promise to establish immediately some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted. 3rdly, That it shall engage, in conformity to the sixth article of the convention aforesaid, and the promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without

without delay, the king of Sardinia for the losses he had sustained. 4thly, That, in virtue of the obligations of mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government shall promise immediately to evacuate, and withdraw its troops from, the north of Germany, and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body. The undersigned has to add, that he has received orders from his government to demand a categorical answer to these four points."

This note produced a reply from the French government, dated the 29th of July following. It is therein asserted, "that France is justified in reproaching Russia with having neglected to perform her engagements, contracted by the secret convention of the 11th Vendemaire, year 10, by having changed the government of the Seven Islands, without any concert or communication with France; and of having assembled large bodies of troops at Corfu; of having patronized the emigrants, and their projects against France—of having even placed herself in a posture of direct defiance to France, by ordering a court mourning, as a mark of respect to the memory of an agent, in the pay of England, engaged in a criminal design against France, after this traitor had been condemned by the just decision of a tribunal of the French government, and had been executed in pursuance of his sentence. That Russia must fulfil the stipulations by which both powers were mutually bound, before she could expect France to comply with them on her part. That the language of Russia was that of a conqueror to the vanquished. It were to suppose that France could be intimidated by menaces. The history of the war which preceded the peace with Russia, proves that that power had no more right than any other, to assume a haughty tone towards France. But if, notwithstanding all the solicitude of the emperor of the French, to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two countries, the emperor of Russia should join his

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armies to those of England, the emperor of the French, with the assistance of God and his arms, was not in a situation to fear any man."

This correspondence was closed by a note, dated the 28th of August, 1804, presented to the French minister for foreign affairs, by M. Oubril. The allegations contained in the former Russian note were forcibly recapitulated; the recriminations made by the French government were repelled; and the correspondence concluded by M. Oubril demanding the necessary passports for his departure from France. In the mean time a vigorous protest, dated 27th July, was made on the part of the king of Sweden against the conduct of France, in violating the neutrality of the German empire, by the seizure of the *duc d'Enghien*.

The period appointed for the coronation of Bonaparte approached. The preparations for that ceremony were framed upon an immense scale, and to give it the greater solemnity and religious distinction, the pope was summoned to Paris, to place the imperial crown upon his head. The holy pontiff, on the 29th of October, previously to his departure from Rome, addressed an allocution to a consistory, wherein he extols the merits of Bonaparte, for having by the "Concordat" restored the catholic religion over his vast and populous territory. "The same most powerful prince, (continues his holiness,) our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon emperor of the French, who has so well deserved of the catholic religion for what he has done, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rites which are to place him in the highest rank, shall be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more effectually the benediction of heaven."

On the 19th of November, Bonaparte, attended by a numerous military escort, and followed by an immense train of equipages, as brilliant as could be procured,

cured, filled with persons of the highest rank in the government, accompanied by the pope, proceeded through streets strewed with sand, and lined by a prodigious concourse of curious spectators, to the cathedral church of "Notre Dame," which edifice was decorated, for the occasion, both within and without, with all the sumptuousness that French ingenuity could devise. There his holiness performed a solemn service, anointed the emperor with the sacred unction, but did not place the crown upon his majesty's head. To this ceremony, in the evening, succeeded plays, pantomimes, singing, music, dancing, fire-works, illuminations, fountains flowing with wine; in short, every thing that could amuse a giddy, inconsiderate populace. Impartial persons, however, who were eye-witnesses of this exhibition, pretend that it was far from exciting that degree of enthusiasm which so shining and costly a spectacle might be expected to produce on a people who, more than any other, delight in public shows: that none seemed to take a sincere interest in it, but those in power, or who were immediately benefitted by the existing order of things; and that the lowest classes made merry, and danced, apparently from no other motive, than because they found themselves supplied, free of expence, with the means of indulging in their favourite recreations.

To put the seal to this transaction, and to stamp it with still greater weight, the conservative senate, in pursuance of a former resolution, presented themselves in a body, on the 1st of December, at the palace of the Thuilleries, and their president, François de Neufchateau, addressed the emperor in the following complimentary oration:

"Sire,—The first attribute of the sovereign power of a people is the right of suffrage specially applied to fundamental laws. It is this that constitutes real citizens. Never has this right been more free, more independent, more certain, nor more legally exercised by any people, than it has been amongst us since the happy 9th of November, (18 Brumaire.) One plebiscitum

biscitum placed the reins of government in your hands for ten years; a second entrusted them to you for life. The French people has now again, for the third time, expressed its will. Three millions five hundred thousand men, dispersed over the surface of an immense territory, have simultaneously voted the empire hereditary in your majesty's august family. Their acts of suffrage are contained in sixty thousand registers, which have been verified and scrupulously examined. There is not a shadow of doubt either respecting the state, or the number of those who have put forth their voice, neither as to the right of each to give his vote, nor as to the result of this universal suffrage. Thus, then, the senate and people of France unanimously agree that the blood of Bonaparte shall henceforth be the imperial blood of France; and that the new throne raised for Napoleon, and rendered illustrious by him, shall never cease to be possessed either by the descendants of your majesty, or by those of the princes, your brothers.— This last testimony of the confidence of the people, and of their just gratitude, ought to be flattering to your imperial majesty's heart. It is glorious for a man, who has devoted himself, as you have done, to the welfare of his peers, to learn that his name alone is sufficient to unite such a vast number of men. In this instance, sire, the voice of the people is the voice of God. No government can be founded on a more indisputable title. The senate, the depository of this title, has passed a resolution to present itself in a body before your imperial majesty. It comes to display the joy with which it is penetrated, to offer you the unfeigned tribute of its felicitations, of its respect; of its love, and to applaud itself for the object of this proceeding, inasmuch as that consummates what it expected from your foresight, to tranquillize the uneasiness of all good Frenchmen, and to conduct into port the bark of the republic. Yes, sire, of the republic! This word might wound the ears of an ordinary monarch. Here the word is in its proper place

place before him, whose genius has enabled us to enjoy the thing in the sense in which it can exist amongst a great people; you have done more than extending the limits of the republic, for you have established it on a solid base. Thanks to the emperor of the French, the conservative principles of the interest of all, have been introduced into the government of one, and the strength of a monarchy founded in a republic. For forty centuries past, the question, which form of government is best, has been agitated; for forty centuries past the monarchical form of government has been considered as the *chef d'œuvre* of political wisdom, and the sole secure harbour of the human race. But there was one thing wanted, to unite, without risque, the elements of liberty to its unity of power, and the certainty of its succession. This improvement in the act of governing, is an advance which Napoleon at this moment produces in the social science. He has laid the foundation of representative states; he has not confined his views to their present existence; he has implanted in them the seeds of their future perfection. Whatever is wanted to their completion at first, will grow out of their own progress. It is the honour of the present age; the hope and the model of future ages. Sire, the first rank amongst the greatest men that have done honour to the earth, is reserved for the founders of empires. Those, who have ruined them, have enjoyed but a fatal glory; those who have suffered them to fall to ruin, are every where objects of reproach. Honour to those who raise them! They are not only the creators of nations, but they secure their continuance by laws which become the inheritance of futurity. We owe this treasure to your imperial majesty; and France proportions the measure of those thanks, which the conservative senate now presents to you in its name, to the magnitude of this blessing. If a pure republic had been possible in France, we cannot doubt that you would have wished to have had the honour of establishing

blishing it; and if it were possible, we should never be exonerated from the guilt of not having proposed it to a man having power sufficient to realize the idea of it; personally great enough not to need a sceptre, and generous enough to sacrifice his own interests to the interests of his country. Though, like Lycurgus, you should have to banish yourself from that country which you would have organized, you would not have hesitated. Your profound meditations have been more than once directed to this great problem; but this problem was not to be solved even by your genius. Superficial minds, struck with the ascendancy which so much success and glory so happily acquired for you over the spirit of the nation, have fancied that you had it in your power to give it at discretion a popular government or a monarchical *regime*. There was no medium: not a soul wished for aristocracy in France. But the legislature ought to take men such as they are, and to give them, not the most perfect laws that could be devised, but, like Solon, the best they can bear. Though the chissel of a great artist forms at pleasure out of a block of marble either a tripod or a god, the body of a nation cannot be modelled of the same principle. It is true, Sire, that your life is a tissue of prodigies; but though you might have bent the nature of things and the character of men to such a pitch, as to cast the masses of France at once into the mould of democracy, this wonder would have been but a transient illusion. Should we have concurred in it, we should only have forged chains for our posterity. When our representatives, placed on the ruins of the throne, believed they could establish a republic, their intentions were pure: before sad experience released them from the enchantment, they sincerely worshipped that delusive phantom which they took for equality. We can speak of an error by which we had been dazzled for a moment. Alas! who could avoid it? The popular torrent hurried along the most indifferent in spite of themselves. It is said, that the ancient Persians, in order to convince the
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the people of the terrible danger of an abuse of liberty, used to employ a very extraordinary custom : they used to inoculate themselves for a short time with the plague of political bodies. When any of their kings died, five days were spent in anarchy, without authority or laws. Licentiousness was neither restrained then nor punished afterwards; they were five days given up to the spirit of vengeance, to excess, to violence, in a word, they were five days of revolution. This proof, it is said, used to make the people return with much joy to submission to their prince. After fluctuation more terrible than those of a troubled sea, it was thought that an infallible remedy had been discovered for popular convulsions in a polygarchy. The depositing of authority in the hands of many, was better than the absence or the dispersion of this authority; but differing spirits and opposite wills could not be included in the same body, as the Manicheans used to place two contrary principles at the head of the universe. The struggle between these two principles would have annihilated France, if the course that has been taken had not been adopted, to return to a more concentrated power.

" This it is that, has consecrated to eternity the epoch of the 9th of November. It is this, Sire, that brings back and attaches to you such of the republicans whose patriotism was most fervent and zealous. They were confirmed in their hatred against the throne by their attachments to the interests of the people, and the ardent desire of the public good. Their ideas have been realized only by your government. Out of conceit with their chimera, and brought back by you to the reality, they are well convinced that it was impossible to think seriously to establish a republic, properly so called, amongst a people attached to monarchy by their wants, by instinct, and by the force of a habit which nothing can overcome. Yes, Sire, on this point there is but one sentiment. Yet the government of a single person is to so vast a country what the statue of Pallas was formerly to the Trojans;
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by being deprived of it their ruin was accelerated:— but still this is not enough. The unity of the empire is, like the bundle of twigs, the aggregate of its power; but, like the twigs of the united bundle, the parts would soon be disunited and broken, if the hereditary succession to the aggregate did not secure the tie. An order of succession, previously determined, is the firmest support of a monarchical government. So, by the election even which made you emperor, the senate and the people have deprived themselves of the right of electing in future, as long as those glorious lives shall subsist to which they transfer the exclusive right to the empire. It is a great deposit of trust, consecrated by the law of nations, the necessity of which has been felt by the nation in order to relieve itself from guarding against any omission, or the apprehension of troubles in this delegation of its supreme power. Amongst the happy results of the law of succession, such as the French have last adopted, the sagacity of the great people has distinguished two principal advantages; first, That a dynasty raised by liberty will be faithful to its principle: there is no instance of a river flowing back to its source. Besides, a new source of stability for public credit, both internally and externally, is to be expected from a continued tradition in this paternal and perpetual government. Amongst foreign nations also, upon how much more solid a base will our alliances be supported? It is a community of interests that constitutes all the bonds of this world. The friends of France being able to rely on her, she can rely on them, and this proud country, reinstated in Europe in the rank from which weakness had suffered her to fall, will henceforth have it in its power to exercise a permanent influence on the repose of the nations and on the peace of the continent. As to our enemies, if they persist in being so, their despair must redouble in contemplating the service they have done us in spite of them. We have been put upon our guard by their atrocious plots. As a last resource they have meditated crimes: it was our duty to

to render them useless. Thus, then, in whatever view, our happiness is their work. But, Sire, until their eyes shall be opened, or our indignant army shall go to punish their perfidy, our happiness constitutes their punishment. What a spectacle for them to behold; France, that same France which they wished to lacerate, and which they must now know to be united round its august chief, possessing the same spirit, forming the same desires, and tranquilly celebrating the festivals which announce the union of liberty, that first of all moving principles with this grand conservative system of nations, hereditary monarchy. It was desired previous to the revolution, that the chief of a great state like France should promise at his accession not to be the king of nobles, nor of any other class, but the chief of the nation, not to maintain usurped privileges, which, in an agricultural country, and amongst an industrious people, would nevertheless destroy agriculture and industry, to enrich with their spoils the accomplices of despotism; but that he should swear to the people these fundamental articles, these eternal bases of well regulated societies. Liberty of worship, this first right of all men, since authority can never force conscience. Equality of rights of all the citizens, the only rational and possible equality. Respect for political and civil liberty, without which nations are but herds of slaves, equally indifferent to the fortune of their masters and to their own destiny. The inviolable security of property, which forbids above all the levy of arbitrary imposts, and permits not any subsidy, direct or indirect, under what name soever, but according to law. Lastly, The general tendency of his government, to the sole and primitive end of every government, the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the people. This is the form of the oath which your imperial majesty is about to take to the French people; these are the terms which you have chosen to be a law to yourself and your successors. According to circumstances, your majesty annexes to them an engagement to maintain—the integrity of the

French republic, which should continue indivisible; the acquisition of the national property, which have been the pay of our independence; the sublime institution of your legion of honour, worthy reward of services rendered to the country. With these additions, this remarkable oath would appear to have been dictated by the whole nation. It is in consideration of this also, that the whole nation swears fidelity to you. These two oaths correspond; they guarantee each other; they are the reciprocal pledges of an indissoluble alliance; and amidst so many important views, which will for ever distinguish the *Senatus Consultum* of the 19th May, (28th Floreal,) that which imprints upon it the seal of immortality, Sire, is the thought of the title of the oaths. To close the chasms of the revolution, more than Curtius was necessary. According to the profound idea of a political author, it was necessary that a great man should choose for the theatre of his government and the materials of his glory the ruins of that state which he might propose to new-model and re-invigorate. It was necessary that this man should be worthy to give his name, and to communicate his impulse to a new dynasty. It was necessary that he should be elevated above his contemporaries, of their choice, and by their suffrages, without opposition either from his own countrymen or from foreigners. In the existing state of societies, the want of being governed is felt, as formerly, but the means of governing are become more difficult, because their object is more extended and complicated. The Conservative Senate and the French people assure you, Sire, through my voice, that they are proud of their emperor. If they have offered you the crown, if they have made it hereditary in your descendants, and in those of your two brothers, it is because there exists not on earth a man more worthy to bear the sceptre of France, nor a family more beloved by the French. Governed by Napoleon, or by his sons, or his nephews, animated by his spirit, formed by his example, in a word, bound by his oath, we, Sire, and our children's children

children shall defend with our lives this tutelary government, object of our pride as of our love, because in it we shall defend our chief, our properties, our families, and our honour. You have chosen, Sire, as the inscription on our coins, those words which you justify—"GOD PROTECTS FRANCE." Oh! yes; God does protect France, since he has created you for her. Father of thy country, in the name of that protecting God, bestow a blessing on thy children, and, relying on their fidelity, be assured that nothing can either efface from their minds, or root out of their hearts, the engagements resulting from the mutual contract that has just been entered into between the French nation and the imperial family. In the absence of the throne, all the great characters give themselves up to faction, A people is so much the more to be pitied the greater the number of its distinguished children: all that might constitute the pride of nations becomes then the scourge of one. From the moment that the throne is worthily filled, eminent virtues have a reward, viz. to approach nearer to it; and the distinction is so much the more flattering, as more real dignities bear more imposing names.

"The title of emperor has ever conveyed the law, not of that royalty before which subjects humble and prostrate themselves, but the great and liberal idea of a first magistrate, governing in the name of the law which citizens feel honour in obeying.

"The title of senate indicates also an assembly of chosen magistrates, proved by long labour, and venerable through age. The greater the emperor is, the more august ought the senate to be."

His imperial majesty replied in the following terms:

"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted by the name of Great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them, and I must add here, that my pleasures and my pains

pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of the people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country—as magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, are only the result of the imbecility and uncertainty of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors; be ever the props and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire.”

On the same day the tribunate complimented his majesty; and the senate and tribunate, and council of state, delivered congratulatory speeches to the pope.

The solemnity of the coronation and consecration of their imperial majesties was celebrated on the 2nd of December. The day was remarkably fine, and equally favourable to those who made part of the procession and to the spectators. The carriage of his holiness was, as usual, preceded by an ecclesiastic on a mule, carrying the papal cross. The holy father on the way, gave the apostolical benediction, and, in return, received those of gratitude and piety. Their imperial majesties heard continually, during the whole of the procession, both before and after the coronation, the most animated expressions of the public will, which gave a sort of sanction to this solemn act. The crowd was every where immense, and the greatest order prevailed. The sceptre which his majesty the emperor carried at the coronation was of silver, with a golden serpent twined around it, surmounted with a globe bearing a figure representing Charlemagne.

The procession, say the French papers, arrived at the church of Notre Dame amidst the acclamations of the people, who blessed the day and the hero to whom the benefit was to be attributed. These acclamations were redoubled in the church, filled with citizens, so much the more sincerely attached to his majesty from
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being the co-operators of the good which his genius prepared and directed. The imposing ceremonies of the inauguration took place in a manner the most splendid. His majesty pronounced the oath with the firm tone of a man whose heart confirmed what his mouth expressed ; but when he came to these words, which terminate that august oath—" I swear to govern solely with a view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people,"—his voice, changing from a deep and affecting sentiment, reached with more certainty the hearts of every one who heard him.

The equipages of the imperial family at the coronation were remarkable for their richness and beauty. His majesty's carriage was drawn by eight bay horses, ornamented with plumes of white feathers, and led by footmen; by the side of the carriage door were three imperial majesties' pages. Behind their carriages were twenty-four carriages, each drawn by six horses, belonging to the princes and grand officers; her imperial majesty's coach, drawn by eight horses with plumes of feathers, contained the pope: then followed the carriages of the ministers, marshals, and generals, all drawn by six horses, and all new. Prince Louis's and marshal Murat's equipages were the most splendid. They occupied so long a line, that one hour and a half was scarcely sufficient to see them pass. The whole of the way which they went was lined by a double row of foot guards. The windows, roofs, and balconies, were all filled with spectators in grand costumes.

At the coronation of Bonaparte, the holy father made an unsuccessful effort to establish the temporal supremacy of the papal authority. Having received the crown from the grand dignitary, his holiness was in the act of placing it on the head of the emperor, when he was anticipated by the vigilant Napoleon, who took it from the hands of the sovereign pontiff, and placed it with his hands on his own brows. The holy father, defeated in his design, wished at least to place

place the diadem on the head of Josephine; but here again he was mistaken, since Napoleon himself took the crown in the same manner, and crowned her imperial majesty himself.

The session of the legislative body opened on the 26th of December. On that occasion the members were assembled in extraordinary state, to receive the emperor, who was seated on a throne erected for the purpose; and, in his presence, an oath, in the following terms, was administered to each of the legislators separately: "I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor."

The emperor then rose, the legislators uncovered themselves, and his majesty addressed them as follows:

"Deputies from the departments to the legislative body, and members of my council of state,—I am come, gentlemen, to preside at the opening of your session. My anxious desire is to impress a more imposing and august character on your proceedings. Yes, princes, magistrates, soldiers, citizens, we have all of us, in the course we have to run, but one object—the interest of the country. If this throne, to which Providence and the will of the nation have raised me, be dear in my eyes, it is because that throne can only defend and maintain the most sacred interests of the French people. Un-, supported by a vigorous and paternal government, France would have still to fear those calamities by which she has been afflicted. The weakness of the supreme power is the deepest misfortune of nations. As a soldier, or first consul, I entertained but one thought—as emperor, I am influenced by no other—and that is, every thing which contributes to the prosperity of France. I have had the good fortune to illustrate France with victories, to consolidate her by treaties, to rescue her from civil broils, and to revive among her inhabitants the influence of morals, of social order, and of religion. Should death not surprize me in the midst of my labours, I fondly hope

hope I may transmit to posterity a durable impression, that must serve as an example or reproach to my successors.—The minister of the interior will submit to you a statement of the situation of the empire. The deputation from my council of state will present to you different objects that are to occupy the legislature. I have given instructions that there be laid before you the accounts which my ministers have given me of their respective departments: I am fully satisfied with the prosperous state of our finances: whatever may be the expenditure, it is covered by the revenue.—How extensive soever have been the preparations imposed upon us, by the exigencies of the war in which we are engaged, I call upon my people for no new sacrifice. It would have been highly gratifying to me, on so solemn an occasion, to see the blessings of peace diffused over the world; but the political principles of our enemies, their recent conduct towards Spain, but too strongly speak the difficulties that oppose it. I am not anxious to enlarge the territories of France, but to assert its integrity. I feel no ambition to exert a wider stretch of influence in Europe, but not to descend from that which I have acquired. No state shall be incorporated with the empire: but I shall not sacrifice my rights, or the ties which bind me to the states that I have created. In bestowing the crown upon me, the people entered into an engagement to exert every effort which circumstances may require, in order to preserve, unsullied, that splendour which is necessary for their prosperity, and indispensable for their glory, as well as for mine. I am full of confidence in the energy of the nation, and in the sentiments it entertains for me; its dearest interests are the constant object of my solicitude.

“ Deputies from the departments to the legislative body, tribunes, and members of my council of state: your conduct, gentlemen, during the succeeding session, the zeal with which you glow for your country, your attachment to my person, I hold as pledges of the

the assistance for which I call upon you, and which, I trust, I shall receive from you during the course of the present session."

The exposé, or annual report, on the state of the nation, was then made to the legislative body. This paper states, that the internal situation of France is what it was in the calmest times; every where the improvements of public and private property attested the progress of confidence and security; that all classes of the community, both military and civil, had testified their love of order, even during the absence of their immediate chiefs, (adverting to their attendance at the coronation,) 'that the sovereign pontiff had, from the banks of the Po, to those of the Seine, experienced a religious homage, the effect of attachment to the ancient doctrines, on the part of a people revering a sovereign raised to the throne by his *piety and virtues*; that the discovery of a plot, laid by an implacable enemy, had awakened the nation to her true interests, and taught her the value of hereditary power. After expatiating on the flourishing state of the empire, both at home and abroad, and construing, agreeably to their wishes, the dispositions of various other powers, this representation concludes with observing, that, "whatever may be the movements of England, the destinies of France are fixed: strong in her union, strong in her riches, and in the courage of her defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and will not act so as either to deserve enemies, or to fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the continent; when she shall know that she has only to lose by a war without end or motives; when she finds that France will never accept any other conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens, and will never consent to leave to her the right of breaking treaties at pleasure, by appropriating Malta, England will then have arrived at pacific sentiments.—Envy and hatred have but their day."

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The assumption of the imperial dignity by Bonaparte, gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe; and that event was no sooner notified to the court of Vienna, than the emperor of Germany resolved immediately upon making the dignity of *emperor* hereditary in the house of Austria. The patent for that purpose, stated the object of this measure to be, "the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria, among the nations of Europe." As the emperor and the Germanic body had acquiesced, with scarcely an exception, in the increase of title in the French ruler; so, on the other hand, did the emperor of France offer no opposition to the head of the Austrian house assuming the same hereditary title; but which, till now, had been elective. While, therefore, Napoleon I. was dignified by the epithets of emperor of France and king of Italy, Francis II. assumed those of hereditary emperor of Austria and Germany, and king of Hungary, Bohemia, &c.

The once flourishing island of Hispaniola, or French settlement of St. Domingo, was now entirely in the power of the black inhabitants, who consummated the victory they had gained over the colonists, by the slaughter of every white person in that part of the island, almost immediately after the English squadron had carried off the French government, and such of the inhabitants as could withdraw from that dreadful scene. Those who remained were all butchered, with circumstances of unheard-of cruelty. The negro, Dessalines, who had succeeded Toussaint l'Ouverture in the supreme command of the black population, on the first interval of leisure, caused himself also to be proclaimed "*Emperor of Hayti*," the ancient Indian name of the island.

But while the grand project of assuming the absolute sovereignty of France, was, as abovementioned, successfully conducted at home, Bonaparte was not inattentive to offensive operations abroad, nor remiss

in expediting the vast preparations on the coast, intended for the invasion of England. Admiral Linois, who had been stationed at Pondicherry, with the *Marengo* man of war of eighty-four guns, and three large frigates, was also instructed to make reprisals on the English trading ships in the East Indies, which he effected to a considerable extent, by capturing many rich vessels. He also made a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen), and plundered the settlement. He then cruized with his whole force near the entrance of the Straights of Malacca, with an intention of capturing the English homeward-bound China fleet. On the 5th of February, 1804, he fell in with that fleet, consisting of fifteen of the East India company's ships, twelve merchant ships, and a Portuguese East Indiaman, all under the command, as commodore, of captain Dance, in the service of the East India company; who, on sight of the French squadron, made the signal for his fleet to form a line of battle. It was not, however, till the 15th, that any engagement took place; when captain Dance made the signal to tack, and bear down on the French line. Admiral Linois then closed his line, and opened his fire upon the headmost of the English ships; but thinking himself unequal to the contest, in which he must have engaged so many ships, he made a signal to the squadron, who hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward, though the English China fleet was estimated at a million and a half sterling!

Another small French force, under the command of the chevalier Mahé, was ordered to the coast of Africa, to intercept the British commerce on the Senegal river. The chevalier, on the 18th of January, captured the English settlement of Goree, compelling colonel Frazer, and his little garrison, to surrender prisoners of war. This island did not, however, remain long in the hands of the French; for it was retaken on the 7th of March following, by a small English squadron under the command of captain Dixon, who immediately restored the former government.

ment. The English also, on the 4th of May, captured the rich and extensive Dutch settlement of Surinam, with two frigates, and an immense quantity of naval stores.

For the greater part, the war in 1804 was conducted with extreme languor, both by the governments of France and England. The former was chiefly engaged in manœuvring and exercising the flotilla intended for the invasion of the British coast; while the latter employed its ingenuity to circumvent the enterprize, by attempting to destroy the hostile vessels. On the 16th of May, an unsuccessful attempt was made by sir Sydney Smith, to prevent the junction of the flotilla from Flushing with that at Ostend. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached Ostend in safety, and the English force, on the falling of the tide, were obliged to haul off into deep water, after being nearly a whole day engaged; besides the loss of about fifty men in killed and wounded. In the month of August, another attempt was made on that part of the flotilla which lay at anchor in the road of Boulogne, by captain Owen of the *Immortalité* frigate, and the sloops of war and cutters under his command; but with very slender success. And on the 24th of July, and 2d of August, captain Oliver, of the *Melpomene*, was equally unfortunate in his attempt upon the vessels in Havre Pier; some damage, however, was done to the town, by the shells and carcasses thrown into it on that occasion. On the 2d of October, a grand attack, with fire-ships and combustibles, was made upon the flotilla at Boulogne, by admiral lord Keith, with a formidable fleet*, anchored at about a league and a half from north to west of the port. At a quarter past nine, under a heavy fire from the men of war, and which was returned by a tremendous one from the

* The French say fifty-two sail, of which six were of the line, six frigates, sixteen corvettes, ten brigs, twelve cutters, and two luggers.

shore, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched. As they approached, the vessels of the flotilla opened to let them through; and so effectually were they avoided, that they passed to the rear of the line without falling on board any one of them. At half past ten the first explosion ship blew up; it produced an immense column of fire; its wreck spread far and wide; but not the slightest mischief was done either to the flotilla or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better: at length, after twelve had been exploded, the attempt was given up about four o'clock on the following morning; the English vessels withdrew; and no mischief whatever was done to the flotilla. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors, and the bitter disappointment of the public, this contemptible experiment, which was, in derision, called "*The Catamaran Project.*"

The last and most memorable transaction of the year 1804, on the part of Great Britain, was the capture of the Spanish homeward-bound treasure-ships from South America, which was effected by captain Moore of the *Indefatigable*, and three other frigates under his command, off Cadiz. On the 5th of October, captain Moore, who had been detached from the channel fleet for the purpose, fell in with four large Spanish frigates, viz. *la Medée*, *la Clara*, *la Fama*, and *la Mercedes*; which, upon being hailed without any effect, were fired upon by the English force. A parley then ensued, when captain Moore informed the Spanish rear-admiral, that he had orders to detain his squadron, and earnestly wished to execute them without bloodshed; but that his determination must be immediate. The officers dispatched on this message, returning with an evasive answer, an engagement immediately ensued, each of the English frigates taking an antagonist. In less than ten minutes, one of the Spanish frigates, the *Mercedes*, unfortunately blew up. In half an hour two more of the Spaniards surrendered; and the fourth, after an attempt to escape, was captured long before sun-set.

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The loss, on the part of the English, was said to be very trifling; that of the Spaniards was (independently of two hundred and forty lives lost by the explosion of the Mercedes) nearly one hundred in killed and wounded. The ships thus captured were convoyed to England, and their lading was found to be of immense value, in coined and uncoined gold and silver, and precious merchandize, the produce of Spanish America.

The force of the Spanish squadron was, *La Médée* (flag ship) forty-two guns, eighteen pounders, and three hundred men, taken; two men killed and ten wounded.—*La Fama*, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and two hundred and eighty men, taken; eleven killed and fifty wounded.—*La Clara*, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and three hundred men, taken; seven killed and twenty wounded.—*La Mercedes*, thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and two hundred and eighty men, blew up; second captain and forty men saved*.

The following is a statement of the goods and effects on board the Spanish squadron:—On account of the king, total seventy-five sacks of Vienna wool, sixty chests of cascarilla, four thousand seven hundred and thirty-two bars of tin, one thousand seven

* A most melancholy circumstance took place in consequence of the explosion of the Mercedes. In it was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from America with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual savings of twenty-five years industry, did this unhappy man embark for his native country. A short time before the action began, he, with one of his sons, went on board the largest of the ships, and in a few minutes became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean. This victim of almost unheard of calamity, arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

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hundred and thirty-five pigs of copper, twenty-eight planks of wood, and one million three hundred and seven thousand six hundred and thirty-four dollars in silver.—On account of the merchants, thirty-two chests of ratinia, one million eight hundred and fifty-two thousand two hundred and sixteen dollars in silver, one million one hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and fifty-eight gold, reduced into dollars, and one hundred and fifty thousand eleven hundred ingots in gold, reduced into dollars.—On account of the marine company, twenty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-five seal skins, and ten pipes of seal oil.—On board the Mercedes, which blew up, were twenty sacks of Vienna wool, twenty chests of cascarilla, one thousand one hundred and thirty-nine bars of tin, nine hundred and sixty-one pigs of copper, and two hundred and twenty-one thousand dollars in silver.

In consequence of this hasty commencement of hostilities on the part of Great Britain, the court of Spain, on the 14th of November, issued a declaration of war against England. But it is written with uncommon imbecility; admitting, in fact, one of the principal complaints of the English court against Spain—that of giving Bonaparte aid in money, in lieu of military and naval assistance, thus confessing the nature of the subsidy paid to France. The prince of the peace, (captain-general of the Spanish forces,) immediately published an address to the Spanish armies, calling upon the honour, courage, and loyalty, of the Spanish nation, to carry on the war with vigour.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE decided lead which the French nation now took in the affairs of Europe, the gigantic strides which her ruler made towards the subjugation of the greater part of Europe, if not to universal monarchy;

monarchy; her astonishing success in the field, and her immense increase of territorial dominion and political importance, engage us in the painful task of recording the triumphs and conquests of Bonaparte.

In the first place, we have to notice the unceasing jealousy and hatred of the French government towards that of England, which sufficiently manifested itself in its having compelled Spain into a war with the latter kingdom.

Having laid down, with a tone sufficiently confident and decisive, the only terms upon which he would accord peace to England, Bonaparte resolved upon a measure, upon which it is not easy to determine whether it should be characterized by the peculiar epithet of insolence or folly! This was, at the commencement of the year 1805, to address his Britannic majesty personally, in a letter written with his own hand as follows:

“ 12th Nivose, (Jan. 2,) 1805.

“ SIR AND BROTHER,

“ Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the people and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may for ages: but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties? and will not so much blood, shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, accuse them in their own consciencies? I consider it as no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war; it besides presents nothing that I need to fear. Peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been contrary to my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave the satisfaction to your children; for, in fine, there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable, to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned

assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity—what can it hope from war? To form a coalition of some powers on the continent? The continent will remain tranquil; a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew internal troubles? The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing culture can never be destroyed. To take from France her colonies? Colonies to France are only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect to cause two nations to fight for the sake of fighting: the world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it; and reason sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c. &c.

“ NAPOLEON.”

It must be evident, that the ruler of France had little else in view, when making this extraordinary overture, than that of indulging himself in the exercise of an act of indecorous presumption, and the satisfaction of indulging himself in the assumption of that tone of equality, with his brother the king of Great Britain, to the use of which he considered himself entitled by his novel dignity of emperor of the Gauls. Perhaps too he was not averse from the desire of appearing in the eyes of Europe as anxious for peace; and proposed to himself the taking great credit with the continent for

for the magnanimity of this offer, while England, on the contrary, by listening to the overtures thus made, would render those powers yet friendly towards her shy and suspicious of a closer connexion; or if she rejected them, would appear that ruthless and unappeasable disturber of the general tranquillity which was in truth the character of her wily opponent. Be that, however, as it may, it is observable, that, in this important state paper, there is no longer to be found that tone of arrogant superiority which characterized the language of the French government in the preceding year: no reference to the impossibility of England contending "single-handed" with France; nor any apparent wish to consider the former but as a powerful and equal rival.

To the above letter of Bonaparte the following official answer was given by the then English secretary, lord Mulgrave, in a note directed to M. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs in France, dated January 14, 1805 :

" His majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the 2nd of the present month. There is no object which his majesty has more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again to his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on a basis which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his states. His majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty feels that it is impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, until he shall have had time to communicate with the powers of the continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connections and relations, and particularly with the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and

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elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of Europe.

“MULGRAVE.”

In the sittings of the legislative body, 15th Pluviose, (Feb. 4,) the above letter was communicated to that body, by order of Bonaparte, together with the answer to it, when M. Segur introduced them with a speech which plainly evinced that the French government was by no means pleased with the answer they had received. He denied the existence or the chance of a coalition on the continent of Europe against France; asserted that Russia would not embark in a war merely to gratify England, and that the emperor had received the most unequivocal testimonies of the amicable dispositions of Austria and Prussia. In a word, that the hopes of England in a third coalition were vain and chimerical, and that “it only remained for French bravery to display its whole energy, and to triumph, at last, over that eternal enemy to the liberty of the seas and the repose of nations.”

The two other great public bodies, the Tribunal and the Conservative Senate, were also at this period separately addressed by the proper functionaries, to the same effect with the oration of M. Segur. Both contain only illustrations, corollaries, and amplifications of the same scheme and design, namely, the presenting a flattering picture of the French resources and government upon the one hand, and on the other, to falsify and discolour the truth in every particular connected with Great Britain and her continental allies. From the speech of M. Talleyrand, however, to the tribunate, it should seem that it was the wish of the French government that this overture should be considered as yet open, and that, after Russia had been consulted, farther discussions of an amicable nature might take place. The passage to which we particularly allude is too remarkable not to give it insertion.

“The character that pervades this answer,” says the
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the orator, "is vague and indeterminate. One single idea only presents itself with some precision, that of having recourse to foreign powers, and this idea is by no means pacific; a superfluous interference ought not to be appealed to, if there be not a desire to embarrass the discussions and to render them endless. The ordinary consequence of all complicated negotiations is to weary out good intentions, and to throw back nations into a war, become more furious from the vexation of an unsuccessful attempt at accommodation. Nevertheless, on a question regarding a multitude of interests and of passions which have never been in unison, we should not rest upon a single symptom. Time will soon develope to us the secret resolutions of the government of England. Should they be just and moderate, the calamities of war will cease: should, on the contrary, this first appearance of accommodation prove but a false light, intended only to answer speculations of credit, to facilitate a loan, the acquisition of money, purchases, or enterprizes, then we shall know how far the dispositions of the enemy are implacable and obstinate; we shall have to banish all hope from a dangerous lure, and trust without reserve to the goodness of our cause, to the justice of Providence, and to the genius of the emperor."

Several addresses were now made to Napoleon, proffering to him the utmost support of the government in carrying on the war with effect against the king of Great Britain, which we have alluded to above, and to which the emperor replied to the following effect:

"Soldier, or first consul, I had only one sentiment; as emperor, I retain the same—and that is, a wish for the prosperity of the French people. I have been fortunate enough to contribute to this object by my victories, to consolidate it by treaties, to stem the torrent of civil discord, and to pave the way for the restoration of morals, society, and religion. If I am not cut off by death in the midst of my labours, I hope to be able to leave to posterity a recollection which will

either serve as the example or reproach of my successors.

“ When I resolved to write to the king of England, I made a sacrifice of the most dutiful sentiments and the purest motives. I was influenced by a desire to spare the blood of my people. I shall always be ready to make the same sacrifices. My fame, my happiness, I have placed in the welfare of the present generation. I was desirous, as far as lay in my power, to render philanthropic and magnanimous ideas the prevalent ones of the present age. It belongs to me, in whom those sentiments cannot be ascribed to weakness; it belongs to us, to the best natured, the most enlightened, and most benevolent people, to remind the nations of Europe, that they make together but one family, and that every undertaking which they execute in their civil divisions, militates against the general welfare.

“ It would have afforded me the highest gratification, at so solemn an epoch, to look to the empire of peace throughout the world; but the political principles of our enemies, and their recent conduct towards Spain, shew sufficiently with how much difficulty this can be attained.

“ Gentlemen, deputies of the legislative body, I depend upon your assistance; you will uphold the valour of my army, in which I have the happiness to place the utmost confidence.”

The emperor then held a splendid levee, attended by all the newly-created princes and dignitaries of the state, and by a great number of the principal officers of the army, to whom he delivered the ribbon of the legion of honour; declaring, at the same time, “ that this order was intended to unite the institutions of the different states of Europe with the French empire, and to shew how much all those would be respected who established themselves on a footing of amity and concord with France.”

Corresponding with the tone and temper of the angry ebullitions made use of in the French legislature, their
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their official gazette at the same time published the speech of the king of England to his parliament, with a comment upon each paragraph, indicative of the same sentiments as had pervaded the orations to which we have above adverted. The whole of these manifestos, for they can be considered in no other light than as such, concluded with general denunciations of vengeance against the shores of Britain, which were threatened with immediate and irresistible invasion, and against its government, whose very existence was menaced by the exhaustion which the country must endure from a continuance of the present formidable posture of France for ten years to come!

But whatever were the views of the French emperor in having thus extended the olive branch, and his holding out to Europe that it was possible it might yet be accepted, it is certain, that no means were left unattempted by him which could increase and consolidate his power, or annoy that enemy who could alone check his career and put bounds to his ambition. His flotilla, destined for the invasion of England, was hourly augmenting, and becoming more concentrated at Boulogne, the common place of rendezvous. However watchful and intrepid the conduct of the British cruizers, it was found impossible, with every exertion of the most consummate skill and bravery, to prevent small divisions of the French gun-boats from stealing along the coasts, protected as well by their small draught of water as by the powerful batteries erected wherever an opportune situation presented itself from forming a junction at the above-named port, and their numbers at the commencement of the present year were truly formidable. The army destined for the same purpose, and encamped on the heights commanding the town and harbour of Boulogne, had now increased to upwards of one hundred thousand men, perfectly disciplined, under the command of the best officers of France, and constantly exercised in embarking and re-landing from the flotilla, with a view of perfecting them in the great object of their destination; and the eyes

eyes of all Europe were directed towards the preparations for an achievement, on the event of which the fate not only of the two countries was at issue, but that also of the whole moral and political world.

In the mean time a plan was projected for a formidable and general attack to be made on the British West India islands, by a considerable body of troops under general Legrange, escorted and covered by a powerful squadron under admirals Villeneuve and Mentz, with which force a Spanish fleet was also to co-operate. The division of the fleet commanded by admiral Mentz, called the Rochfort squadron, with Lagrange's troops on board, anchored before the island of Dominica on the 21st of February, 1805, and at day-break on the 22d made good their landing, and assailed the town of Roseau, which capitulated, after being in flames. The French general, however, acted with considerable humanity; he exerted every means of stopping the progress of the conflagration; and, after being convinced, from the spirited resistance made by the English general Prevost, in Fort Rupert, that the conquest of the island was not to be effected, he levied a contribution of 16,000*l.* upon the town of Roseau, and on the 27th re-embarked his troops, and the squadron steered for Guadaloupe, where it was joined by Villeneuve's squadron from Toulon, with ten thousand troops; and the Spanish squadron from Cadiz, under the command of admiral Gravina.

The principal operations of this expedition were destined against Jamaica and Barbadoes; but these settlements being found in a much stronger state of defence than was expected, at the same time that the French troops and seamen were very sickly, these objects were given up; and, after exacting contributions from Nevis and Basseterre, the combined fleet prepared to sail again for Europe. It had, however, captured, on the 8th of June, fourteen sail of the Antigua merchant ships, the very day after they left the port.

Admiral Villeneuve, having detached the *Ville de Milan*, of forty-six guns, with dispatches for Europe,
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she fell in with the British frigate the *Cleopatra*, of thirty-two guns, and, after a desperate action of near three hours, compelled her to strike. In three days afterwards both ships were chased by the *Leander* man of war, and were taken by the English, and carried into Bermuda. A division of the French squadron, however, had the good fortune to fall in with the *Calcutta*, of fifty guns, convoy to a fleet of seven sail of vessels from the East Indies, and several merchant ships from the Leeward Islands; two of which were captured, as was also the *Calcutta* man of war, after an action of an hour and a half. To other parts of the squadron also fell the English ships *Blanche*, *Arrow*, and *Acheron*, each of which fought till they became perfect wrecks, and sunk as soon as the respective crews could be taken from them. Part of the Lisbon and Oporto fleet was also taken, and its convoy the *l'Aimable* frigate had a very narrow escape.

The combined squadron had thus far performed its cruize to and from the West Indies, and had eluded with singular address the pursuit of the English fleet under lord Nelson, which had been dispatched for the express purpose of bringing it to action; an event not to be desired by Villeneuve on his return from so arduous a voyage, though he was prepared to risk an engagement without fear or alarm. This disposition he evinced when, on the 22d of July, 1805, he fell in with the British squadron under the command of sir Robert Calder. He might have stood for the port of Ferrol; but he disdained to fly before any force, much less from one that was apparently inferior. He therefore threw out the signal to bear up to the English fleet, and prepare for action. The number of ships composing the combined squadron amounted to twenty sail of the line, three ships of fifty guns each, five frigates, and three brigs; the fleet commanded by sir Robert Calder consisted of fifteen ships of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger. The action lasted upwards of four hours, when two ships of the Cadiz squadron, under admiral Gravina, viz. the *San Raphael*

phael of eighty-four guns, and *La Firma* of seventy-four guns, were cut off and taken by the English, who now declined any further engagement. The combined fleet, after continuing to offer fresh battle, stood for the port of Vigo, and after refitting there, sailed unmolested to Ferrol, and finally reached the port of Cadiz.

In the East Indies, admiral Linois still continued to manifest the most indefatigable exertions in promoting the various objects of his destination. He engaged the *Centurion* of fifty guns, and the *Princess Charlotte* East Indiaman, in the roads before Vizagapatam. The English captain Lind, in the *Centurion*, sustained two desperate actions with Linois in the *Marengo* of eighty-four guns and three frigates, and by his extraordinary valour saved his ship; but the *Princess Charlotte* struck her colours, and was carried to the Mauritius; which the French admiral relieved from the blockade of two English men of war, and by the presence of his squadron, contributed to put the place in a most formidable state of defence.

It will be recollected by our readers, that, in the course of the year 1804, Bonaparte had assumed the imperial purple, and had, in his own person, commenced a new dynasty, destined to sit upon the throne of the Bourbons, and reign over the vast dominions of France and her dependencies. But although this personage (certainly one of the most fortunate, if not the greatest character on which the page of history has ever dwelt,) had taken upon himself the style and title of emperor of the Gauls, respect for the form of government he had so recently established in the northern and middle provinces of Italy induced him to forego, at the moment of his advancement to the imperial diadem, the personal sovereignty of that country, and which still therefore retained the name of republic, of which Bonaparte was the nominal head.

The complete success, however, of the experiment which he had tried on the feelings of the French nation, and the acquiescence of the greater part of the European

European courts to the assumption of his new dignity, emboldened him, in the course of the year 1805, to extend his views of family aggrandizement, and the iron crown of Charlemagne was destined to circle the brows of Bonaparte. It is also more than probable, that policy and the lust of conquest had an equal share with ambition in inducing him to take the name of king of Italy. The limits and pretensions of the Italian republic were necessarily defined by the name and nature of the government it had chosen, and which could only extend to those provinces of which it already consisted. But the kingdom of Italy must necessarily comprize, unless the title were allowed to be a palpable absurdity, the whole of the natural and artificial divisions of that delightful country. When Bonaparte, therefore, desired to be its crowned and acknowledged monarch, and was hailed "king of Italy," his views upon the southern provinces, and the rich and fertile island of Sicily, when the character of the man is considered, could be no longer problematical. This conjecture too was not diminished in force when it was remembered, that under pretences equally insolent and unjust, the French were actually in considerable force in Naples, occupying the strong and important post of Otranto, and that a large body of troops were always kept in motion, hovering upon the Neapolitan frontier.

Whether all, or some only, of the motives we have detailed, operated upon the mind of the French emperor, upon this occasion, certain it is, that he lost no time in carrying his purpose into effect. He therefore proceeded to invest himself with the sovereignty of Italy, to which he had been invited by a deputation from the Italian consulta of state, on the 18th of March. This deputation was highly flattering to the exalted views of Napoleon; it enabled him to eclipse the glories of Charlemagne himself; it was received with eclat in the hall of the legislative assembly, before a full meeting of the senate convened for this

purpose, and to whom Bonaparte addressed the following speech:

“ SENATORS,—We have thought fit to appear among you respecting objects of the highest importance to the state. The force and power of the French empire, are only surpassed by the moderation which presides in all our political transactions.

“ We had conquered Holland; three-fourths of Germany; Switzerland; all Italy. We have been moderate in the midst of the greatest prosperity. Of so many provinces, we have only kept what was necessary to preserve us at the same point of consideration and power, which France has always possessed. The partition, of Poland, the losses sustained by Turkey, the conquest of the Indies, and almost all our colonies, had destroyed the balance of power to our disadvantage. Whatever we have deemed useless to re-establish that balance we have given up; and in doing so we have acted in conformity to the principle by which we have been constantly directed—never to take arms for vain objects of grandeur, nor from the lust of conquest.

“ Germany has been evacuated; its provinces have been restored to the descendants of so many illustrious families, which would have been ruined had we not afforded them our generous protection. We have raised them up and given them new vigour; and the princes of Germany have now more splendour and éclat than was enjoyed by their ancestors.

“ Austria herself, after two unsuccessful wars, has obtained the states of Venice. She would always have willingly exchanged the provinces she has lost for Venice.

“ Holland was declared independent almost as soon as it was conquered. The union of Holland to our empire would have perfected our commercial system, as the greatest rivers of one half of our territory run through Holland. Nevertheless, Holland is independent; and its customs, commerce, and administration, are conducted by its own government.

“ Switzerland

"Switzerland was occupied by our armies. We defended it against the combined forces of Europe. Its union with us would have completed our military frontier. Nevertheless Switzerland, by means of our mediation, governs itself through its nineteen cantons, independent and free.

"The union of the Italian republic to the French territory would have been an advantage to our agriculture; nevertheless, after the second conquest, we at Lyons confirmed its independence. We now do more. We proclaim the principle of the separation of the crowns of France and Italy, by fixing for that separation, the moment when it can be done, and without danger to our people of Italy.

"We have accepted, and will place upon our head, the iron crown of the ancient Lombards, in order to re-temper and consolidate it, so that it may not be broken by the shocks by which it will be threatened, as long as the Mediterranean continues out of its habitual state. But we do not hesitate to declare, that we will transfer that crown to one of our children, natural or adopted, the moment we are freed from alarms for that independence we have guaranteed to the other states of the Mediterranean.

"The genius of evil will in vain labour to rekindle war on the continent. What has been united to our empire by the constitution shall continue united to it. No new province will be incorporated with it. But the laws of the Batavian republic, the mediation of the nineteen cantons of Switzerland, and this first statute of the kingdom of Italy, shall be constantly under the protection of our crown, and we never shall permit any violation of them. In every circumstance, and in all transactions, we shall display the same moderation; and we hope that our people will not again be called to exhibit that courage and energy they have always shewn in the defence of their lawful rights."

In affected compliance, therefore, with the addresses which were poured in upon him, from the various constituted authorities of the Italian republic, who,

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like the Cappadocians of old, supplicated the yoke of bondage, and which urged the necessity of his appearance in Italy, to remedy the defects of a constitution they pretended was imperfect, and utterly inadequate to the wants and wishes of the people, Bonaparte, accompanied by his empress, set off for Milan on the 2nd of May, and arrived at that city early in the month. Not the consul Flaminius, when, on the part of the Roman senate, he announced the restoration of liberty to the oppressed and dejected states of Greece, was received with so much apparent transport, certainly not with so much adulation, as was now the person, who came expressly for the purpose of giving them a tyrant and a task-master, by the Italian states! Meetings were immediately convened, and the whole republic, at the feet of Bonaparte, humbly besought him to relieve them from the burthen of governing themselves, and to take upon himself and his heirs, the Italian diadem. To this flattering request the French emperor was not found inexorable, and, on the 26th of May, he added to his other titles, that of "King of Italy!!!"

The coronation took place at Milan, with the utmost splendour, solemnity, pomp, and the most imposing magnificence. The emperor, seated on a superb throne, having on his right the honours of the empire, on the left the honours of Italy, and before him the honours of Charlemagne, was invested with the usual insignia of royalty, by the cardinal archbishop, and finally ascending the altar, seized upon the celebrated iron crown, there deposited, and placed it upon his head, saying, at the same time, with a loud voice, and in a tone of defiance, (it being a part of the ancient ceremonial on the enthroning of the Lombard kings,) the remarkable words: *Dieu me la donne; gare à qui la touche!* i. e. "God gives it me; woe to him that presumes to touch it!" He then addressed the numerous assembly, and all the constituted authorities, in the following speech:

"LEGISLA-

“ **LEGISLATORS**,—I have neglected none of the objects upon which my experience in administration could be useful to my people of Italy. Before I return across the mountains, I shall go over a part of the departments, to become better acquainted with their wants. I shall leave depositary of my authority this young prince, Eugene Beauharnois, whom I have brought up from his infancy, and who will be animated by my spirit. I have besides taken measures to direct, *myself*, the most important affairs of the state.

“ Orators of my council will present to you a project of law authorizing my chancellor keeper of the seals, Melzi, to act for four years, in the quality of depositary of my authority, as vice-president; a domain which, remaining in his family, may attest to his descendants the satisfaction I have felt from its services.

“ I think I have given fresh proofs of my constant resolution to fulfil towards my people of Italy every thing they can expect from me. I hope that in their turn they will be desirous of occupying the place that I destine for them in my thoughts; and they never will attain it, but by persuading themselves that *the force of arms is the principal support of states*. It is time that youth who live in the idleness of great cities, should cease to fear the fatigues and dangers of war, and that they should enable themselves to make their country be respected, if they wish their country to be respectable.

“ Gentlemen of the Legislative Body, Vie in zeal with my council of state, and by that concours of wills towards the sole aim of the public prosperity, give to my representative the support he should receive from you.

“ The British government having received, with an evasive answer, the propositions I made to it, and the king of England having immediately rendered them public by insulting my people in his parliament, I have seen the hopes considerably weakened which I had conceived of the re-establishment of peace. However,

ever, the French squadrons have since obtained successes to which I attach importance only because they must farther convince my enemies of the inutility of a war which affords them nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. The divisions of the flotillas and the frigates built at the expence of the finances of my kingdom of Italy, and which at present make a part of the French forces, have rendered useful services in many circumstances. I preserve the hope that the peace of the continent will not be troubled; and, at all events, I find myself in a position to fear none of the chances of war: I shall be in the midst of you the very moment my presence becomes necessary for the preservation of my kingdom of Italy."

After the ceremony of the coronation, than which nothing could be more magnificent, a constitutional code, being the third which this country had received from France, was communicated to the states, and eagerly accepted by them. The most remarkable of its provisions were, the placing the regal authority solely in the person of Bonaparte, with the privilege of naming his successor; after which, however, the crown, with certain limitations, was to be hereditary. It was decreed that, hereafter, the monarch must constantly reside within the Italian states, but that, while the present king retained the crown of Italy, he might cause himself to be represented by a viceroy, who must, however, reside within the boundaries of the kingdom.

After the death of Bonaparte, the kingdom of Italy must never again be vested in the same person with that of the French empire, but be entirely disparted and separated from it; and ample means were allowed and provided for the maintenance of the regal dignity—the endowment of the queen—and every other expence incident to the high station the country had placed in the hands of Napoleon, the first of that name, king of Italy. Immediately after the promulgation of this body of laws, prince Eugene, (Beauharnois,)

harnois,) son-in-law to the new monarch, was appointed viceroy.

The emperor and king then proceeded to found a new order of knighthood for the kingdom of Italy, to consist of sixty great officers of state, one hundred commanders, and five hundred knights. It is entitled *the Order of the Iron Crown*, and is to bear as a motto the above-mentioned sentence, spoken by Napoleon when he received the crown. It was also ordered by an imperial decree, that the viceroy of Italy is to bear the title of *serene highness*, and shall sit on the throne to which his majesty's portrait is fixed, but shall keep his head uncovered; his highness, on entering the church, and on all other occasions where his majesty is not present, shall be received like the king himself; and the princes and princesses, the emperor's brothers and sisters, whenever they go to Milan, shall first pay a visit to the viceroy, whereupon he is to visit them in return. When a crowned head, in amity or alliance with France, arrives at Milan, the viceroy shall first bid such prince welcome. No person is permitted to sit down in his presence without his leave, except the princes and princesses, who may take their seats at the same instant with him; and, whenever the king goes to visit any individual, the master of the house must go to the door of the carriage to receive him.

An intention was partly announced of removing the seat of the Italian government to Rome, the ancient metropolis of the world.—A splendid diadem, the produce of the improved state of the arts in Paris, was on this occasion exhibited at Milan; and cardinal Fesch was dispatched to Rome to present it to his holiness the pope. This diadem, or tiara, is richly set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; and there is one emerald at the top of it, supporting the cross, which weighs an ounce and three quarters. This large emerald had been preserved for several ages in the treasury of the Vatican, and was now, in this handsome

handsome manner, restored to the pope by Bonaparte, who had formerly taken it as plunder.

It is observable that, at the ceremonial of the coronation of Bonaparte, the doge of the Ligurian republic was present at Milan, doubtless in order the better to prepare himself for the part which, in a few days, he was called upon to play. Hitherto Bonaparte had preserved to Genoa, the once proud rival of Venice for the empire of the seas, and always the firm and attached, indeed the natural ally of France, an appearance of independence, and, under the new constitutions of the Ligurian republic, had condescended to consider and treat with her as an independent state. It is true, the new republic had not much to boast of, either in the terms or the result of the treaty, which was concluded between her and France, in the course of the last year. For the liberty of sailing under French colours, and a few other as equivocal advantages, Genoa had bound herself to furnish France with six thousand sailors, during the continuance of the present war: she likewise ceded her harbour, dock-yards, arsenals, &c. to the disposal of the French government; and further engaged to construct a bason, large enough to build and equip ten sail of the line, at her own expence; the ships to be built from her stores, solely for the use of France! For these concessions her independence was to be acknowledged and secured.

The tender mercies of the French ruler, however, were not to be of long endurance. An extension of the same policy which had operated in the change of the Italian republic, was to extinguish for ever the liberty and independence of Genoa.

We have already seen, that, in the settlement of the throne of Italy, it was stipulated that it should never hereafter vest in the person of the future French emperor: hence a possibility of an entire separation between the two countries in political friendship and relations. Contemplating such an event, the annexation
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of Genoa and its territory to the crown of France was an object of the last importance. Already in possession of Savoy and Piedmont, that of Genoa secured the passage of French armies into Italy, by a road which, if in the hands of an hostile or even a neutral power, would be utterly impracticable, and the future dependence of Italy upon France might be rendered, or gradually become, doubtful and precarious.

Before such considerations the faith of treaties was as nothing in the scale; and the chief of the Ligurian republic was given to understand that he must prepare himself to make, in the name of the people, a formal surrender of their liberties and territory to the French nation. This ceremony took place, with all due solemnity, at Milan, on the 4th of June, when the doge, in a full convocation of the great officers of state of the new kingdom of Italy, addressed Bonaparte, and solicited him to grant to the Genoese nation the happiness of being his subjects. His majesty returned a very long and a very gracious answer; in the course of which he said, "I will realize your wish—I will unite you to my great people. It will be to me a new means for rendering more efficacious the protection I have always loved to grant you. My people will receive you with pleasure. They know that, in all circumstances, you have assisted their arms with friendship, and have supported them with all your means. They find besides, with your ports, an increase of maritime power, which is necessary to them to sustain their lawful rights against the oppressors of the seas. You will find, in your union with my people, a continent. You have only ports and a marine. You will find a flag, which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain on all the seas of the universe constantly free from insult and from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognize but for places really blockaded, as well by sea as by land. You will find yourselves sheltered under it from this shameful slavery, the existence of which I reluctantly suffer with respect to weaker na-

tions, but from which I will always guarantee my subjects."

Having thus secured to himself personal aggrandizement, to his family the reversion of a new formed kingdom, and to France a most important territorial acquisition, Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he arrived on the 12th of August, and was received on the road and in his capital with the demonstrations of the greatest personal attachment of his people, and of their entire approbation of his conduct.

Whether it were that these great arrangements having been completed to his perfect satisfaction, that he now seriously meditated the invasion of the British islands; or that, aware of the necessity there would be of speedily employing the whole of his disposable force upon the continent; the emperor had hardly returned to his capital, when he repaired to the encamped army at Boulogne, for the purpose of reviewing it, as well as to inspect the means by which it was to pass the narrow seas. Having satisfied himself of the efficiency and excellent appointment of this vast body of troops, not less at that moment than one hundred and fifteen thousand disciplined soldiers, without reckoning the cavalry or artillery, he again proceeded to Paris, where the threatening aspect of affairs required his immediate presence.

From the tenour of the official publications which appeared in the course of last year, on the part of those powers who could, with safety to themselves, openly remonstrate against the daily aggressions and increasing pretensions of the chief of the French nation, it might have been expected, that ere long further efforts would be made to assert the independence of Europe, and set bounds to his ambition.

In fact, early in the present year, (11th of April,) a treaty of concert, between the king of England and the emperor of Russia, was signed at St. Petersburg, whereby, after observing that the state of suffering in which Europe was placed demanded speedy remedy, the contracting parties mutually agreed to consult upon

on the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for further encroachments on the part of the French government. In this view, they agreed to employ the most prompt and most efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe, and in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force which, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic majesty, might amount to five hundred thousand effective men, and to employ the same with energy, in order either to induce or to compel the French government to consent to the re-establishment of peace, and of the balance of Europe. ✓

The object proposed to be effected by this league was the evacuation of the Hanoverian territory and the north of Germany.—The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.—The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances would permit.—The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces. The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.—His Britannic majesty engaged to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces, both by sea and land, as well as vessels for transporting troops in the general plan of operations, and to assist the different powers by subsidies, which should correspond with the amount of their respective forces so employed.

It was mutually agreed, that, in the event of this league being formed, they would not make peace with France, but with the common consent of all the powers who should become parties to it.

Sweden and Austria had already entered into these views; but no intention was manifested on the part of these powers to proceed to hostilities, until an attempt to attain by negotiation the objects of the concerted

alliance had proved abortive; on the contrary, a Russian envoy (baron Novosiltzoff) was nominated to negotiate with France, and had actually proceeded to Berlin, on his way to Paris, when intelligence arrived of the annexation of Genoa to the French empire.

Under this change of circumstances, he applied to his court for fresh instructions: the result was his immediate recal. But, prior to his departure, he addressed a note, dated the 10th of July, to baron Hardenberg, the Prussian minister, which was communicated by him to M. la Forêt, the French resident at Berlin, explaining the cause of the interruption of his mission. The following is a translation of baron Novosiltzoff's manifesto:

“ When his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in compliance with the wishes of his Britannic majesty, had resolved to send the undersigned to Bonaparte, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the court of London, his Russian majesty was guided by two sentiments and motives of equal force, namely, his desire, on the one hand, to support a sovereign who was ready to make exertions and sacrifices for the general tranquillity; and, on the other hand, to procure advantages to all the states of Europe from such a pacific disposition.

“ His imperial majesty of Russia availed himself of the mediation of his Prussian majesty, when he requested passports for his plenipotentiary. He declared that he should only receive them on that particular condition, namely, that his plenipotentiary should enter directly upon a negotiation with the chief of the French government, without acknowledging the new title which he had assumed; and that Bonaparte should give explicit assurances that he was still animated by the same wish for a general peace which he had appeared to shew in his letter to his Britannic majesty. This preliminary assurance was the more necessary, since Bonaparte had assumed the title of king of Italy immediately upon receipt of the answer given by his
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Britannic majesty to his letter of the 1st of January; a title which in itself put a new obstacle in the way of the desired restoration of peace.

“ By a fresh aggression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France has been effected. This event of itself, the circumstances which have accompanied it, the formalities which have been employed to hasten the execution thereof, the moment which has been chosen to carry the same into execution, have, alas! formed an aggregate which must terminate the sacrifices which his imperial majesty of Russia would have made, at the pressing request of Great Britain, and in the hope of restoring the necessary tranquillity to Europe by the means of negotiation.

“ Without doubt his imperial majesty of Russia would not have insisted so strenuously on the conditions fixed by him, if the French government had fulfilled the hope that it would respect the first tie which holds society together, and which upholds the confidence of engagements between civilized nations; but it cannot possibly be believed, that Bonaparte, when he granted the passports, which were accompanied with the most pacific declarations, seriously intended to fulfil them; because, during the time which would necessarily elapse between the granting of the passports and the arrival of the undersigned at Paris, he took measures which, far from conciliating the restoration of peace, were of such a nature that they annihilated the very grounds of peace.

“ The undersigned, in calling to the recollection of his excellency baron Hardenberg facts with which the cabinet of his Prussian majesty is very minutely acquainted, must at the same time inform him, that he has just now received from his Russian majesty an order, dated the 9th (21st) June, to return the annexed passports immediately, and to request your excellency to transmit the same to the French government, with this present declaration, since no use whatever can be made of them in the present state of affairs.

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"The undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to renew to his excellency the assurance of his respect.

(Signed) "N. VON NOVOSILTZOFF."

The above manifesto was a signal to Austria to become a member of the league, and accordingly a treaty to that effect was signed on the 9th of August, by her plenipotentiary, at St. Petersburg. A copy of it was also immediately transmitted by all the foreign ministers then residing at Berlin to their respective courts, by special couriers. The French government was also quickly occupied in analyzing its contents, and in framing a counter-manifesto, which was published at Paris on the 13th of August:

"The mission of the Russian envoy, M. Novosiltzoff, was announced to all Europe several months before it commenced; and this was sufficient to render it abortive. It also became the subject of many discussions, calculations, and intrigues. If the object of his mission was to allay the coolness existing between France and Russia, he would probably have succeeded. What, indeed, have France and Russia to do with each other? Independent of each other, they are unable to hurt, but all-powerful to do good, to one another. If the emperor of the French exerts great influence in Italy, the emperor of Russia exerts a much greater influence on the Ottoman Porte and in Persia. The former has a limited influence, which does not extend beyond the discussions on the subject of her boundaries, and does not much increase her power; the latter, on the other hand, exerts her influence over two powers of the first rank, which have long stood in the same political rank with France and Russia, and which rule over Arabia, the Caspian and the Black Seas. If the Russian cabinet thinks it has a right to fix the just boundaries by which France is to be limited on all sides, then that cabinet will undoubtedly allow the emperor of the French to fix the boundary by which it is to be limited in its turn. When it views with
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Herschel's telescope, from the terrace of the palace of the Tauride, what happens between the emperor of the French and some tribes in the Appennines, it ought not to demand that the emperor of the French should not see what becomes of the ancient and illustrious empire of Solyman and of Persia; that he should not see that for ten years past the whole Caucasus had been united with Russia; that Wallachia and Moldavia are entirely dependent on Russia; that she has subjected to herself the mouths of the Phasis, and constructed forts there; that, thereby obliging the Porte to suffer her conquests, she has procured great advantages to herself for pursuing her conquests into the heart of Persia.

"Is, then, the emperor of the French lowered to that degree of weakness, that he must coolly listen to a Russian commissary calling him to an account for what he does in countries unknown to Russia, and with which she has no relation? that he must close his eyes from seeing, and restrain from answering, when sultan Selim has less to say in Constantinople than a simple envoy from St. Petersburg; when the Rosphorus is violated, and the consequences of the occupation of the Crimea and of the mouths of the Phasis are felt in full force? But if a Russian commissary, coming to Paris to say that a diminution of influence in Italy was demanded, should say at the same time, that a guarantee shall be given for Persia and the Porte, the Caucasus restored to the shah of Persia, and tranquillity be given to that vast empire after so many years of internal wars and calamities, then it would be easy to conceive what would be the effect of such language: the emperor of the French would be ready to meet so noble an agreement; he would listen, not to menaces, but to a desire to consolidate the independence of nations and the happiness of mankind. Whatever sacrifices he should make for the independence of the Porte and of Persia, he would still be a gainer: posterity, for which he labours, would acknowledge him its deliverer, and admire the acuteness of that reason which

which made him discover beforehand that the Russians would be the oppressors of the whole world, even as they now oppress the North, and the establishment of that universal monarchy with which Europe has been so much frightened, and which has been so long held up to its view as the aim of the French nation, which comprises every thing in itself, and can never be dangerous to the independence of other countries.

“ If the Russian plenipotentiary came with a message from England, who is there but sees the difficulties, the unavoidable trouble, which new instructions, new pretensions of Russia would introduce? If the English government is desirous of peace, it will recollect that it can only reply to a French note by an English note. These two languages are easily translated, and the intervention of another would only render the négociation more intricate. Could M. Novosiltzoff be acquainted, that, at the time of the treaty of Amiens, the empire of Mysore was not wholly united to the English possessions? that the empire of the Mahrattas was annihilated? that England has doubled her power in India, and that no European ship can navigate those seas? Did he think that France would give up her commerce with India for ever? Or did that plenipotentiary come to say, that Russia had procured the liberty of the Indies, and of the European commerce in India? the recognition of the universal sovereignty of the seas? the renunciation of all the interpretations concerning the right of blockade? Did he at the same time come to demand, that the crown of Italy should be placed on another head, and to require the surrender of some parts of the territory on the other side of the Alps? If this was the case, he should have been welcome; he would have met with no obstacles, and his undertakings would have been crowned with success.

“ But if he, approving what England does, recognizing her right to search all ships, to place whole kingdoms in a state of blockade, applauding the immense increase of her power in India, came to represent

sent to France, that she ought to evacuate Parma and Genoa, and renounce the crown of Italy; then it would appear that it was evidently intended to oppress France; then it would be France which they would wish to bring back to those times when Poland was partitioned without its own consent, when means were found to terrify a degenerate race, to deprive it of the consciousness of its worth, and even of the will of opposing the oppression. France has arms, courage, and armies; yea, of whatever nature the coalition shall be which the English ministers may find means to form, France, though regretting the influence of English gold on the continent, will dissolve the gordian knot as often as it shall be formed.

“ Poland has been partitioned; France must have for it Belgium and the banks of the Rhine. The Crimea has been occupied, the Caucasus, the mouths of the Phasis, &c. France must have a compensation in Europe; the principles of self-preservation require it.

“ Is a general congress of Europe wished for? Well. Let each power place at the disposal of that congress the conquests which she has made within the last fifty years; re-establish Poland, restore Venice to its senate, Trinidad to Spain, Ceylon to Holland, and the Crimea to the Porte; withdraw to a distance from the Phasis and the Bosphorus; give up Caucasus and Georgia; let the Porte, after so many disasters, take a little breath; let the dominion of the Mahratta, and the kingdom of Mysore, be re-established, or no longer remain the exclusive property of England—then shall France recede within her ancient boundaries, and in so doing France assuredly will not be the greatest loser. Whence then this furious outcry, this summons to a crusade against a power which for the last fifty years has derived less advantage than any other from the revolutions of states, and the changes which have taken place in every part of the globe, and which, uniformly victorious, has retained nothing of

her conquests but what was necessary to form an equitable compensation?

“ It is the fashion at present to inveigh against the ambition of France; had she, however, been disposed to retain the territories conquered by her arms, the half of Austria, the states of Venice, the kingdom of Naples, Switzerland, and Holland, would still have been subject to her dominion. The real boundaries of France are the Rhine and the Adige. Did not the French penetrate beyond the Adige and the Rhine? Were they prevented by force of arms from taking the Sulza and the Drave as their boundaries? Or did they not forego those boundaries from a generous moderation?

“ As to England, the treaty of Amiens is still in force. It was concluded after a deliberate and long investigation of the reciprocal interests of the two states; it was broken unexpectedly, and upon idle pretences. Re-establish that treaty, and both states are at peace. But if England requires new conditions—if she wishes to enter into a discussion respecting the frontiers of France on the side of Italy—let her give to France a share of the Mahratta territory; let her, in short, adopt maxims consistent with the independence of the other powers. But the English will perhaps say, ‘ It is better to sink than to consent that the flag shall protect the cargo—that a vessel, for whatever she contains, or whatever is done on-board her, shall be accountable only to the sovereign of the state to which she belongs—that the Indies shall cease to be our property, or that any other power whatsoever shall have a right to share with us in our superiority in the Indies!’ Do not then expect that France shall enter into discussions upon points which do not concern you, or do you consent to enter into discussions with her upon points which involve the sacred interests of all nations?—France duly appreciates the advantages of peace: but she will carry on the war as long as it shall be necessary towards maintaining the honour

nour of her flag, and the preponderance which it has acquired; and until she has obtained the assurance, that in whatever quarter of the world a Frenchman may shew himself, he shall not have occasion to blush in consequence of the insults and arrogant assumptions of the English."

A continental war now appearing inevitable, contending princes seriously prepared to augment their armies, and called forth all their energies for carrying their respective plans into effect. Bonaparte, averse to procrastination, and determined to bring the point to an issue, on the 16th of August, published a declaration, calling upon the emperor of Russia to avow the object of his immense armaments, and of his real intentions towards France; and also on the emperor and king of Austria and Germany to remove his army from the Tyrolese; and either to observe a strict neutrality, or declare his intentions with respect to the warlike preparations then on foot. This requisition concludes as follows:

"The emperor of the French is on the point of undertaking the expedition against England. In this intention, and depending entirely upon the peace existing with Austria, and the other powers of the continent, he has assembled on the coast the greatest part of his troops from Italy and the Rhine, and has almost entirely evacuated Switzerland. It was, therefore, to his infinite surprise, that his majesty learned that great movements have taken place among the Austrian troops in Italy, in the Tyrol, and towards the frontiers of Bavaria. His majesty consequently thinks himself not only justified, but also obliged, before he executes the great enterprise in question, to require of the court of Vienna a positive declaration relative to the objects of those measures and its farther intentions, that, in case the reply be not satisfactory, the emperor of the French may postpone the expedition against England, and repair to the Rhine with his whole force, for the purpose of compelling Austria to preserve the peace of the continent."

4 F 2

Counter

Counter declarations were immediately issued by the courts of Petersburg and Vienna. The Russian minister, on the 31st of August, delivered the declaration of his sovereign to the French minister at Vienna. It is therein stated to be "the fixed and inflexible resolution of Russia to enforce her claim by war; or, if submitting to a negotiation, to maintain a state of armed truce while the articles are pending. That the emperor considers himself as under the solemn obligation of rescuing the states of Europe from French predominance, and of affording them an immediate and effectual resistance. He refuses to recommence the negotiation, under any circumstance, until he has placed himself in a situation to be enabled to assist his allies at the moment when they may be attacked. For this purpose he has ordered two armies, of fifty thousand men each, to march through Galicia to the Danube, as a measure of precaution, in order to continue the support of a powerful army of observation, with the negotiations for peace; which army will be in a situation to prevent all farther aggressions during the period of pacification."

This declaration of the court of Russia, was followed by that of the emperor of Austria to the French government, which was transmitted on the 3d of September:

"The court of Vienna yields, without delay, to the request which the emperor of France has made of a categorical explanation respecting the motive of its preparations. The court of Vienna has no other motive than that of maintaining peace and friendship with France, and securing the general tranquillity of the continent. It has no other wish than that the emperor of the French may entertain corresponding sentiments. The maintenance of peace, however, between the two states, does not merely consist in their not attacking each other. It depends not less, in reality, on the fulfilment of those treaties on which peace is founded.

"The

“ The peace between Austria and France was founded upon the treaty of Luneville. One of the articles of that treaty stipulated and guaranteed the independence of the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian, republics, and left them at liberty to choose their own governments. Any measures, therefore, which tend to compel these states to choose a government, constitution, or sovereign, otherwise than according to their free will, or otherwise than is consistent with the maintenance of a real political independence, is a breach of the peace of Luneville, and it is the duty of Austria to complain of such a violation.

“ The maintenance of general tranquillity requires that each power should confine itself within its own frontiers, and respect the rights and independence of other states, whether strong or weak. That tranquillity is troubled, when any power appropriates to herself a right of occupation, protection, or influence; when that right is neither founded on the laws of nations or on treaties; when she speaks after peace of the right of conquest; when she employs force and menaces to prescribe laws to her neighbours, and compels them to sign treaties of alliance, concession, subjugation, or incorporation, at her will.

“ Under such circumstances, it becomes necessary for other powers to arm, to support each other, and to join in maintaining their own, and the general security. Thus the military preparations of the court of Vienna are provoked by the preparations of France, as well as by her neglect of all means of securing and maintaining the balance of power, and future tranquillity. On the contrary, French armies were rapidly assembled in Italy, without any regard to the promises given that no military preparations should take place in that country. An encampment of thirty thousand men in the plain of Marengo, was speedily followed by another encampment of forty thousand men on the frontiers of the Tyrol and Austro-Venetian provinces. His majesty thus found himself under the necessity of providing, without delay, for his own safety.

safety. He was now convinced that his pacific, friendly, and moderate, sentiments were not met by such sentiments on the part of his majesty the emperor of the French, as to permit him any longer to neglect taking the necessary measures for asserting his just rights, and maintaining the dignity of his empire.

“ This is the cause of the present armament. The same dispositions, however, which made his majesty so anxious to avoid a recurrence to such measures, have also determined their precise object. The emperor arms not with hostile views; he arms not to operate a diversion against a landing in England. Besides, the execution of this descent, after two years menaces, does not seem to be exactly calculated for the moment when France provokes Austria and Russia, by enterprises which have no relation whatever to the quarrel with Great Britain. The emperor arms for the maintenance of the peace existing between him and France. He arms for the maintenance of those pacific stipulations without which his peace would become illusory, and to attain that just equipoise which depends on the moderation of all the powers interested, and which is calculated to secure the balance and the permanent tranquillity of Europe.

“ The step by which his majesty has at the same time invited all the courts interested to renew the negotiations which have been broken off, is directed to the same object. The unexpected rejection which his interposition has experienced on the part of his majesty the emperor of the French, does not prevent him from renewing that invitation. And as a demonstration of the rectitude of the sentiments entertained by the two imperial courts of Austria and Russia, it is hereby formally declared in the name of both:—

“ That they are ready to enter into a negotiation with France, for maintaining the peace of the continent on the most moderate terms which are compatible with the general tranquillity and security:

“ That,

“ That, whatever shall be the issue of the negotiations, and even should the commencement of hostilities become unavoidable, they at the same time pledge themselves to abstain from every proceeding tending to interfere with the internal concerns of France; or to alter the state of possession, and the *legally-existing* relations in the German empire; or, in the slightest degree, to injure the rights or interests of the Ottoman Porte, the integrity of whose dominions they are, on the contrary, prepared to defend to the utmost of their power.

“ Finally, That the sentiments of Great Britain are conformable with those herein expressed, and that she has displayed the same moderate disposition for the restoration of peace between her and France.”

To these declarations, Bonaparte, on the 23d of September, published his final resolves. He therein insists on the uniform disposition of France to maintain pacific measures with Austria; and, as evidence of the fact, he instances many aggressions on the part of the emperor of Germany, which he had borne in silence for the sake of peace.

“ He has not complained of the immediate extension of territory on the right side of the Piave, against the acquisition of Lindau, against all the other acquisitions made by Austria in Suabia, and which, subsequently to the treaty of Luneville, have materially altered the situation of the neighbouring states in the interior of Germany; he has not complained of the debt of Venice not having been discharged, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the treaties of Campo Formio and of Luneville; he has not complained of the denial of justice experienced at Vienna by his subjects of Milan and Mantua, none of whom, notwithstanding their formal stipulations, have been paid their demands; neither has he complained of the partiality with which Austria has recognized the right of blockade, which England so monstrously arrogates to herself; and, when the neutrality of the Austrian flag was so often violated, to the injury of France, he was not provoked

provoked by this conduct of the court of Vienna to make any complaint; thus making a sacrifice to his love of peace in preserving silence upon the subject.

“ Twice able to deprive Austria for ever of one half of her hereditary states, far from diminishing her power, he had increased it. If he could have placed no reliance upon her gratitude, he thought he might upon her honour. He gave her the strongest proof of confidence he possibly could, in leaving his continental frontiers dismantled and ungarrisoned. He stands justified, therefore, in his complaints of the deceitful and illusory conduct of the court of Vienna in her pretended negotiation, till, at last raising the mask, she became the apologist of England; and by announcing that she would open her states to two Russian armies, she plainly acknowledged the confederacy into which she had entered with Russia in favour of England. All further explanation, therefore, with the court of Vienna having become impossible, an appeal to arms was the only means that were compatible with honour. Let England exult that she has at last found allies; her joy will be of short duration, and the day is not far distant when the rights of nations shall be avenged.

“ The emperor, obliged to repel an unjust attack that he has laboured in vain to prevent, is under the necessity of suspending the execution of his first designs. He has withdrawn from the brink of the ocean those old troops so often victorious, and he marches at their head. He will never lay down his arms until he shall have obtained full and entire satisfaction, and complete security as well for his own estates as for those of his allies.”

In aid of the impending exigencies, a new conscription of eighty thousand men was ordered to take place, with a view of recruiting their armies and supplying the waste of war. This conscription was to be enforced with all the rigour of penal law. Evasion and desertion would be construed into treason against the state, and the most ignominious punishments denounced against

against such as were backward in joining the armies. When this decree had passed the legislative assembly, the emperor, the day before he quitted Paris to join the army, delivered the following speech :

“ SENATORS,

“ In the present circumstances of Europe, I feel the necessity of being in the midst of you, and of acquainting you with my intentions. I am going to leave the capital to head the army, to bring speedy assistance to my allies, and to defend the dearest interests of my people.

“ The wishes of the eternal enemies of the continent are accomplished; the war has commenced in the midst of Germany. Austria and Russia have joined England, and the present generation are again drawn into all the calamities of war. A few days ago, I still hoped that the peace would not be disturbed; menaces and outrages had no effect upon me. But the Austrian army has passed the Inn, Munich is invaded, the elector of Bavaria is driven from his capital; all my hopes are vanished.

“ It is at this moment that the malignity of the enemies of the continent has developed itself. They still fear a display of my profound love of peace; they fear lest Austria, at the sight of the abyss which they have dug under her feet, should return to sentiments of justice and moderation. They have plunged her into the war. I sigh for the blood it will cost to Europe; but the French name will derive a new lustre from it.

“ Senators, when in conformity to your wishes and to the voice of the whole French people, I placed on my head the imperial crown, I received of you, of all the citizens, the engagement to preserve it pure and without blemish. My people have given me on all occasions proofs of their confidence and love; they will fly to the colours of their emperor, and of his army, which in a few days will have passed the frontiers.

“ Magistrates, soldiers, citizens, all will keep their country free from the influence of England, who, if

she were to prevail, would grant us only a peace surrounded with shame and disgrace, and of which the principal conditions would be, the burning of our fleets, the filling up of our ports, and the annihilation of our industry.

“ All the promises which I have made to the French people I have kept. The French people, on their parts, have made no engagements to me but what they have exceeded. In these circumstances, so important to their glory and to my own, they shall continue to deserve that name of *The Great People*, with which I hailed them in the midst of the field of battle.

“ Frenchmen, your emperor will do his duty, my soldiers will do their's, you will do your's.”

The activity and vigilance of Napoleon in preparing for immediate action were conspicuous in all his measures and appointments; and these were carried into effect with equal promptitude and facility. The arrangement and organization of the several departments of the army were stated to be as follows:

112 Regiments of the line	404,828 men.
30 Battalions of light infantry	107,540
85 Cavalry	64,226
16 Artillery	21,430

598,024

This number, with the addition of the different corps from Corsica and the islands, of twenty-one regiments of Batavian or Dutch soldiers, eleven Swiss regiments, eighteen regiments of Italian troops, and the imperial guard, consisting of fifteen thousand men, made a total of six hundred and fifty-one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four effective troops, at once ready to commence the war.

From the aggregate of this vast armament Napoleon drew out the different divisions for immediate movement; assigned the proper officers to each apportionment of the army; chalked out their respective routes with geographical precision; and laid down to each

each general-in-chief his particular line of service. The grand army, of which the emperor himself was to take the absolute command, and next to him marshal Berthier, was to consist of one hundred and fifty thousand men; the command of the centre to be given to marshal Bernadotte, the right wing to Oudinot, and the left to Marmont; attached to whom were marshal Lasnes, the generals Suchet, Gazan, Boudet, and Grouchy. The department of cavalry was under prince Murat, and generals Sebastiani, Belliard, Beaumont, Wattier, and Klien. The chasseurs, carabineers, and cuirassiers, were under generals D'Espagne, Nansouty, Fauconnet, Hautpoult, and Baraguay d'Hilliers. The imperial guard was under the command of general Bessieres. An auxiliary army, consisting of one hundred thousand men, was placed under marshals Soult and Davoust; attached to whom were generals Vandamme, Lagrande, and St. Hilaire. Another auxiliary division, consisting of fifty thousand men, was under the orders of marshal Ney, with generals Dupont, Loison, and Malher. A third auxiliary army, consisting of fifty thousand men, was commanded by marshal Augereau, with generals Bonhomme, Duroc, and Verden. Besides these, the Batavian division of troops were under general Dumonceau; and the Bavarian corps were led by generals Deroi and Nogarella. The whole of this armament was destined to act in Switzerland and Germany; and the grand point of concentration and co-operation was to be at Vienna, the capital of Austria.

The army of Italy was to consist of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under Massena, as commander-in-chief; with Gouvion St. Cyr at the head of the right wing, and Mortier on the left; to whom were attached generals Sessa, Verdier, Gardanne, Duhesme, Partonneaux, Charpentier, Solignac, and Regnier; the cavalry was under general Monnet. All these formidable armies were at once put in motion; were alike impelled by the same sentiment of emulation; all pursued equally and precisely their different routes, and

took each their positions with that promptness and precision, which almost to a certainty ensured their success.

The emperor Napoleon, with the empress Josephine, his minister Talleyrand, and his council of state, quitted Paris on the 24th of September, 1805, and arrived at Strasburg two days after. Marshal Bernadotte, who, at the moment that the army set out from Boulogne, advanced from Hanover towards Gottingen, marched by Frankfort for Wurtzburg, where he arrived on the 23d of September. General Marmont, who had arrived at Mentz, passed the Rhine by the bridge of Cassel, and advanced to Wurtzburg, where he formed a junction with the Bavarian army and the corps under marshal Bernadotte. The corps under marshal Davoust passed the Rhine on the 26th at Mannheim, and marched by Heidelburgh and Necker-Eltz, on the Necker. The corps under marshal Soult passed the Rhine on the same day, on the bridge that was thrown over it at Spires, and advanced towards Heilbronn. Marshal Ney's division passed the Rhine the same day by the flying bridge opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard. The corps under marshal Lasnes passed the Rhine, on the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced towards Louisburgh. Prince Murat, with the cavalry, passed the Rhine at the same place, and remained for several days in a strong position before the defiles of the Black Forest. The great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 30th of September, and advanced towards Heilbronn. The emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October, at Kehl, slept at Ettlingen the same evening, and received there the elector and princess of Baden, and went to Louisburgh, to the elector of Wurtemburgh, in whose palace he accepted accommodations.

The main body of the French army being now on the German side of the Rhine, Bonaparte hereupon issued a proclamation to his troops, wherein he stated, "that the third coalition had commenced; the Austrian

strian army had passed the Inn; and, in violation of all treaties, had attacked and driven his ally from his capital. We will not stop, until we have secured the independence of the Germanic body, relieved our allies, and confounded the pride of unjust assailants. Our politics shall not again suffer by our generosity; for we will not make peace, without a guarantee for its execution. Soldiers! your emperor is in the midst of you. You are but the vanguard of the great nation; if it be necessary, it will in a moment rise, at my voice, to dissolve this new league, which British gold and hatred have woven. We have to expect privations and hardships of every description, but we will conquer every obstacle, and we will not rest until we have planted our eagles on the territories of our enemies."

On the same day, the 20th, the divisions of marshal Bernadotte and general Marmont formed a junction with the Bavarians at Wurtzburgh, and commenced their march to the Danube. Marshal Davoust's corps marched from Neckar-Eltz, and pursued the rout by Englesfinghen, Dunkelsbuhl, Altingen, and Donawert. Marshal Soult, with his corps, took the rout from Ochringen, Abgemund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. Marshal Ney, with his corps, marched from Stuttgart, and proceeded by Eppingen, Wissenstein, and Nahurn; and marshal Lasnes' corps broke up from Louisburgh, and took the rout by Plutershausen, Aalen, and Oedlingen. The position of the French army on the 4th of October was as follows: marshal Bernadotte and the Bavarians were at Weissenburg, marshal Davoust at Altingen, on the river Reinitz, marshal Soult, at Donawert, marshal Ney at Kessingen, marshal Lasnes at Neresheim, and Murat, with his cavalry, on the borders of the Danube.

The arrangement and organization of the Austrian and Russian armies, though they had long contemplated and determined on the war, appear by no means to have been equally forward with the French; nor had they the means, on the approach of the invading

vading armies, to form any kind of junction or co-operation with each other, to oppose them. The aggregate number and appointments of the Austrian and Russian forces, were said to be as follow: the Austrian army consisted of three hundred thousand men, split into four principal divisions. The chief command of the troops acting in the duchy of Venice, Italy, and the southern Tyrol, was conferred on the archduke Charles; to whom was given as an assistant, and as general of cavalry, the archduke John. The troops destined to act in Germany and the Voralberg were in two divisions; one under the chief command of the archduke Ferdinand; and the other under generals Jellachich and Wolskehl; the advanced corps were under the chief command of field-marshal baron Mack. The chief command of the division in the western Tyrol, was confined to field-marshal baron Aussenberg.

The Russians had stipulated to march into the field with two hundred thousand men, under general Kutusoff as commander-in-chief of the first division, and generals Buxhovden and Michelson as commanders-in-chief of those which were to follow: but this army was not prepared, and only a small proportion of it had marched into the positions allotted to them. The number of troops to be furnished by Sweden was never ascertained; nor did they come at all into action. Nor did the English troops, which were to co-operate with the Swedes and Hanoverians in forming a considerable armament in the rear of the French, ever march to their destination.

* The first advantage gained by the French at the opening of the campaign, was the accession of the elector of Bavaria to their cause, who was driven into their arms by the violent behaviour and unreasonable demands of the emperor of Austria. The French army in Suabia, which, even with a junction of the Bavarian troops with those of Austria, would have been superior to the Austrian forces in point of numbers, was by this means nearly doubled. Austria did

not perceive her error with respect to the views of Bavaria, till in a direct course from her own limits to the Rhine, which alone separates France from the German states, she had completely crossed Bavaria, and entered Suabia, which lies beyond it. The object of the archduke Ferdinand appears to have been to have passed the Rhine, and carried the war into the heart of France by entering the province of Alsace: here he found, however, that the French army opposed to him was too powerful for him; that it had anticipated him in crossing that river; and that Bavaria, instead of uniting with him, was on the point of fulfilling its treaty with France by the co-operation of thirty thousand men. Instead of advancing, therefore, he was compelled to retreat; and in doing this, he made choice of a strong and almost impregnable situation for his encampment in the interior of Suabia, and on the banks of the Danube; at the same time that field-marshal baron Mack was ordered to take his position under the walls of the strong town of Ulm.

After crossing the Rhine, the French troops had approached towards the banks of the Danube, when they made a general halt to take breath and receive fresh orders. Napoleon soon put the whole army again in motion; which instantly began to act upon a plan conceived with such genius, and executed with such boldness and rapidity, that nothing could stand before it. On the 6th of October, the second division of that part of the corps under marshal Soult, commanded by general Vandamme, made a forced march, rested only two hours at Nordlingen, arrived at Donawert at eight o'clock in the evening, and gained possession of the bridge, which was defended by the regiment of Colloredo. A skirmish took place, in which some Austrians were killed and taken prisoners.

On the 7th, at break of day, prince Murat arrived with his dragoons. The bridge had just been repaired, and prince Murat, with the division of dragoons commanded

commanded by general Wattier, advanced to the Lech, and ordered colonel Wattier, at the head of two hundred dragoons of the fourth regiment to pass over; who, after a very brilliant charge, took the bridge of the Lech, and routed the Austrians, whose force was double.

On the 8th, marshal Soult set out with the two divisions of Vandamme and Legrande, on his way to Augsburg; whilst general St. Hilaire, with his division, advanced thither by the left bank. On the same morning prince Murat, at the head of the divisions of dragoons of generals Beaumont and Klein, and of the divisions of carabiniers and cuirassiers, commanded by Nansouty, began his march, for the purpose of cutting off the road from Ulm to Augsburg. When he had arrived at Wersingen, he perceived a strong division of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of duke Albert's cuirassiers. He immediately brought them to action. Marshal Lasnes, who followed these divisions of cavalry, arrived with part of the division of Oudinot; one brigade only was in time to charge. The action was uncommonly severe. All the cannon, colours, almost all the officers who fought at Wertingen, were taken: a great number were killed. Two lieutenant-colonels, six majors, sixty officers, and four thousand soldiers, were made prisoners. The remainder were dispersed; and what escaped owed their safety to a morass, which stopped a column that was turning the enemy. Excelmans, aid-de-camp of prince Murat, had two horses killed under him. Colonel Arrighi, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, charged the regiment of cuirassiers of duke Albert with singular impetuosity, and had his horse killed under him. That column of grenadiers, the flower of the Austrian army, having formed in a square of four battalions, was penetrated and cut down. The twelfth battalion of dragoons charged in the wood. These twelve battalions of grenadiers were marching in great haste from the
Tyrol

Tyrol to the assistance of the Austrian army in Bavaria.

Marshal Soult, with his divisions, manœuvred, throughout the whole of the 7th and 8th, on the left bank of the Danube, in order to intercept the communication with Ulm, and to observe the corps which appeared to be still collected in that place. On the 10th, he pursued an Austrian division, which had taken post at Aicha, drove it from thence, and on the 11th, at noon, entered Augsburgh, with the divisions of Vandamme, St. Hilaire, and Legrande. On the 10th, in the evening, marshal Davoust, who had crossed the Danube at Nieuburgh, also arrived at Aicha with his three divisions.

General Marmont, with the divisions of Boudet, Grouchy, and the Batavian division of general Dumonceau, passed the Danube, and took a position between Aicha and Augsburgh; while the army under marshal Bernadotte, together with the Bavarian corps, took their position at Ingolstadt. The imperial guard, commanded by general Bessieres, proceeded to Augsburgh; as likewise the division of cuirassiers, under the command of general Hautpoult.

Prince Murat, with the division of Klein and Beaumont, and the division of carabineers and cuirassiers under general Nansouty, hastened to the village of Zusmerhausen, in order to intercept the road from Ulm to Augsburgh. Marshal Lasnes, with the grenadier division of Oudinot, and the division of Suchet, also took post the same day near the village of Zusmerhausen.

The emperor Napoleon now passed in review the dragoons of Zusmerhausen: he ordered to be brought before him a dragoon, named Marente, who, in the passage of the Lech, had saved his captain, that a few days before had cashiered him from his rank. His majesty bestowed upon him the eagle of the legion of honour. The emperor then expressed his satisfaction to the dragoons for the conduct they displayed in the affair of Wertingen. He ordered each regiment to

présent a dragoon, on whom he also bestowed the eagle of the legion of honour.

Marshal Ney on his side, with the divisions of Wal-ler, Dupont, and Loison, the division of dragoons of general Barraguay d'Hilliers, and the division of Gazan, ascended the Danube, and attacked the enemy in their position at Gramberg. The rain fell heavily; but nothing could abate the ardour of the soldiers, or retard the forced marches of the grand army. The emperor set the example night and day; he continually appeared in the midst of his troops, in every point where his presence could animate them to brave danger, and push forward to fresh victory.

The action at Wertingen was followed, within the space of twenty-four hours, by the battle of Gunsburgh. Marshal Ney ordered the whole of his corps to push forward; the division under the command of general Loison, was to hasten to Langenau; and that commanded by general Malher, was to approach Gunsburgh. The Austrians who attempted to make head against these movements, were defeated in every direction. It was in vain that the archduke Ferdinand hastened in person to the defence of Gunsburgh. The position was, in pursuance of general Malher's orders, attacked by the fifty-ninth regiment, and an obstinate engagement took place man to man. Colonel Lacuee was killed at the head of his regiment, which, notwithstanding the most vigorous resistance, carried the bridge by storm, and took the pieces of cannon by which it was defended. Gunsburgh now submitted. Three attacks were made by the Austrians, which proved abortive; and they retreated with precipitation. Prince Murat's reserve came up at Burgatt, and cut off the retreating enemy in the night. In this affair, which took place on the 9th of October, the Austrians lost nearly three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including the garrison at Gunsburgh, together with the greater part of their cannon. The French lost only four hundred in killed and wounded. The Austrian general d'Aspre was among
the

the prisoners. The archduke Ferdinand retreated to Ulm.

The actions of Albeck, Elchingen, and the capture of Ulm, Munich, and Memmingen, rapidly followed the affairs of Wertingen and Gunsburgh. Marshal Soult marched with his division to Landsberg, where he cut off the chief communications of the enemy. He arrived on the 11th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and met the regiment of cuirassiers of prince Ferdinand, who, with six pieces of cannon, were repairing in forced marches to Ulm. The twenty-sixth regiment of French chasseurs charged this regiment, killed many of them, took one hundred and twenty prisoners, one lieutenant-colonel, two captains, and two pieces of cannon.

On the 13th, marshal Soult arrived before Memmingen, immediately invested the town; the commandant capitulated the day following. Nine battalions of Austrian corps were made prisoners; a major-general, three colonels, many other field officers, with ten pieces of cannon, baggage, and ammunition. The Austrians evacuated Gunsburgh early on the 10th, where marshal Ney arrived at noon with his head quarters, and the French occupied that city, drawing up their corps along the left bank of the Danube to Langenau and Albeck, where another engagement took place, in which the Austrians sustained a great loss in killed and wounded, and a number of them were taken prisoners. The Austrians retired to Heideinsheim on the 13th, where they found a part of the baggage belonging to the French corps which had made an attack at Albach on the 11th.

Marshal Bernadotte made a forced march on the 11th, and pushed his advanced guard to within two leagues of Munich. The baggage of several Austrian generals fell into the hands of his light troops. He made a hundred prisoners from different regiments. Marshal Davoust also advanced towards Daebau. His van reached Moisach. The hussars of Blankenstein were attacked by his chasseurs, and in different

actions he took sixty horsemen prisoners. Marshal Bernadotte arrived before Munich on the 12th, at six o'clock in the morning; he entered the city, and made eight hundred prisoners; and then set out in pursuit of the archduke Ferdinand, who had retired from Munich for Ulm. On the 15th, Bernadotte had pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the route to Brannau; he took five hundred prisoners, and seventeen pieces of cannon; having thus taken, since his entry at Munich, one thousand five hundred prisoners, nineteen field pieces, two hundred horses, and a great quantity of baggage, *without the loss of a single man!*

In the mean time Napoleon had so completely invested Ulm, that no possibility of escape was left to general Mack and one-third of his original force, but by opening a passage through an army four times as numerous as his own. This determination was not to be attempted with any probability of success in the then situation of the two armies, whatever might have been done had offensive operations been had recourse to earlier. But it appears that general Mack had thought very highly of the position of Ulm, and so much was he wedded to this opinion, (which might have had some weight, had the French army penetrated, as it had heretofore done, by the Black Forest,) that he overlooked the possibility of what had actually occurred.

The great error of the Austrian commander-in-chief seems to have been too wide a dispersion of the different corps composing his army, so that the French were allowed to attack them severally in detail, by a force so superior as to render their resistance ineffectual; whilst, it may be presumed, had he pursued a similar plan, and had attacked the several divisions of the French army separately, as they advanced, before they had concentrated themselves in force, the event might have been as favourable, as, under the present circumstances, it proved disastrous.

The city of Ulm, occupied by the Austrian commander

mander-in-chief, who had left with him about thirty thousand men, was now completely invested, and the French troops already in possession of the neighbouring heights that commanded the fortifications, which were in themselves extremely imperfect, and incapable, under more favourable circumstances, of being defended for any length of time. In fact, general Mack appears to have abandoned all idea of making such an effort.

Bonaparte, eager to avail himself of such an advantage, in order to hasten the surrender of the place, on the 15th made preparations, as it were, to storm the town, and issued an address to his army, wherein he informs them, that "the following day will be an hundred times more celebrated than that of Marengo, for the Austrian troops were now placed in a similar situation. But," continues he, "merely to conquer the enemy would be doing nothing worthy either of yourselves or your emperor. Not a man should escape, and that government which had violated all its engagements, should first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna."

This proclamation was immediately followed by a summons to general Mack, requiring him to capitulate without loss of time, and threatening, in case of refusal, to storm the town.

These measures had the desired effect, and Mack, after a short deliberation, acceded to the terms proposed. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, he agreed to surrender the city of Ulm, and all its artillery, magazines, &c.

The following are the terms of capitulation:

"Article 1. The city of Ulm shall be surrendered to the French army, with all the magazines and artillery.—2. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war, and, after filing off, lay down their arms. The field officers shall be sent on their parole to Austria, and the soldiers and subalterns shall be sent into France, where they shall remain until they are exchanged.—3. The officers and soldiers shall retain

tain all the effects belonging to them.—4. The sick and wounded Austrians shall be treated in the same manner as the French sick and wounded.—5. If, nevertheless, there should appear by noon of the 3d of Brumaire, 14th year, (25th October, 1805,) an army capable of raising the blockade of Ulm, the garrison of this fortress shall in that case be released from the present capitulation, and at liberty to act as it may think fit.—6. One of the gates of Ulm (that of Stuttgart) shall be given up to the French army at seven o'clock to-morrow, as also quarters sufficient for the accommodation of one brigade.—7. That the French army shall be put in possession of the grand bridge over the Danube, and also have a free communication between both banks.—8. The service shall be so regulated as to prevent any disturbance, and to maintain the best understanding.—9. All the cavalry, artillery, and waggon horses, belonging to the emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, shall be given up to the French army.—10. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 9th, articles shall not be carried into execution until it please the commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops; provided nevertheless, that the period of execution shall not be later than twelve at noon of the 25th of October, 1805; and if, by that time, an army should make its appearance, in sufficient force to raise the blockade, the garrison shall, conformably to article 5, be at liberty to act as it may think proper. Done in duplicate at Ulm, 25th Vendemiaire, 14th year, (17th October, 1805.)

(Signed) "MARSHAL BERTHIER.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MACK."

On the 19th, after an audience which the emperor Napoleon granted to general Mack, marshal Berthier and that general signed an addition to the capitulation, purporting that Ulm *must be* evacuated by the Austrian garrison on the 20th. There were then at Ulm twenty-nine thousand men, four thousand horses, eighteen generals, and eighty pieces of cannon.

Additional

*Additional Articles of the Capitulation of Ulm,
imposed on the 19th.*

“ Marshal Berthier, being empowered by the emperor’s command, gives his word of honour :—1. That the Austrian army is this day on the other side of the Inn, and that marshal Bernadotte, with his army, has taken a position between Munich and the Inn.—2. That marshal Lasnes, with his corps, is pursuing prince Ferdinand, and was yesterday at Aalem.—3. That prince Murat, with his corps, was yesterday at Nordlingen; that the lieutenant-generals Werneck, Baillet, Hohenzollern, and seven other generals, have yesterday surrendered to general Belliard, at the village of Trotzelfingen.—4. That marshal Soult is posted between Ulm and Bregenz, cutting off every communication from the Tyrol; and there is, consequently, no possibility of succour arriving before Ulm.—5. That lieutenant-general and quarter-master general Mack, giving credit to the above declaration, is ready to evacuate Ulm to-morrow, on the following conditions :

“ That the whole corps of marshal Ney, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four regiments of horse, shall not quit the city of Ulm and its environs, at the distance of ten leagues, before the 25th October at midnight, the period when the capitulation is to expire. The whole Austrian army shall defile to-morrow, at three in the afternoon, before the emperor of the French, with all the honours of war: they shall lay down their arms, and the officers, who shall keep their arms, shall receive passports to go by the two roads of Kempten to Austria, and of Bregenz to the Tyrol. Done in duplicate at Elchingen, the 19th October, 1805, (27th Vendemiaire, year 14.)

(Signed) “ MARSHAL BERTHIER,
“ LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MACK.”

The emperor Napoleon, on the 20th, took his station, from two o’clock in the afternoon to seven in the evening, on the heights near Ulm, where the
Austrian

Austrian army defiled before him. This was a proud day for France. The French army were posted on the heights. The emperor, surrounded by his life-guard, sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them with him until their troops had all filed off. He treated them with the utmost distinction. There were present, besides the general-in-chief Mack, eight generals, and seven lieutenant-generals.

The capitulation concluded at Troitzelfingen on the 19th of October, for the Austrian troops under the command of general Werneck, between him and Belliard; and also those of the capitulation of the escort of the Austrian heavy baggage and ammunition, commanded by major Locatelli, concluded between that officer and the French brigadier general Fauconnet, on the 18th, at Bottingen; were couched in similar terms with those for Ulm; and the Austrians who surrendered at both the above places, were to be sent prisoners into the interior of France.

At the time of the capitulation of general Werneck near Nordlingen, the archduke Ferdinand, with a corps of one thousand cavalry and some artillery, placed himself in the van. He advanced into the Prussian territory, proceeding by the way of Gunzenhausen towards Nuremberg, and prince Murat followed in the same track, and succeeded in overtaking him. An action took place on the road from Furth to Nuremberg on the evening of the 29th. All that remained of his park of artillery and all the baggage were, without exception, taken. The chasseurs of the imperial guard drove back all the troops that faced them. The two regiments of carabineers maintained great reputation. The forced march of prince Rupert from Albeck to Nuremberg, is truly astonishing. Though constantly engaged, he gained on the enemy, who were two days march before him. The result of that prodigious activity was the taking of one thousand five hundred waggons, fifty pieces of cannon, and sixteen thousand men, including those capitulated with general Werneck. The battalions of chasseurs which

which had followed the army since its passage at Stutgard, departed to conduct to France a column of twelve thousand prisoners.

The following is the statement of the total of prisoners: ten thousand at Augsburgh, thirty-three thousand at Ulm, twelve thousand at Donauwerth, and twelve thousand on their march for France, making in the whole sixty-seven thousand men. Napoleon addressed the Austrian generals, as their army was filing past him, in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, your master carries on an unjust war. I tell you plainly I know not for what I am fighting. I know not what can be required of me. It is not in this army alone that my resources consist; though were this the case, I should still be able to make head with it; but I shall appeal to the testimony of your own prisoners of war, who will speedily pass through France; they will observe with their own eyes the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. At a single word two hundred thousand volunteers crowd to my standard, and in six weeks become good soldiers; whereas your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers till after several years. I would give my brother the emperor of Germany one further piece of advice—let him hasten to make peace. There is a crisis when, he must recollect, all states must have an end. The idea of the approaching extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine, must impress him with terror. I desire nothing upon the continent. I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

General Mack replied, "that the emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but was compelled to it by Russia." "*If that be the case,*" said Bonaparte; "*then you are no longer a power.*" The emperor treated lieutenant-general Klenau, whom he knew as commander of the regiment of Wurmser, with particular civility; as also the lieutenants-generals Giulay, Gettersheim, Ries, and the prince of

Lichtenstein, &c. comforting them in their misfortunes, and telling them that war has its chances, and that they who had frequently been conquerors, might be conquered in their turn. The fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen were ordered to be destroyed.

The whole number of officers taken amounted to nearly two thousand. Each officer was obliged to give his word of honour in writing, that he would not serve again during the war, or until exchanged. If they should do otherwise, the laws of war would be executed in their greatest rigour. Among the Austrian officers taken at the battles of Elchingen, Wertingen, Memmingen, Ulm, &c. were M. M. baron Mack; the prince of Hesse Homburgh; baron de Stipsehis; count Giulay, quarter-master-general to the army of prince Ferdinand; baron Laudon; count Klenau; counts Gonesheim, De Riese, Baillet, Werneck; prince of Hohenzollern, prince of Lichtenstein, major-general baron Abel, baron Ulm, baron Weidenfeld; counts d'Auberg, Gheueddy, Fremel, Stiecher, Hermann, taken at Elchingen; count Hermann, taken at Ulm; counts Reichter, Dieursberg, Mithiery, Wogel, Weiber, Hohenfeld, baron d'Aspre, count Spangen, &c.

Thus gloriously for France, without even one pitched battle, ended the first part of the campaign in Germany. On the 24th of September the emperor Napoleon had only left his capital; and on the 20th of October, a period of merely twenty-six days, he could boast of having annihilated the choicest of the Austrian armies of one hundred thousand men in their own territory, with the loss only of five hundred killed, and one thousand taken prisoners, out of the whole French invading army! The period of action was indeed considerably shorter; by which the merit of the troops is greatly enhanced. Napoleon, on the 22d of October, at the head-quarters at Elchingen, congratulated his army on these great events, in the following address:

“ SOLDIERS

"SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY,—In fifteen days we have made a campaign. What we proposed to ourselves has been accomplished. We have driven the troops of the house of Austria from Bavaria, and established our ally in the sovereignty of his estates. The army, which with so much ostentation came upon our frontiers, is now destroyed. But of what importance is this to England? Her end is fulfilled. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidy will neither be more nor less. Of one hundred thousand men which composed this army, sixty thousand are prisoners. They will go and replace our conscripts in the labour of our fields. Two hundred pieces of artillery—all the park, ninety stand of colours, and all the generals, are in our power. There has not escaped from this army more than five thousand men.

"Soldiers, I had announced to you a great battle; but, thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to procure the same advantages without running any hazard; and, what is without example in the history of nations, we obtained these great results with the loss of only one thousand five hundred men *hors de combat*. Soldiers, this success is owing to your unbounded confidence in your emperor, to your patience in bearing fatigues and privations of every kind, and your rare intrepidity. But we do not rest here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. The Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremity of the universe, is about to experience the same fate. This attack more especially belongs to the honour of the infantry. The question is now put for the second time, which has already been decided in Switzerland and Holland,—whether the French infantry is the *first* or the *second* in Europe? There are no generals there in the conflict, with whom I can acquire any glory. My effort will be to obtain victory with the smallest possible effusion of blood. My soldiers are my children,

"NAPOLEON."

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There

There is no instance to be found in history of such important successes having been obtained in so short a space of time, and that over a numerous army composed of some of the best troops in the world. But the errors committed, in the first place, by the cabinet of Vienna, and, in the second, by the Austrian general to whom this army was confided, merit severe animadversion. It may be asked, what could have induced the Austrians to take so advanced a position, while the Russian army, by which they expected to be supported, were still at so great a distance? But having done so, perhaps, under the idea that the French were not prepared to act with such astonishing promptitude, why should they continue in that position after they were informed of the French army being in full march, and of the route which it had taken, instead of falling back upon their reinforcements? or, if there were objections to that measure, why not attack, with a collected force, the several divisions of the French army, with which they came into contact before they could concentrate themselves? or, having neglected that opportunity, why not endeavour, with the whole strength of their army, to force their way back to the Inn? But, instead of making any such effort, Mack separated his army into several divisions, which he suffered to be successively overpowered and defeated, with little loss to his adversaries. Thus, by gross misconduct, the main Austrian army in Germany was, as it were, annihilated.

For the encouragement and reward of his victorious army, the emperor directed, on the day after the surrender of Ulm, that the month Vendemiare, year 14, should be reckoned as a campaign; that in lieu of only a month's pay, it should receive that of a whole campaign; and that all conquests should be fairly divided among them. For this purpose he decreed as follows:

“ 1. Possession will be taken of all the Austrian estates in Suabia.—2. The war contributions, and those in

in ordinary, shall be for the profit of the army. All magazines, whether of artillery or of subsistence, shall be also to its profit.—3. All particular contributions, and all effects drawn from the magazines, shall be restored to the general mass. No person shall profit from the right of war so as to injure the general mass of the army.—4. A treasurer and director-general shall be appointed to report to an army council of administration, the contributions which have been raised. Every man shall have a share according to his rank and appointments.—5. The payments shall issue with exactness from the imperial treasury.

“ NAPOLEON.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE command of the French army in Italy had been given to marshal Massena, which had lately been strongly reinforced, and had to oppose a powerful and well composed Austrian army, under the direction of the favourite German commander, the archduke Charles. The Austrians had likewise strengthened the fortified passes in the Tyrol, and a considerable body of troops stationed under the command of the archduke John, to defend that country, and to maintain the communications between the armies of Germany and the territory of Venice.

At the same time a combined force of Russians and British were collected at Corfu and Malta, for the purpose of making a descent in Italy, while another army of Russians, Swedes, and English, were prepared, in the north of Germany, to invade Hanover, and for further enterprize, when occasion should require it.

The French general-in-chief, marshal Massena, encouraged his men, on the assembling of the army, by the following proclamation:

“ Soldiers,

“Soldiers of the Army of Italy, His majesty the emperor and king has appointed me your general in chief. It is gratifying to me again to behold my former companions in arms, and to find in them sentiments, which I knew them to possess, attachment to discipline and devotion to their duty. I will ever address to them the language of these sentiments; and I fondly believe that they will be ready to answer it, if political circumstances should compel his majesty the emperor and king to give the signal for battle, in spite of the desire which he has ever manifested to maintain peace. Soldiers, you will bear in mind, that you are on a field of battle, rendered illustrious by his victories, and that, at every step, we shall meet traces of his magnanimity and his genius. I am substituted at your head, in the place of a general, distinguished by his services, who is called to another destination, whither, without doubt, your wishes will accompany him. Upon whatever theatre his majesty shall place us, soldiers, let us justify his choice, and let us have but one thing in our thoughts, our country and our emperor.”

The archduke Charles and general Massena being now in face of each other, on the opposite sides of the Adige, waited only for the signal of attack, which appears to have been calculated by the French from the time that their army in Germany should have come in contact with the Austrians in that quarter. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, marshal Massena prepared to force the passage of the Adige. His army amounted to about ninety thousand men, while that of the archduke Charles did not exceed seventy-five thousand.

Marshal Massena, on collecting his forces, had judiciously chosen the strong position of Zevio and its environs, from whence he could easily repair to any quarter where circumstances should demand. The Austrian army, under the command of the archduke Charles, was posted near Verona, on the opposite bank
of

of the Adige. On the 18th, at four o'clock in the morning, general Massena marched his army to the bridge near the castle of Verona, with the view of crossing the river, and giving battle to the Austrians. When he arrived, he found the bridge was barricaded, and some of the arches cut; but the chasm was not so wide but that twenty-four companies of a new French brigade called *voltigeurs*, "leapers," sprang across it, and began to engage the Austrians posted on the opposite side, while the main army crossed over to their support, by means of beams and planks. A wall had also been erected across the middle of the bridge, which the French demolished by a petard. The Austrians defended the passage with a considerable force, and with equal spirit; but they were soon overwhelmed by the divisions under generals Gardanne and Duhesme, and obliged to retreat to the heights, at some distance, where they had entrenchments. The archduke Charles sent reinforcements from all quarters, and an obstinate engagement took place which lasted till six o'clock in the evening. The Austrians did not yield an inch of ground without strongly disputing it; but they were at last driven from all their positions, and their entrenchments destroyed. Seven pieces of cannon and eighteen ammunition waggons were the fruits of the victory, with fourteen hundred prisoners. They left twelve hundred dead on the field, and had a great number of wounded. On the side of the French there were but few killed, and about three hundred wounded.

The campaign having thus successful begun, partial skirmishes took place from day to day until the 29th, when Massena attacked the Austrians soon after five in the morning. Whilst, on their left wing, the division of general Sessa passed the Adige at Polo, that of general Verdier manœuvred from Ronco to Albaro. On the 20th, the divisions of Gardanne and Duhesme, extending themselves before the bridge of the old castle of Verona, attacked the heights of Val Pantena, and drew round the castle of St. Felici;
when

when the general-in-chief, availing himself of their position, obliged the Austrians to evacuate Veronetta. The palisades of the new bridge were immediately cut down; when the division of horse chasseurs under general d'Espagne, that of grenadiers under general Partonneaux, the cavalry reserve commanded by general Monnet, and the division of marshal Mortier, marched through Veronetta, and proceeded to the great road of St. Michel, where the Austrians had formed with their infantry and cavalry, protected by several pieces of cannon. The French cavalry was ordered to make repeated charges, which were executed with activity, and supported by the grenadiers of the division of Mortier. In one of those charges the squadron of guides forced five hundred infantry to lay down their arms. The enemy were routed, driven from the village of St. Michel, and pursued beyond St. Martin, whilst the French occupied Vago. Sixteen hundred prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, were the result of this day's engagement. The Austrians left many killed on the field of battle. The French had about sixty killed, and nearly one hundred wounded.

Hitherto Massena was rather confined in his operations, being cautious not to advance too far until he had received information of the state of the campaign in Germany. After the action of the 20th, he took a position within two miles of Caldiero, near which place the archduke was strongly posted. Nothing material occurred between the two armies for several days. In the mean time intelligence of the surrender of general Mack's army reached him, and of Bonaparte's intention to proceed, without loss of time, to meet the combined Russian and Austrian forces.

Under these circumstances it became a matter of great importance that he should give full occupation to the archduke, and press forward with the utmost diligence, in order to execute the plans of co-operation assigned to him.

Accordingly

Accordingly he commenced, on the 30th, a very vigorous attack upon the whole line of the army opposed to him. The division of Mortier formed the left, the centre was commanded by general Gardanne, and the right by general Dubesme. The action began on the left, and the three successive attacks were bravely resisted by the Austrians. Twenty-four battalions of grenadiers and some other regiments were ordered, by the archduke, to advance against the French. Both armies fought with the utmost fury. The French cavalry at length made some impression, and being well supported by several battalions of grenadiers, who fought with the bayonet, the Austrians, after a desperate resistance, in which they were assisted by the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, were finally driven from the field, with the loss of three thousand five hundred prisoners. In so obstinate an engagement the carnage must have been great, for the field of battle was strewed with bodies, so much so indeed as to induce the archduke Charles to demand a suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of burying the dead. But this was not the only loss sustained by the Austrians in this affair. A column of five thousand men, which it should appear was detached from the corps of Rosenburgh, with the view of falling upon the rear of the French army, was, by the issue of the battle, completely cut off. General Hillinger, who commanded it, at first manifested an intention to defend himself, and even compelled a regiment of light infantry, sent against him, to take shelter under the walls of the castle of San Felici. The commander-in-chief, Massena, on being informed that, on the 1st of November, this column was marching to the heights of St. Leonard, sent one of his aids-de-camp to summon it to surrender. General Hillinger declared his intention to defend himself to the last extremity. Early in the morning of the 2d, Massena gave orders to the twenty-second regiment of light infantry under colonel Coquet, to advance from Veronetta: Hillinger made a movement to approach him,

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and forced him to take a position under the walls of the castle of San Felici. The commander-in-chief repaired immediately to the spot, and ordered four battalions of grenadiers to surround the enemy. General Charpentier was charged with these dispositions, which he executed with precision, in concert with general Solignac. A new summons was now sent to the enemy, who found himself under the necessity of laying down his arms. The following capitulation took place, which put into the possession of the French five thousand prisoners, with their arms and ammunition, seventy officers, one brigadier-general and one major-general, and several colonels:

“Article 1. The Austrian troops, commanded by general Hillinger, are made prisoners of war, under the following conditions:—2. General Hillinger, as well as all the officers under his command, shall retain their swords, horses, and baggage. They shall be permitted to return to Vienna on their parole of honour not to serve against France, or her allies, until exchanged.—3. The soldiers shall lay down their arms before they enter Verona. They shall retain their booty, (*butin*).—4. All the wounded Austrians in the neighbourhood of Payano and Grazzano, shall be immediately removed to the French army, in order that they may be there properly treated.—5. The troops of his majesty the emperor of Germany, having fought with the greatest intrepidity, and not having capitulated until they were completely surrounded, the French army will do for them every thing that is due to military courage. Done in duplicate at Caralbartini, Nov. 2, 1805.

(Signed) “HILLINGER.
“SOLIGNAC.”

Although the army under Massena had been successful, it had not made any very considerable progress. The archduke Charles, however, for a variety of reasons, came to the determination of making a positive retreat. He seems to have been principally actuated by the desire of relieving the Austrian capital,

pital, now in imminent danger, while he could have little hopes of contending successfully against the army of Massena, which was now reinforced by twenty-five thousand additional troops, under general St. Cyr, which had evacuated the kingdom of Naples, in conformity with the terms of a convention entered into with his Sicilian majesty. The archduke began his march on the night of the 1st of November, with great caution, so that it was not discovered by the French before the next morning. Massena, informed of this, on the morning of the 3d, at break of day, sent out reconnoitring parties to all positions of his line. The division of chasseurs on horseback, under general d'Espagne, and the light division of general Gardanne, were also dispatched in pursuit of the Austrians, who were harrassed through the day, and of whom they made six hundred prisoners. The result of these movements was the immediate occupation of the intrenched heights of Caldiero, with the important post of Montebello. From this place, after a few hours only, Massena proceeded to Vicenza, which he entered the same night, after a short resistance, and made one thousand five hundred prisoners, most of them wounded. They likewise here found the remains of some magazines.

The archduke retreated on the road for Bassano, on his arrival at which place he had the option either of attempting his retreat by the Trent, into the Tyrol, or by Treviso, through Carniola, or Carinthia. The disposition of the French German army appears to have determined him to adopt the latter course. He would, in his progress towards Vienna, by the former route, have had to contend with the corps of general Marmont and marshal Bernadotte, whilst Ney was in force on the confines of the Tyrol, on one side, and Augereau on the other, who were stationed to intercept him, and a superior force under Massena was close upon his rear. By taking the latter route, he might, if necessary, reach Hungary, without meeting any opposition in front, and there he would find the

means of recruiting his army. In either case his retreat was difficult, being continually harrassed by the light troops of the French.

The French advanced guard arrived at the Brenta immediately after the Austrians had passed that river, and were endeavouring to destroy the bridge. This brought on a cannonade from the opposite banks, and the French were hindered from crossing till the next morning. Early on the evening of that day, marshal Massena entered Castel-Franco, and the chasseurs of the army were in possession of Salvaternada and Albando. Here the French army was allowed some repose, being greatly exhausted from their incessant exertions. In their advance from Montebello fifteen hundred prisoners fell in the hands of the French. They also levied heavy contributions upon the great towns through which they passed.

Marshal Massena met with no opposition worth mentioning between the Brenta and the Tagliamento. Behind the latter river prince Charles made a show of resistance, and posted his troops in such a manner as indicated a disposition to oppose the passage of the river. Massena was somewhat imposed on by this appearance, so that he did not seriously attempt to pass the river until his main force was arrived. On the 12th of November, the division of chasseurs commanded by general d'España, together with the cuirassiers and dragoons under generals Marmont and Pulley, were posted in front of the Austrians, while the divisions of Duhesme and Suas were stationed at St. Vito, and those of Mortier and Gardanne at Valvasonna. Nothing occurred on that day but some skirmishes between a squadron of French troops, which had crossed the river, and a party of Austrian cavalry, except a heavy cannonade, which continued the whole day. The attack was to have taken place on the next morning; but the archduke retreated during the night, and directed his march to Laybach in Carniola, without attempting to defend Palma Nuova, though a place of some strength; his object being to effect his retreat with

with as little delay as possible, in order to succour the hereditary states.

Marshal Massena determined to allow of no respite to the retreating enemy, instantly crossed the river, drew up his troops in two columns, and advanced towards the Isonzo. On the 16th he came up with the rear of the Austrians, and a partial engagement took place; at the close of which the enemy's cavalry fell back in the greatest disorder, and their artillery escaped on account of the night: they were however driven under the walls of Gorizia. The commander-in-chief made dispositions for a general attack on the morning of the 17th, but the Austrians would not risk it. They again availed themselves of the night to hasten their retreat. The French army took an advanced position beyond the Isonzo, where three hundred fresh Austrian prisoners were brought in. The magazines established at Udina and Palma Nuova also fell into the hands of the French.

It was now perceived that the object of the archduke Charles was to abandon Italy entirely; having doubtlessly been informed of the intention of the French general to place him between two fires. It was one of the great objects of the emperor Napoleon to form a junction between the army of Italy and the grand army in Germany, by means of either one or other of the divisions of Marmont, Bernadotte, or Augereau. To avoid being thus entangled, the archduke, with his cavalry, took the great road leading to the hereditary Austrian states; while the principal part of his infantry proceeded through the valley of Idria to gain that of Oberleybach. Five companies of French light horse were sent to pursue them in that direction, while the advanced chasseurs reconnoitred as far as the entrenchments of Pervald, directing their course towards Leybach. On the approach of the division of general Seras to Trieste, the Austrians evacuated that place, where they left three hundred wounded. Another corps pursued them on the road to Leybach, and took fifty prisoners. Two regiments
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of dragoons, supported by the infantry, advanced on the Chiusa de Pletz, which was guarded by the two regiments of infantry under Strasoldo and Deligne, with some cavalry, but these posts were abandoned on the arrival of the French troops. The general of brigade, Lacour, now received orders to penetrate to Villach, and try to open a communication with the grand army, the rapid movements of which had occasioned this hasty retreat of the Austrians, who appeared afraid of being surrounded. A detachment was also sent against Ponteba-Veneta, where the Austrians were in force, but retreated as soon as the French appeared, to Leybach. In these different movements the French took about four hundred prisoners.

The division of the Italian army under general Gouvion St. Cyr, now formed a junction with Massena, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, the Italian corps, and the Corsican legion. The head quarters of the Italian army was established at Gorizia, on the Isonzo, waiting the junction of a division from the grand army, when news arrived of the defeat of the Austrian troops in the Voralberg, on the side of the Tyrol, commanded by the generals Jellachich and Wolfskehl, but who had been beaten by marshal Augereau, and compelled to sign the following articles of capitulation on the 14th :—1. The corps under lieutenant-general Von Jellachich are prisoners of war, on parole of honour. They shall defile with all the honours of war, lay down their arms, and proceed under a French escort to the Bohemian frontiers.—2. The officers shall keep their arms, their horses and effects.—3. All the military horses, arms, artillery, and military magazines, together with every thing that is not private property, shall be given up to the French army.—4. The French army shall take possession of the whole Voralberg, Pludenz, and the territory as far as Urlemberg.—5. The three battalions of the regiment of Beau-lieu are included in this capitulation, if, on the 23d Brumaire (November 14), at seven o'clock in the morning, they have joined the corps of prince Rohan, or if they shall

shall still be in the Arlemberg.—6. All the officers and troops of the corps of lieutenant-general Von Jellachich, give their word and honour not to serve for a year, from the day of the capitulation, either against France or Italy.—7 to 10. Proper care shall be taken of the Austrian prisoners left behind. The prisoners of war shall be escorted, in three columns, towards Bohemia. On the 15th, the French shall take possession of the arsenal and magazines of Feldkirch.—11. On the following day, the 16th of November, at eight o'clock, the corps shall defile before the French army, lay down their arms, and surrender their horses.

The commander-in-chief, Massena, now received a dispatch from the French minister at Berne, informing him that a corps of the Austrian army, which had been cut off in consequence of the manœuvres of the grand army, intended to descend into Italy by the Tyrolean mountains. He calculated that this column would endeavour either to cross the French line, and unite itself with the troops of the Venetian territory, or to operate, by the way of Feltro and Belluno, a junction with the wreck of prince Charles's army at Leybach. But whatever direction the enemy might take, the situation of the French army on the Isonzo was such, that a sufficient force could be detached every way to intercept them. The advanced guard, in the mean while, continued its march towards Leybach. A column, consisting of seven thousand infantry and one thousand two hundred cavalry, commanded by the prince de Rohan, advanced on the 24th to Bassano, and might easily have taken the detachment of one thousand five hundred men posted in that garrison. It however proceeded to Castel Franco. As soon as general St. Cyr was informed of this movement, he was convinced that the enemy meant to cross the French line, of the force of which they were unfortunately ignorant. He therefore made dispositions for giving them a warm reception. Marshal Massena, who had foreseen the event, remained on his part perfectly tranquil;

quilt; but that nothing might be left to the effect of chance, he took measures for bringing up, by forced marches on the Piave, the division of grenadiers commanded by general Partonneaux, and other corps. The grenadiers were directed to ascend the Piave by Il Bosco dell Mantello, and to turn the position of Bassano. The division of Gardanne, which was directed at the same time to Venzone, was destined to reinforce the detachments sent to the two Pontebas, and to cut off all retreat from the enemy. The general-in-chief left the rest of the troops on the Isonzo, under the command of general Duhesme, and proceeded himself to the Piave to superintend the movements he had directed.

+ General St. Cyr manœuvred to reconnoitre the enemy, and to stop him. General Regnier, at Navale, had orders to march on the 23d, at day-break, to Castel Franco. The Austrian general arrived in the evening, and sensible of the difficulty of his position, anticipated the attack. He fell violently on Regnier's division, which received him with the greatest coolness, and repulsed him. The Austrians, however, returned several times to the charge, but were always received with the same firmness. Meanwhile general St. Cyr made a movement with the Polish regiment, and turned the enemy. The route was then completed all the way to Castel Franco, where the French troops arrived as soon as the Austrians. All who were not killed or taken in the field of battle, were obliged to capitulate. Six thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry were made prisoners. This number was greater than that which was opposed to them in effective combat; but they saw, from the dispositions which were made, that their destruction was inevitable. The prince de Rohan, several colonels, and a number of officers, were among the prisoners. Six standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and immense quantities of baggage, was also the result of this victory. The French had only to regret the loss of about one hundred killed and wounded.

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This was the last engagement that took place in Italy. General St. Cyr, with his division, was now destined to march towards Naples, where, notwithstanding a previous treaty of neutrality, it was reported that an Anglo-Russian squadron had landed fifteen thousand men, which were to be augmented by levies from the Neapolitan states; the whole to be under the command of general Lascy. Marshal Massena in the mean time drew towards Leybach in Carniola, from whence the archduke Charles had retreated; who entered Styria, and marched into Gratz, the capital, which had been evacuated only twenty-one days before by general Marmont, who had been manœuvring to intercept him on his retreat to Vienna. A Spanish division of troops had been stipulated to march into Italy through Etruria, to co-operate with Massena; but it never arrived. In truth it was not wanted.

Marshal Ney had been ordered to seize upon the Tyrol; and he acquitted himself with his usual address and intrepidity. He defeated the archduke John at the foot of Mount Brenner, and turned the fortresses of Scarnitz and Noustark, which he carried by force of arms. On this occasion he took one thousand eight hundred prisoners, a standard, and sixteen pieces of cannon (field-pieces). On the 16th of November, at five in the afternoon, he made his entry into Inspruck, where he found an arsenal, with a respectable artillery, sixteen thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of powder. The same day he entered Hall, where he also found very considerable magazines. The archduke John, who had commanded in the Tyrol, escaped by way of Luchetah. He had ordered one of his colonels to deliver up all the magazines to the French, and recommended to their generosity one thousand two hundred sick and wounded at Inspruck.

Thus, by means of the most active courage, added to a strict attention to tactical discipline, and by a prompt co-operation of well-directed movements, conducted with a perseverance and rapidity of action perhaps unprecedented in the history of modern nations,

every separate division of the French army, and almost every subordinate detachment, had succeeded in carrying every arduous point into effect, and in accomplishing all those important measures, which the emperor Napoleon had originally in view. But it must not be dissembled that a considerable portion of this great success was to be attributed to an unpardonable violation on the part of the French emperor, of the then existing treaties of neutrality among the German states, by forcibly marching his armies through their territories, drawing supplies from their subjects, and thus reaching their point of destination, even before their adversaries could obtain the smallest indication of their route.

This bold movement enabled the emperor Napoleon to anticipate his march by some days; to come upon the Austrians in a manner so sudden, as to baffle all ordinary precautions; and by these means to overwhelm and almost annihilate his opponents with the irresistible weight of superior numbers. If he had respected the neutrality of his Prussian majesty's province of Anspach, he could not have succeeded in turning the right wing of the Austrian army in the way he did, which, at the beginning of October, rested upon that country. To dislodge the Austrians from the position they then occupied, he must have attacked them in front; for no movement on his part could have enabled him to turn their right or left wing, the former being protected by the neutrality of Anspach, and the latter leaning upon the lake of Constance. To have turned the right wing of the Austrians, it would be necessary for the French to march to the northward of Anspach, and then to drop into the Upper Palatinate, between the country of Bayreuth, equally under the protection of Prussia, and Anspach. The left of the Austrians was, in like manner, incapable of being turned, so long as Napoleon respected the neutrality of Switzerland. And therefore, that the misfortunes of the Austrian army were, in the first instance, principally owing to the great advantages

vantages which the French obtained in the forced passage through the Prussian territory, will be evident to any one who will take the trouble of examining the map of Germany, and comparing the different territorial demarcations.

The elector of Wirtemberg, and other princes of the smaller states, were not in situations to resist this unprecedented breach of faith; but the king of Prussia, with becoming dignity and spirit, not only remonstrated with vehemence against it, but collected his armies, put his troops in motion, and almost avowed his intention of taking an active part in the war, and of uniting his forces to those of the allied powers. As a preliminary step to such an alternative, he directed his minister, baron Von Hardenberg, to transmit an official note to marshal Duroc, and M. Laforest, the French minister at Berlin, to be forwarded to the emperor Napoleon, complaining of the "outrages which the French armies had committed in the Prussian territory of Anspach; which manifested a wanton disregard of the sacred rights of nations, and betrayed a preconceived determination to outrage and insult the government of his Prussian majesty."

This note was dispatched by a special courier to the head-quarters of Napoleon, on the 14th of October; and on the 26th of the same month, a French envoy extraordinary arrived at the court of Berlin, with the reply of the French emperor. He peremptorily demanded, "That Prussia should declare herself categorically, for or against him." After communicating this unlooked-for demand to the emperor Alexander, the cabinet of Berlin returned an answer, in which it professed its inclination to maintain peace with France, upon the following conditions:—

"That Naples should be evacuated by the French troops;—that the treaty of Luneville should be executed to its full extent;—that Switzerland and Holland should be declared independent;—and that the regal dignity of Italy should be for ever separated from the imperial dignity of France." If these propositions

were acceded to, Russia promised to evacuate Corfu: but if they were rejected, the Prussian army would commence its operations. These conditions were transmitted, with all possible dispatch, to the head-quarters of the French emperor.

Although Napoleon affected to disregard this menacing declaration of the king of Prussia, yet there is no doubt, but had his weight been added to the scale in favour of the allies, considering the number and discipline of his troops, and his advantages in point of local situation, the event might have turned the face of affairs to a very different direction; and it is neither impossible, nor improbable, but that the hasty career of the French, once stopped, and eventually turned, might have impelled them to relinquish their conquests, recross the Rhine, and seek refuge in their own proper dominions. But delay and procrastination had already been the ruin of the allies; while the rapid movements and advantages gained hourly by the French army, added to an affected desire on the part of Napoleon, of explaining and compensating the outrages committed by his troops in Anspach, softened the king of Prussia; and the remission of sixty-six thousand florins, in new gold, of the coinage of the emperor Napoleon, sent to Furth to be deposited in the Prussian bank, as being the amount of the damage said to have been occasioned by the march of the French troops through the neutral territory, appeared to have suddenly changed the politics of the sordid Frederic-William, and disposed him to look forward to a general peace. From this moment his endeavours were set on foot to bring about so desirable an end; and instructions were given to his minister, M. Haugwitz, to negotiate with Talleyrand, and the Plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers, on the necessity of opening a congress for this purpose.

The favourite or ambitious project of the French emperor, however, was not to be impeded. Whatever might have been his public professions in favour of a
general

general peace, he was determined previously to humble, if not crush, the house of Austria: and he declared his intention of wading through a sea of blood to the conquest of Vienna. With this view, after the capture of Ulm, he pushed forward; neither intimidated by the immense body of Russians collecting (so far behind their time) in Hungary and Wallachia; nor by the *levy en masse* which had been ordered to take place throughout the Austrian dominions.

Napoleon, having ordered the states belonging to the house of Austria, in Suabia, to be taken possession of, directed the march of the Austrian prisoners for France, and the demolition of the fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen, set out with his army, with the exception of the corps under Marshal Ney, which, by stipulation, was not to leave the vicinity of Ulm until after the 25th, at midnight, on the 21st, for Augsburg, on his route to Bavaria. He ordered *têtes de pont* to be constructed on the bridges over the Lech, and magazines to be established beyond them. On the evening of the 24th, he reached Munich, where he was received with great honours. He was joined here by Murat, who had a division of the troops, with whom he had pursued the archduke Ferdinand, under the command of Mortier and Beraquay d'Hilliers, on the other side of the Danube, to defend that river, and to observe the movements of the Austrians in Bohemia.

The elector of Bavaria not being returned to his capital, Bonaparte dispatched an aid-de-camp to offer him escorts on the road; and receiving intelligence of the opening of the campaign in Italy, the former prepared to rejoin the army, now in full march for the Inn.

The disposition of the French army was thus arranged: Bonaparte, at the head of the main body, advanced towards Vienna, and had in his front a corps of Austrians, which had been reinforced shortly before, by the first column of the Russian army. Their combined

bined force did not exceed forty-five thousand men. To protect his flanks and rear, Bonaparte caused the division under Mörtier, which was on the left shore of the Danube, to watch the motions of the Austrians in Bohemia, under the archduke Ferdinand: thus he had nothing to apprehend on his left. His right was protected by Marshal Ney, who mounted the Lech to the confines of the Tyrol, and opposed the corps stationed in that country under the archduke John. In addition to these corps, the division of Marshal Augereau, which had subsequently passed the Rhine, occupied the parts of Suabia, contiguous to the Lake of Constance, so as to prevent any attempt, which might be made on the rear of the French army, from the Voralberg, and, perhaps, to make head against any Prussian corps which might, since the violation of the territory of Anspach and Bayreuth, cross the Danube with a similar intention.

The first important object of the army was now to pass the Inn, where the Austrians and Russians were posted, which was accomplished on the 28th of October, at five different points. On that day, about noon, three divisions of the army passed that barrier, and were shortly afterwards followed by numerous detachments. Their movements were concerted and executed with incredible precision. Bernadotte with his division crossed at Wasserburgh, and took a position at Altenmarkt, in the bishopric of Saltzburgh. The Bavarians, under count Manucci, crossed at Rossenheim; and Davoust, with those under his command, at Muhldorff. Murat, in like manner, passed at Oetting and Marekhl. It does not appear that they experienced much resolute opposition in effecting this operation. The principal difficulties which they had to encounter were those arising from the destruction of the bridges. Except in a slight skirmish at Muhldorff, in which the Austrians had a few men of their rear-guard cut off, no lives were lost in forcing the passage of that river. The corps of general Marmont passed the Inn at Brennpau. The Russians and
Austrians

Austrians retired, in a great hurry, to Lintz, their retreat to Saltzburgh being cut off. The corps of marshal Soult passed the Inn by the bridge of Wasserburgh, and formed a junction with that of marshal Bernadotte. The head-quarters were now at Muhl-dorff, where the emperor Napoleon was lodged for two days in an inn. His generals, for want of beds, slept on straw. He was himself incessantly occupied in dictating orders to his adjutants for the divisions of his army. He never took off his clothes, and slept only a few hours on a sofa. The greatest part of his army now advanced upon Lintz, Rhied, and Saltzburgh.

On the 2nd of November prince Murat quitted Rhied; and after several skirmishes with some bodies of Austrians and Russians, forced them to Lambach, in the archduchy of Austria. Almost at the same time another division of the French army took possession of that town; while a third division, under marshal Davoust, keeping their great object, Vienna, in view, advanced beyond Lambach to Steyer. Marshal Soult being now at Wells; Lasnes near Lintz; and general Marmont on his march for the purpose of turning the Austrian position on the banks of the Enns; while Davoust pushed his advanced post nearer to Steyer; and the Austrians, fearful of being turned by Marmont, relinquished their position on the Enns, and quitted their posts in every part of the country. A part of the army endeavoured to escape by the road to Carinthia, but were cut off by Kellerman.

As soon as prince Murat had made Lambach secure, he marched forward and took possession of Lintz, where he found several hundred thousand florins, besides every thing that was necessary to recruit his army, stores of all sorts, which the Austrians, in the precipitation of their retreat, had neglected to destroy. The French emperor fixed his head quarters at Lambach on the 3rd of November; and on the 5th general Duroc, at the head of a body of Bavarians, fell in at the Lovers with the advanced guard of a co-

lumn of five Austrian regiments coming from Italy, completely defeated it, and took four hundred prisoners, and some cannon. At the Enns also the French were completely victorious. Thus did they advance, almost without resistance, till they arrived at St. Polten, within a few leagues of Vienna. A deputation of the three upper states of that noble city, ten of the burghesses, and two counsellors from the magistracy, now repaired, by permission from the emperor, to the French camp, to open to the commander the intentions of his majesty the emperor of Austria, that, wishing to preserve the inhabitants of the capital from the terror of being stormed, he would deliver up Vienna to the emperor of the French, fully relying on his justice and generosity; when, to the honour and everlasting reputation of Napoleon, arrangements were made for the preservation and tranquillity of that metropolis; its trade received no check; private property of every kind was protected; the magistracy was maintained in all its functions; the victorious army was commanded to march through with the greatest circumspection, not suffered to commit the smallest act of violence, under pain of instant death.

Some days previously to this event, viz. on the 7th of November, the emperor of Austria had quitted his capital, and repaired to Presburgh, on his way to Olmutz; he had declared he would put himself at the head of his troops, and he nominated general Schmidt as adjutant-general. He was to have slept at Scholshof, after leaving Presburgh, where it was thought he would wait the return of count Giulay, who was to bring him the determination of the emperor of the French respecting Vienna. The empress set out for Olmutz in the night between the 7th and 8th, with the elder princess and her physician; all in the utmost confusion and distress.

On the 29th of October, the Austrian government determined to put all the vessels upon the Danube in a state of requisition, to transport the effects belonging to

to the court and the different chanceries; and the boatmen were ordered not to take any thing in charge from private individuals; but on the 7th of November, it was announced that his majesty had appointed one vessel for the transport of valuables belonging to private persons; that proper officers were appointed to give receipts for what might be confided to their charge; that such deposits should be transmitted to a place of safety, and faithfully returned to the owners, when the danger had subsided; and that his majesty would be answerable for every thing not depending upon the elements. On the 10th, orders were issued for discharging all the boats, &c. upon the Danube, which took place accordingly. Much precaution was used in saving all the carriages belonging to the court; as to the library, only the most valuable books were packed up; but from the gallery of paintings, the most valuable pieces were removed.

Count Giulay had been dispatched on the 7th to the emperor Napoleon, to propose an armistice; when he received for answer, "that his majesty, being at the head of two hundred thousand men, was not in a situation to treat with a flying army:" he, however, gave count Giulay a letter for the emperor of Austria. Returning from the head-quarters, near St. Hyppolite, where it was expected the Austrians would have made a stand, count Giulay met the deputation of the states of Austria, going from Vienna to the emperor Napoleon, to solicit for a capitulation.

Prince Amsberg, commandant of the guards at the palace, was appointed commandant of the city of Vienna *ad interim*; and prince John of Lichtenstein, commandant of the reserve in Austria and Bohemia, then stationed upon the left shore of the Danube; count Corius, vice-president of the mines and mint, was appointed commissary-general, having for adjutants, the deputies of state, and the aulic counsellors count Korinsky, and baron Killmansegg. The emperor authorised the magistrates of Vienna to circulate paper to the amount of a million of florins, in

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bills of twelve and twenty-four francs, to be called in after the war.

When the emperor of Austria set out for Olmutz on the 7th, he caused his departure to be announced to the diplomatic corps, and invited them to follow him, as horses were provided for their journey, and lodgings, as commodious as possible, were to be fitted for their reception at Olmutz. When count Cobenzel notified the emperor's departure to the ministers of Baden and Wirtemberg, he informed them that, all official communications having ceased, they might receive their passports whenever they chose to demand them. The minister of Sardinia, impatient of his majesty's delay in changing his residence, had demanded passports for Hungary on the 6th; but when he received the invitation of his majesty, by a note, to follow him to Olmutz, he availed himself of the opportunity. On the 8th, the emperor granted an extraordinary vacation of three months to the aulic council of the empire; and the chancery of state was transferred to Olmutz. The Austrian council of state was dissolved, and M. de Stahl was the only member that followed his majesty. He travelled with the cabinet ministers.

After the deputation from Vienna had conferred with prince Murat, a considerable corps of French troops approached Vienna, and were quartered in places near the capital for its protection, as had been previously agreed upon; on the 14th prince Murat, on his arrival before Vienna, took up his head-quarters at the country palace of prince Lichtenstein, while the emperor Napoleon, instead of advancing into the city, remained at Bukersdorf, about two miles distant from Vienna.

At Brunn, the emperor of Austria received intelligence of the result of count Giulay's mission; which was, that the French emperor was willing to grant an armistice, on condition that the Tyrol, Venice, and the strong posts of Germany, were put into his possession. Upon these terms an armistice was equal
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to a surrender of the Austrian states and crown at discretion; the emperor, therefore, dropped his solicitation, and published a manifesto to his people, in which he declared his resolution not to make a separate peace; but, relying upon the pledged assistance of Russia and *Prussia*, to pursue his fortune to the utmost, and not to submit to France, but in an extremity in which it should be impossible to resist. This magnanimous declaration infused new hopes into the confederates; and, notwithstanding Vienna was gone, they looked forward to Bohemia and Hungary, as furnishing inexhaustible resources of loyal troops. The declaration concluded in the following impressive words:

“His majesty the emperor of Austria constantly wished for peace—he wishes for it still, with sincerity and earnestness. But he never could, and never will, place himself in a defenceless state, where he and his people would be delivered over to the imperious and arbitrary decisions of a mighty foe. In such circumstances, nothing remains to his majesty, but to cleave to those great and unexhausted resources which he finds in the hearts, in the prosperity, in the loyalty, in the strength of his people; and in the as yet undiminished force of his high allies and friends, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia; and to persist in this firm and intimate connection till the emperor of the French, with that moderation which is the brightest gem in the crown of a great monarch, consents to conditions of peace which are not purchased by a sacrifice of the national honour and independence of a mighty state.”

The French armies, in the mean while, unaccustomed to rest long upon their arms, were pursuing the most vigorous and active measures. Marshals Soult and Lasnes, after the Austro-Russian army had quitted the Enns, pursued it to Amstetten, where, on the 7th of November, a battle was fought, in which the Russians were principally engaged, and which terminated, after a severe conflict, in favour of the

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French,

French, who took one thousand eight hundred prisoners. In the mean time marshal Davoust, who had advanced beyond Steyer, had succeeded in turning the left wing of the allies; when a part of the Austrian army under general Meerfeldt, attempting to check his progress, brought on a sharp engagement on the 8th. In this battle the Austrians are stated to have lost a very considerable number of men, besides four thousand taken prisoners; thus was Meerfeldt's division almost entirely destroyed, and the general himself with difficulty escaped, surrounded by about a hundred Hulans. General Marmont, with the right wing of the French army, entered Leoben on the 10th, for the purpose of cutting off all communication with the army of the archduke Charles, which was expected to march from Italy to the relief of Vienna.

On the 11th, at day-break, marshal Mortier, with six battalions, consisting of four thousand troops, advanced towards Stein. He reckoned upon coming up with the rear of the retreating army at that place; but the whole of the Russian division was there, their baggage not having passed by. The battle of *Diernstein* then took place, which will be for ever celebrated in military annals. From six in the morning until four in the afternoon, these four thousand brave soldiers made head against the whole of this Russian division, and routed all those who were opposed to them. Having made themselves masters of the village of Leoben, they thought the labour of the day was over; but the enemy, provoked at having lost ten stand of colours, six pieces of cannon, nine hundred prisoners, and two thousand killed, had marched in two columns, by different passes, to turn the French. As soon as marshal Mortier perceived this movement, he marched straight against the troops who had turned him, and cut his way through the enemy's line, at the very moment that the 9th regiment of light infantry, and the 83d infantry of the line, had charged another Russian corps, and defeated it, after having taken two stand of colours, and four hundred prisoners. More than

than four thousand Russians were killed and wounded on this occasion, and one thousand three hundred, among whom were two colonels, were taken prisoners. On the part of the French, the loss was also considerable. The 4th and 9th regiments of light infantry suffered most. The colonels of the 100th and 103d were wounded; as was colonel Wattier of the 4th regiment of dragoons.

From the time of passing the Inn, on the 28th of October, to the termination of the battle in the evening of the 11th of November, the different divisions of the French army had taken upwards of ten thousand prisoners. The Russians retreated by hasty marches, and passed the Danube at Krems, where they burnt the bridge the instant they had got over. The day following, they evacuated Krems, and quitted the Danube entirely. It appeared to have been the intention of the Russians to wait for reinforcements at Krems, and to maintain their position on the Danube; but the battle of Diernstein disconcerted their plans; while the rapid movements of the French army admitted of no time for reinforcements to come up. Not a soldier was left to cover the city of Vienna; nor was there the smallest obstacle to prevent the whole of the French army from making its approach to that grand metropolis.

On the 13th of November, therefore, a day ever glorious, as a memorial of the victories of France in Austria, the emperor Napoleon took possession of the magnificent city of Vienna, with great form and splendour, at the head of his victorious army, which was now destined to pass through that capital, in pursuit of the Austro-Russian troops on the other side of the Danube. At break of day, prince Murat, with the cavalry, advanced through the city to the bridge of Vienna, which he crossed, after some conferences with the Austrian generals, who were at first unwilling to allow the French army to pass, and whose engineers had been endeavouring to destroy the bridge, but without effect. The corps of marshal Soult passed through

through the city at nine in the morning; and those of marshal Davoust at twelve. These were followed in the most orderly manner by the divisions of marshals Lasnes and Bernadotte. The emperor Napoleon, soon after twelve o'clock, gave audience to M. de Wabna, who was at the head of the administration of justice; as also to the other magistrates. The emperor received them with much kindness; and desired them to assure the people of Vienna that they might place the utmost confidence in his protection. The population of the town was said to amount to two hundred and fifty thousand souls. It was not supposed that ten thousand people had left it on account of the war, or the absence of the court and the persons of distinction. From this conference Napoleon hastened to inspect the arsenal, and to give directions for obtaining a correct account of the stores. He passed the night in visiting the advanced posts upon the left bank of the Danube, as well as the positions, and in satisfying himself, personally, that the duty was properly executed in all its departments. He returned to the palace of Schoenbrunn at break of day, which had been prepared for his reception. The next day at two o'clock, he went to Vienna to receive a return of the stores, when the following bulletin was published:

Imperial Head-quarters at Vienna, 14th Nov.

" Prince Murat, marshal Lasnes, the reserve, the cavalry and other troops, entered Vienna on the 13th, took possession of the bridge over the Danube the same day, prevented it from being burned, passed it immediately, and set out in pursuit of the Russian army.

" There are found in Vienna more than two thousand pieces of cannon, an arsenal containing one hundred thousand muskets, ammunition of all kinds, and every thing sufficient to complete three or four armies for a campaign.

" The emperor has given orders that the greatest respect should be paid to property, and that the utmost attention should be shewn to the inhabitants of
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this capital, who see with pain the injustice of the war, and who evince, by their conduct, as much friendship for the French, as they shew hatred to the Russians; a people who, by their habits and barbarous manners, should inspire all polished nations with the same sentiments.

“ The emperor expresses his high satisfaction to several particular regiments for different instances of bravery.

(Signed) “ MARSHAL BERTHIER.”

No respite was allowed to the army in its pursuit of the Russians. All the columns continued in motion, and advanced into Moravia, some days march beyond the Danube. A patrol of cavalry pushed forward to the gates of Presburgh, the capital of Upper Hungary. It intercepted the courier from Venice, at the very moment that he was endeavouring to enter the town. The dispatches of this courier brought information that the army of the archduke Charles was retreating in great haste, in the hope of arriving in sufficient time to assist Vienna. Prince Murat, and the corps under marshal Lasnes, came up with the Russian army on the 15th at Holbrunn. The cavalry charged them; but the enemy immediately abandoned the ground, leaving an hundred carriages with their harness. The enemy having been reinforced, and his dispositions made, an Austrian flag of truce advanced, and demanded permission for the Russian troops to separate from the Austrians, which was granted.

Shortly after, baron de Wintzingerode, aid-de-camp-general to his majesty the emperor of Russia, presented himself to the advanced posts, and demanded leave to capitulate for the Russian army. Prince Murat thought it his duty to assent to this measure; but the emperor Napoleon disapproved of it, and immediately set out to the advanced posts. The emperor's approbation was refused, because this capitulation was a species of treaty, and because M. de Wintzingerode was not furnished with full powers on the part of the emperor of Russia. However, his majesty,

majesty, when ordering his army to march, declared, that if the emperor Alexander, being in the neighbourhood, would ratify the convention, he was ready, on his part, to do the same.

Much of mystery, however, seems to be attached to this affair at Holbrunn; and there must have been unquestionably some misunderstanding between the leaders of the Austrian and Russian armies. The following official account of it was published by prince Dolgorucki, adjutant-general of the Russian army:

“ Having seen a vindication of count Nostitz’s conduct at Holbrunn, I feel it incumbent on me to point out its inaccuracy; for I cannot with patience behold any attempt to detract from the glory so well earned on that occasion by prince Bagrathion, (Pangrazion,) and the five thousand Russians under his command.

“ Count Nostitz, who commanded the Austrians and the advanced posts of the Russian rear-guard, withdrew himself and his troops in the midst of the engagement, in consequence of a message from the French general Sebastiani, informing him, that, as a separate peace had been concluded between France and Austria, he ought no longer to co-operate with the Russians. This separation enabled the French army to take quiet possession of the village of Schongraben, which lay about four hundred paces from their lines, and directly opposite the centre of the Russian position. By this movement, the rear-guard of the Russians was placed in the utmost danger, since the French had forty thousand men to bear against five thousand Russians. Regardless, however, of this superiority, and in spite of a summons from the commander-in-chief of the French forces, prince Bagrathion would listen to no proposals, but, with the unanimous consent of all the Russians under him, declared that every man of them was prepared rather to perish than to merit the censure of his sovereign, by any conduct that might tarnish the honour of his country.

" In order, however, to gain time, the conferences were protracted, with a view to cover the retreat of the Russian army, and a determination to hazard any extremity rather than surrender. In this state things remained during twenty-four hours. Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded the Austrian forces under general Kutusoff, (Kutusow,) was incensed, as every brave soldier must have been, at the conduct of general Nostitz, and sent an order to colonel More to rejoin the Russian rear-guard, and to support its operations. This was executed with the greatest bravery by the Austrians, who did not, however, cover the retreat more effectually than the Russian cavalry. As to general Nostitz, he remained some days at the French head-quarters, without having been present with the rear-guard, or taking any part in this glorious engagement, in which five thousand men were opposed, to forty thousand, and proved victorious. I appeal on the subject of this battle to the testimony of the enemy himself. But the conduct of general Nostitz is well known to every individual of the armies that witnessed these occurrences.

" PETER, PRINCE DOLGORUCKI."

In the mean time general Viallennes, commanding the cavalry of marshal Davoust, entered Presburgh: upon which general count Palfy addressed to him the following letter:

" GENERAL,—His royal highness the archduke Palatine, in his character of supreme head of the military and civil departments in Hungary, has charged the undersigned to declare, that his highness having established a cordon of militia, as guards, upon the western frontier of this kingdom, supported by small detachments of cavalry, composed of invalids and recruits, solely with a view to check the progress of the marauders in the Austrian army, nothing hostile is to be apprehended from them; the said detachments being ordered to retire, whenever the French troops should approach the frontier. Thus, in the circumstances in which these feeble detachments are placed,

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they can only be looked upon as piquets of observation. His royal highness has ordered the heads of the houses of invalids, seminaries, pensioners, &c. &c. to remain at their posts, persuaded that the commander of the French troops will not refuse them the protection necessary; and that he will also interest himself in the prevention of any excesses which might be committed by the French detachments that might enter Hungary, especially as they will meet with no kind of opposition. In consequence of such a declaration, the undersigned may have to treat with the commandant of the French troops, relative to several very interesting objects. He also solicits a rendezvous, upon parole, in a vessel in the middle of the Danube. He accordingly waits an answer from the general; and has the honour to be, his very humble servant.

“ LEOPOLD, COUNT PALFY.”

The Answer of Marshal Davoust to General Count de Palfy.

“ GENERAL,—I have submitted the letter you sent the commandant of my light cavalry, to his majesty's inspection. His majesty has charged me to inform his highness the archduke Palatinate, by your favour; that he is ready to agree to the neutrality of the Hungarian nation, if, upon his part, the archduke will recall the Hungarian troops, discontinue the *levy en masse*, and continue to supply Vienna with provisions; and, in fine, conclude a convention between the Hungarian nation and the emperor of the French, tending to maintain a good understanding between the two countries. I have been authorised to let any officer pass, whom his royal highness the archduke may choose to send to my sovereign, to treat with him upon these preliminaries. I am happy in the opportunity of performing any good office agreeable to your compatriots; and to secure the well-being and tranquillity of a people so estimable in many respects as the Hungarian nation.

L. DAVOUST.”

Prince

Prince Murat, having been informed that the Russian generals, immediately after their propositions for a convention, were marching with a part of their army towards Znaim, and that from all appearances the other party were about to follow them and escape, caused it to be signified to them, that the emperor had not ratified the convention, and that if they moved, he should of course attack them. This being persisted in, prince Murat advanced towards the enemy, and attacked them on the 16th, at four o'clock, which brought on the battle of Guntersdorff, in which a part of the Russian army was routed, lost twelve pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners; two thousand more lay dead on the field of battle. Were it not for the night, few would have escaped. There were frequent obstinate attacks with the bayonet. Some battalions of Russian grenadiers shewed great intrepidity. General Oudinot, and his two aids-de-camp, Demangeot and Lamotte, were among the wounded. After this rencontre the emperor Napoleon advanced his head-quarters to Znaim on the 17th, at three o'clock. The rear-guard of the Russians were obliged to leave their sick at Znaim, with a considerable quantity of flour and oats. The Russians retreated towards Brunn.

General Baraguay d'Hilliers made an incursion into Bohemia as far as Pilsen, and obliged the archduke Ferdinand to quit his position. He took some magazines, and fulfilled the object of his mission.—Kuffstein capitulated.

After the action of Guntersdorff the Russians retreated in great haste. General Sebastiani speedily followed with his brigade of dragoons. The extended plains of Moravia facilitated his pursuit: on the 18th of November he cut off several corps in their flight, and made two thousand prisoners. Prince Murat entered Brunn on the same day in pursuit of the enemy, who immediately evacuated the town and the fortress, though well built, and in a state to stand a regular siege. The emperor advanced his head quarters to

Pohorlitz. Marshal Soult took his station with a body of troops at Messeritsch; marshal Lasnes on the other side of Pohorlitz. In Brunn was taken sixty pieces of cannon, a great quantity of corn and meal, and considerable magazines of clothing. ✓

The emperor arrived before Brunn on the 20th of November, at ten o'clock in the morning. A deputation of the Moravian states, with their bishop at their head, went out to meet him. The emperor took a review of the fortress, and caused the citadel to be taken possession of, in which he found six thousand stand of arms, a great quantity of ammunition, and four hundred thousand pounds of gun-powder. The Russians had collected their cavalry, which formed a corps of six thousand men, with a view to defend the point of junction of the roads leading from Brunn to Olmutz. General Wattier opposed them the whole day, and forced them, at length, to abandon their ground. General Hautpoult's division of cuirassiers, also co-operated; and marshal Bessieres, commander of the imperial guards, executed a brilliant enterprise by which their opponents were completely driven in.

But the day was now at hand when all these partial skirmishes were to subside, and on which the fate of Europe was to be decided by the battle of Austerlitz; a contest equally obstinate and sanguinary; yet it was the only pitched battle that was fought during the whole campaign, and the only formidable stand made at all by the allies against the armies of Napoleon. For some days previous to this arduous conflict, both sides were equally sedulous in choosing their positions, in securing their flanks, and obtaining the advantage of ground. On the 26th of November prince Constantine's fine corps of cavalry took a position at Oltschau. On the 27th, the Austrian and Russian line advanced upon Grosnitz, and prince Pangrazion, with the advanced guard, was posted at Wischau. On the 27th, the first column of the third Russian division arrived at Troppau. The French were in the mean time forming between Brunn and Austerlitz.

On

On the 29th, the emperor of Germany's head-quarters were at Wischau, from whence they were removed to Kremsir. On the 30th, their left wing was at Kremsir, and their advanced guard near Hardish. On the 1st of December the head-quarters of their imperial majesties of Austria and Russia were at Kuzarowitz, two leagues in advance from Austerlitz. The French, upon the same day, were completely formed on the Schwrsach, in a line extending north and south, with their right wing near Nicholsburgh, and their left towards Brunn. Such was the position of these great contending armies on the day preceding the battle.

The divisions of the Russian army, or the principal part, at least, of what remained of them, were now united under the very able generals Kutusoff, Buxhovden, and the grand prince Constantine; and were said to consist of eighty thousand of their choicest soldiers; the emperor Alexander was present, to inspect and approve their operations. To this army was united twenty-five thousand Austrians, of their most experienced troops, and of unquestionable fidelity, under the command of prince John of Lichtenstein, assisted by the emperor Francis II.

The offensive movements of the Austrian and Russian army was made in open day, and in sight of the emperor Napoleon, who did not attempt to offer it the slightest interruption; on the contrary, some of the French out-posts were withdrawn, and, what seemed extraordinary, during the night, there was no chain of out-posts established in front of the position occupied by the allies. The two armies were separated by the defiles of Telnitz, Sokolnitz, and Schlapanitz, and had the allies wished to remain on the defensive, they were advantageously posted for the purpose, and ready, at the same time, to act offensively; but they were determined on giving battle the next day. Napoleon, who had distinctly observed these operations of the combined army, is said to have exclaimed

claimed to those around him, "before to-morrow night, that army will be in my power."

The army of Napoleon, which engaged in this memorable action, consisted of one hundred thousand veteran troops under his own immediate direction and command. He placed marshal Lasnes at the head of the left wing, marshal Soult at the head of the right, and to marshal Bernadotte he gave the command of the centre. Prince Murat, as usual, led the cavalry. The emperor himself, with his whole general staff, ten battalions of the imperial guard, and ten battalions of general Oudinot's grenadiers, formed the reserve of the army. These troops were disposed in column, in a double line, and drawn up in battalions, but placed at such a distance from each other, that sufficient space was left for deploying. In these intervals forty pieces of cannon were placed, which were served by the artillery of the guard.

The morning dawn of the 2nd of December began at length to appear, but seemed to approach too slowly for the wishes of both armies. Surrounded by all his marshals, the emperor Napoleon waited until the horizon was perfectly clear, before he communicated his final instructions. When the sun shot forth his first ray, the last order was given, and all the marshals rode off at full gallop to their respective stations. In a moment the cannonade became heavy on the extremity of the right wing, which the advanced guard of the Russians had already reached. There, however, they unexpectedly fell in with marshal Davoust, who made them halt, and the battle became furious. At the same time, marshal Soult put himself in motion, and advanced with the divisions of generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire, towards the heights of the village of Protzen. In consequence of these operations, the right wing of the Russian army found itself completely turned; all its plans were deranged. Surprised by a movement on the flank, they endeavoured to retreat. Where they had proposed to attack



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GENERAL COMTE RAPP,
Announcing the repulse of the Imperial Russian Guard at Auspitz.

Published by Mullall, Parker & Dixon, Liverpool, May 24th 1866.

tack, they found themselves suddenly attacked. From that moment their right wing was half defeated.

The cavalry under prince Murat now began to act. The left wing, under the command of general Lasnes, marched forward also, with the troops drawn up in the form of regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. The centre under marshal Bernadotte likewise advanced, and instantly a terrible cannonade resounded all along the whole line. Two hundred pieces of cannon, and more than two hundred thousand men, all engaged at one time, produced a most tremendous and awful scene! It was truly a giant contest. The battle was too ardent to be of long duration: it had lasted only two hours, when the left wing of the Russians was cut off, and their right driven back to Austerlitz.

The head quarters of the two allied emperors were at Austerlitz, and they were obliged to give orders to the Russian imperial guard to advance to re-establish, if possible, the junction of their left wing with the centre. Marshal Bessieres moved forward with his corps, and immediately the French imperial and Russian imperial guards were closely engaged. The Russian guard was driven back in disorder. Its commanders, artillery, and standards, were at once in the power of the victors. Even the grand prince Constantine, whose regiment was entirely cut to pieces, had only to thank the fleetness of his horse for his escape. But the action was still obstinately maintained by the remaining part of the Russian army. The centre of the French bravely withstood the well-directed attacks of the Russian cavalry. The French left wing also continued its repeated attacks, in all of which it was victorious.

At one o'clock P. M. the victory, which never was doubtful, was decisively on the side of the French. But the cannonade was still maintained on the French right wing. The Russian corps which had been cut off was surrounded, compelled to abandon all its positions, forced back into a hollow, and driven up against

against a lake, where great numbers spread themselves over its icy surface, till giving way, most of them were drowned. At the same time two columns of four thousand men each, laid down their arms, and gave up their artillery.

The result of this victory placed in the hands of the French one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, forty Russian standards, including the colours of the emperor Alexander's life-guard, fifteen Russian generals made prisoners, among whom were the princes Gallitzin and Repnin; and, finally, near twenty thousand Russians were taken prisoners. The Russians besides, left fifteen thousand dead upon the field of battle. The French stated their loss to be nine hundred killed, and sixteen hundred wounded. The Austrians had six hundred killed, and near one thousand wounded. Not one corps of the French army was penetrated, except a single battalion of the 4th regiment, which had to sustain the whole of the first attack of the Russian imperial guard.

The French generals of division St. Hilaire, Kellerman, and Wattier, the generals of brigade Valbert, Thibault, Sebastiani, and Compans, and general Rapp, were among the wounded. This last general headed the grenadiers of the French imperial guard in the attack, and took prisoner prince Repnin, who commanded with admired bravery the cavalry of the Russian imperial guard.

Such is the narrative of this memorable day as published officially on the part of France. It is but fair, however, that the reader should compare with it the account of the same battle, as given by the Russians :

" The French army, commanded by the emperor Napoleon, was composed of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and was very advantageously posted. behind the lakes and villages of Mennitz, Telnitz, Sokolnitz, and Kobelnitz. The Austro-Russian army, about sixty thousand strong, marched on the 1st of December, 1805, in five columns, from the position

near Hodjegitz, and the same evening took a position opposite to the French army, in such a manner, that the first division under count Buxhovden, was posted only three hundred fathoms from the French front; the second division under general Kutusoff, was about the same distance in the rear, and behind that was the reserve under the grand duke Constantine. The cavalry, under prince Lichtenstein, was likewise in the second division.

"The same night the above-mentioned generals received orders, in consequence of the disposition made on the part of the Austrians, to attack the French army at seven in the morning, in five columns. The two generals-in-chief wished to make some alteration, and were desirous of having cavalry attached to the columns; but they received for answer, that such was the fixed arrangement for the disposition and the attack. Accordingly, out of the first division were formed the first and second columns, which composed the left wing; out of the second division, the third and fourth columns; and the reserve formed the fifth column, or the right wing. On the latter was, besides, stationed, the column of cavalry. This column was commanded by prince Lichtenstein; the 5th by the grand duke; the 3rd and 4th by general Kutusoff, who placed himself at the head of the 4th; and the 1st and 2nd by count Buxhovden, who led on the first column.

"This column had already advanced by seven o'clock, in two divisions, to the village of Telnitz, where it attacked the right wing of the French. The latter received it with a heavy fire of musketry, which the Russians forbore to return, till they had arrived at the next distance. The conflict was obstinate, and the firing tremendous. The Russians approached under an incessant fire, and numbers fell on both sides. At length the Russians rushed, with bayonets fixed, on the French front, which received them with firmness, and the carnage that succeeded was truly dreadful. The French were driven back, but soon received a strong reinforcement, and, in their turn, gained

ground on the Russians; on which the latter made a second desperate attack, and turned the French. The carnage was redoubled, and the field of battle was inundated with human blood. The French were compelled not only to abandon the village, but likewise all the eminences and defiles beyond Telnitz, and were pursued by the victorious column.

" Meanwhile the second column, under lieutenant-general Langeron, had likewise driven back the French, near Sokolnitz; and the first column prepared, as they advanced, to turn this French force, with a view to relieve the second column. By eight o'clock the third, fourth, and fifth, columns had likewise advanced out of the line; but they were instantly attacked by a far superior force.

" The French forced the centre; and, as the Austro-Russian columns were at a great distance from each other, and unprovided with cavalry, the three French divisions succeeded in penetrating between them, and turning them. The fire was every where brisk, and the Russian guards advanced, with fixed bayonets, and without firing scarcely a single shot, against not only the French infantry, but likewise their cavalry. They cut down, without mercy, all that opposed them; but, at length, they were obliged to yield to superior numbers; and, about twelve, the army retreated towards Austerlitz. The column of cavalry did scarcely any thing; and the van, under prince Bagrathion, (Pangrazion,) never came into action at all.

" On the retreat of the allied army, three strong divisions of the French were immediately sent to the support of the right wing. These, consequently attacked the left wing of the Russians, in the rear; their second column was partly routed, and partly formed a junction with the first column, which the French had already pursued towards Chlapanitz, the head-quarters of the French.

" The situation of this column, which had fought with such valour and distinction, now became extremely critical. It was deserted by the rest of the army,

army, without hope of succour, surrounded by a powerful French army, of which three divisions, with a strong body of cavalry, were already in its rear, and menaced this isolated column with utter destruction—circumstances, which produced a conviction, that a column, scarcely ten thousand strong, exhausted and weakened by a conflict of eight hours, had no other means of rescuing itself but by a capitulation. Though the situation of these troops was so eminently perilous, still they continued under the conduct of their veteran leader (general Buxhovden) to bid defiance to every danger. It excited the utmost astonishment to behold, with what resolution they withstood the attacks of the French, and with what fortitude they met every emergency.

“ It was not till near four o’clock that they evinced any disposition for a retreat. The French redoubled their attacks on every quarter, and a tremendous fire was maintained on both sides. The Russians were under the necessity of passing through the village of Urzd, which was already occupied by French troops. Through these they were obliged to open a way; the battle was renewed, and both parties fought most desperately with the bayonet. The French, however, were compelled to yield to Russian intrepidity; the latter passed through the village amidst an incessant fire, deployed beyond the canal, broke down the bridges; and, soon after four o’clock, the battle ceased. The brave French, even with their superiority, were tired of pursuing a corps which obliged them to purchase every step they made with so much blood. Both sides complained of the calmness of the wind; in consequence of which the clouds of smoke that filled the atmosphere, were so thick, that the men were unable to see each other at the distance of twenty paces.

“ Generals Kutusoff and Buxhovden were slightly wounded; major-generals Berg, baron Meller, Essen the first, Essen the second, Sacken, Miller, Wimpfen, and Prebischewsky, were dangerously wounded, and

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taken

taken prisoners. Many staff and superior officers and privates were killed, taken, and wounded. It is confidently stated, that the French lost more than ten thousand men."

This was the last struggle of the emperor of Austria for the preservation of his dominions. His plans had all along proved extremely injudicious: his armies were by far too much disjointed to afford each other any kind of co-operation; their movements were uniformly lax and ill-concerted; their divisions were constantly driven to make head against very superior numbers, and hence the Austrian army was taken throughout at a disadvantage, and destroyed piecemeal by the superior policy of Napoleon, who kept the divisions of his army in perpetual unison; was alive to every advantage of time and place; and by the singular activity of his scouts, and the medium of private information, he contrived often to take his adversary by surprise, without allowing him time to act upon the offensive. Thus completely foiled, the unfortunate Francis II. was under the necessity of suing for an armistice, as a prelude to that peace which was to dismember the fairest provinces of his empire. Prince John of Lichtenstein was dispatched on the night of the 2nd of December to the head-quarters of the victorious Napoleon, to propose an armistice on the part of the emperor Francis; and it was agreed, that a suspension of hostilities should take place, to commence on the 4th instant at day-break. The prince arrived at the head quarters the evening before, but it appears, that the French army was not apprized of this transaction, in sufficient time to prevent the hostile movements made on the 4th. The emperor of Russia in the mean while evacuated Moravia, and on the 8th of December the remains of his army began its march to return home in three divisions. The first took the route to Cracow and Therespol; the second by Kaschau, Lemberg, and Brodi; and the third by Tyrnau, Baltska, and Ussiadin. The emperor of Russia was at the head of the first.

During



FRANCIS II.
Emperor of Austria ?

During the time that the negotiations for peace were carrying on at Presburgh, under the auspices of M. Talleyrand, prince John of Lichtenstein, count de Giulay, the emperor Napoleon retired to Schoenbrunn, the seat of the emperor of Austria near Vienna, after directing his army to assume the following positions, till the final ratification should have taken place: Marshal Bernadotte was to occupy Bohemia; marshal Mortier, Moravia; marshal Davoust, Presburgh, the capital of Hungary; marshal Soult, Vienna; marshal Ney, Carinthia; general Marmont, Styria; marshal Massena, Carniola; and marshal Augereau, commanding the reserve, Suabia. Marshal Massena, with the army of Italy, was now made the eighth division of the grand army. Prince Eugene Beauharnois was made commander-in-chief of all the troops of the Venetian territories and the kingdom of Italy. General St. Cyr was ordered to march towards Naples, and occupy a strong position, in order to cut off its communication with the interior.

The French army was to hold this immense tract until the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations; in the latter of which case it was stipulated, that hostilities should not recommence within fourteen days, and that the cessation of the armistice should then be announced to the plenipotentiaries of both powers, at the head of their respective armies. It was further agreed, that the Russian army should evacuate the Austrian states, Moravia and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Galicia within a month; the routes to be prescribed to the Russian army; that there should be no levy or insurrection in Hungary, nor any extraordinary raising of troops in Bohemia, nor that any foreign army should be permitted to enter the territory of the house of Austria; and, finally, it was conditioned, that negotiators from both powers should meet at Nicholsburg, for the commencement of a treaty, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace between the two emperors. To such humiliating conditions, derogatory

derogatory to the dignity of his throne and the interests of his allies, the emperor Alexander, with that magnanimity which distinguished his majesty on all occasions, refused to become a party, and accordingly caused his army, although under very distressing circumstances, to commence a retreat, on the 8th of December, as above-mentioned, from the Austrian states.

Prince John of Lichtenstein, on the part of Austria, and M. de Talleyrand, on the part of France, were deputed to conclude the definitive treaty.

In the mean while the emperor Napoleon dispatched messengers to Paris with information of the negotiations for a peace with Austria; conveying at the same time the standards taken at the battle of Austerlitz, which happened to be fought on the anniversary of the emperor's coronation, as set forth in the following letter from Napoleon to the archbishop of Paris:

“ MY FATHER,—We have taken from our enemies forty-five stands of colours on the anniversary of our coronation; that day when the holy father, *his cardinals*, and the whole of the French *clergy*, offered up their prayers for the welfare of our government in the church of Notre Dame. We have resolved to deposit these colours in this church, as the cathedral of our good city of Paris. We have ordered these colours to be presented to you, that they may be preserved in your metropolitan church. It is also our intention, that the anniversary of our coronation shall, every year, be celebrated by the performance of a solemn act of devotion in our said cathedral, in commemoration of the valour exhibited that day, and of those who died for their country in that important action. This is to be followed by a thanksgiving to the God of armies, for the victory which he has been pleased to give us; and as this letter has no other object in view, we pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

“ NAPOLEON.”

The

The conservative senate met in consequence of these dispatches, and unanimously voted a triumphal monument to be erected to "NAPOLEON THE GREAT;" and also, "that the acquisition of forty stand of colours taken from the enemy at Ulm, and fourteen afterwards added, and the forty-five standards taken at the battle of Austerlitz, should be commemorated on tablets of marble, and erected in the grand hall of the senate."

On the 26th of December, 1805, the definitive treaty of peace was signed and exchanged at Presburgh, between his imperial majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, and his imperial majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy; of which the following are the principal articles:

"There shall be from the date of this day, peace and friendship between his majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, and his majesty the emperor of the French, King of Italy, their heirs and successors, their states and subjects respectively, for ever.

"France shall continue to possess in property and sovereignty the duchies, principalities, lordships, and territories, beyond the Alps, which were before the present treaty united and incorporated with the French empire, or governed by the laws and government of France.

"The emperor of Germany and Austria, for himself, his heirs, and successors, recognizes the dispositions made by his majesty the emperor of France, King of Italy, relative to the principalities of Lucca and Piombino.

"The emperor of Germany and Austria renounces, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, that part of the states of the republic of Venice, ceded to him by the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, which shall be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy.

"The emperor of Germany and Austria acknowledges his majesty the emperor of the French as king of Italy; but it is agreed that, in conformity with the declaration made by his majesty the emperor of the French,

French, at the moment when he took the crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration shall have fulfilled the conditions therein expressed, the crowns of France and Italy shall be separated for ever, and cannot in any case be united on the same head. His majesty the emperor of Germany binds himself to acknowledge, on the separation, the successor his majesty the emperor of the French shall appoint to himself as king of Italy.

“The present treaty of peace is declared to comprehend their most serene highnesses the electors of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, and the Batavian republic, allies of his majesty the emperor of the French, in the present war.

“The electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg having taken the title of king, without ceasing nevertheless to belong to the Germanic confederation, his majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria acknowledges them in that character.

“Their majesties the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and his most serene highness the elector of Baden, shall enjoy over the territories ceded, as well as over their ancient estates, the plenitude of sovereignty, and all the rights resulting from it, which have been guaranteed to them by his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, in the same manner as his majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, and his majesty the king of Prussia, over their German states. His majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, both as chief of the empire, and as co-estates, engages himself not to oppose any obstacle to the execution of the acts which they may have made, or will make, in consequence.

“His majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, as well for himself, his heirs and successors, as for the princes of his house, their heirs and successors, renounces all the rights, as well of sovereignty as of paramount right to all pretensions whatsoever, actual or eventual, on all the states, without exception, of their majesties the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and
of

of his most serene highness the elector of Baden, and generally on all the states, domains, and territories, comprised in the circles of Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, as well as to every title taken from the said domains and territories; and reciprocally, all pretensions, actual or eventual, of the said states, to the charge of the house of Austria, or its princes, are, and shall be, for ever extinguished.

“ His majesty the emperor Napoleon guarantees the integrity of the empire of Austria in the state in which it shall be in consequence of the present treaty of peace.

“ The high contracting parties acknowledge the independence of the Helvetic republic, as established by the act of mediation, as well as the independence of the Batavian republic.

“ His majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, and his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, shall maintain between them the same ceremonial as to rank and etiquette as was observed before the war.

“ Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, commissaries shall be named on both sides to give up and to receive in the names of their respective sovereigns, all parts of the Venetian territory not occupied by the troops of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy. The city of Venice, the Langues, and the possession of the Terra Firma, shall be given up in the space of fifteen days; Venetian Istria, and Dalmatia, the mouths of the Cattaro, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, and all the places and forts which they contain, in the space of six weeks from the exchange of the ratifications. The respective commissaries will take care that the separation of the artillery belonging to the republic of Venice from the Austrian artillery be exactly made, the former being to remain entirely to the kingdom of Italy. Done and signed at Presburg the 26th of December, 1805.”

Thus in the short space of three months and a few

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days

days did Napoleon emperor of the French subdue and indeed almost annihilate, the armies of the two greatest powers of the continent who had combined to limit his dominions, and shake his authority. The Austrian empire was reduced to the most abject submission, and part of its territory divided among those who were but the mere electors in the state ; but now, under the auspices of the conqueror, were elevated to the rank of kings, independent of all authority, save of his who advanced them.

Great-Britain was now again, as usual, left to herself, to sustain the war against the undivided power of France ; and she proved herself in the wondering eyes of the astonished world, the only power on earth that dared to look Napoleon in the face ; that was able to curb the soaring height of his ambition, and convince him that his power was yet limited, and his conquests but half complete. The successes of his army on the continent, added to the well-known bravery of Villeneuve in keeping the sea after the action of the combined fleet with admiral sir Robert Calder, appeared to give fresh energy to the department of the French marine. On the 18th of October, the grand combined squadrons of France and Spain put to sea from the port of Cadiz ; and on the 19th, information of the event was given to admiral lord Nelson by a swift-sailing frigate, whereby his lordship was enabled to come up with the combined fleet on the 21st, at the distance of about seven miles to the eastward of Cape Trafalgar, on the coast of Andalusia in Spain. The grand combined squadron consisted of thirty-three ships of the line, eighteen of which were French, and fifteen Spanish ; with five large frigates, and two armed brigs. This noble fleet sailed in five majestic divisions ; the three first forming the leading squadron, and the two last was called a fleet of observation. The moment the English were seen in pursuit of them, they scorned to decline the combat, but instantly came about, and formed the line of battle with great coolness and intrepidity. The van of the combined squadron

adron was led by admiral Gardoqui, in the *Santa Anna*, of one hundred and twelve guns; the centre was commanded by admiral Villeneuve, in the *Bucentaur*, of eighty guns; and the rear division was led by admiral Dumanoir, in the *Formidable*, of eighty guns. The rear of the combined fleet of observation was commanded by admiral Gravina, in the *Prince of Asturias*, of one hundred and twelve guns; and his second division was led by rear-admiral Magon, in the *Algésiras*, of seventy-four guns.

The English fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, four frigates, an armed schooner, and a cutter. It formed the line of battle in two nearly equal divisions; the van led by admiral lord Nelson in the *Victory*, of one hundred and ten guns; and the rear by admiral lord Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*, of one hundred guns. The action was commenced by the English about twelve o'clock. The order of battle on both sides presented a new arrangement to the established system of naval tactics. The combined fleet had formed its line with singular correctness in the shape of a crescent, convexing to leeward, with each alternate ship about a cable's length to windward, so that it formed a kind of double line, well calculated for close action, without over crowding their ships. The English admirals, in the leading ships of the two divisions of their fleet, bore down together upon this crescent, with no other signal but that for close and immediate action by every ship of the line. Lord Nelson's division broke through the crescent between the tenth and eleventh ships from the van; and admiral Collingwood succeeded in effecting a similar manœuvre about the same time, and at the same distance from their rear; their succeeding ships in like manner breaking through in all parts, astern of their leaders; thus coming into action and engaging the combined squadron at the muzzles of their guns. Hence the conflict became the most tremendous and destructive ever recorded to have taken place in any age, or quarter of the globe. Each side fought with

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a spirit

a spirit and gallantry that reflected equal honour on the whole. After three hours combat in this close position, it pleased the Almighty to bestow the victory on the English. At three o'clock P. M. ten of the least crippled of the combined squadron, under admiral Gravina, joined their signal frigates, and sailed for Cadiz. Four others, under admiral Dumanoir, sailed to windward, leaving nineteen French and Spanish ships of the line, with the gallant commander-in-chief, admiral Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals, in the hands of the English. The loss of killed and wounded was unusually great on both sides; the French admiral Magon was killed; but the English had to deplore the loss of their immortal hero, admiral lord Nelson, who, about the middle of the action, received a musket ball in his left breast, and soon after expired. As a man and a hero, his memory will for ever be revered by every nation of the civilized world.

On the 4th of November, the four ships of the combined squadron which made sail to the windward under the French admiral Dumanoir, unexpectedly fell in with four English ships of the line commanded by admiral sir Richard Strachan, who immediately gave chase to these crippled ships, which were all French, and soon came up with and engaged them. Notwithstanding the situation they had so recently been in, on the 21st of October, admiral Dumanoir formed his line for close action, and fought the English with that courage and magnanimity, which could not but extort their praise. His situation, however, was such, that he was eventually obliged to strike; and these four men of war, with the admiral, who was severely wounded, were all taken; and when added to the former, made no less than twenty-three of the noblest ships in the French and Spanish service, at once cut off from their combined navy. Only seven or eight of these ships were in a condition to be added to the British navy; for they had fought with such a determined resolution either to conquer or die, that one

one of them blew up with a tremendous explosion in the midst of the action, and the residue became reduced to mere wrecks upon the water, and either sunk, or were dismantled by the victors.

While England appeared to think less of her victory, than of her loss in the death of admiral lord Nelson, a silent pause pervaded the brightest circles in Paris and Madrid; their public prints observed a cheerless silence; and the belligerent powers on the continent were struck with emotions which seemed to challenge their want of energy and exertion. The emperor Napoleon was said to receive the news with that indignant countenance, which singularly marked his aspect under sensations of displeasure. He avoided every kind of enquiry, and by turning to the pursuits immediately before him, strove to think lightly of an event, which really eclipses all the glories of his victories at Austerlitz. The English in that engagement deprived France and Spain of twenty-three ships of the line—of one thousand seven hundred pieces of cannon—of between twenty and thirty thousand seamen—of four admirals, one general, and a great number of their best naval officers.

Yet while Great-Britain thus asserted and maintained her sovereignty over the seas, the emperor of the French was determined to exercise a similar dominion on shore. Not content with triumphing over the unfortunate house of Austria, and fashioning the states of Germany, of Switzerland, and Italy, to his mind, he was now bent on the destruction of the royal family of the kingdom of Naples. His Sicilian majesty had entered into a treaty of neutrality with Napoleon; but through the influence of the queen-mother, this neutrality had been recently violated, and the Neapolitan army had received reinforcements from Russia and England, whose cause it had espoused. Exasperated beyond measure at this deceptive conduct, the emperor of the French commanded reinforcements to be sent to the army of St. Cyr, under marshal Massena, who was to take the chief command, until the arrival of his brother

brother Joseph, who was destined to punish the perfidy of the queen. An attempt was made to soften his resentment against the mistakes of a woman; but he replied, "Were hostilities to recommence, and the nation to support a thirty years war, so atrocious an act of treason cannot be pardoned." He then published the following proclamation to his army:

"SOLDIERS,—For ten years I have done all I could to save the king of Naples: he has done every thing in his power to destroy himself. After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and of Lodi, he could give me no effectual opposition. I placed confidence in the word of this prince, and I behaved with generosity towards him.

"When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the king of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained alone, and without protection. He solicited my pardon, and I forgave him a second time.

"A few weeks ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficient reason to suspect the treachery which was intended, and to avenge the insults which I had received. Still I was generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples—I ordered you to evacuate that kingdom, and for the third time the house of Naples was confirmed and saved.

"Shall we grant pardon for a fourth time? Shall we, for a fourth time, place any confidence in a court, without truth, honour, or common sense?—No! No! The Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign—its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of our crown.

"Soldiers! march—drive into the sea, if they will wait your attack, these feeble battalions of the tyrants of the sea. Shew to the world the manner in which we punish the perjured. Lose no time in informing me that the whole of Italy is subject to my laws or those of my allies; that the finest country of the world is emancipated from the yoke of the most perfidious

perfidious of men; that the sacredness of treaties is avenged; and that the manes of my brave soldiers, massacred in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having escaped from the dangers of the sea, the deserts, and a hundred battles, are at length appeased.

“Soldiers! my brother will lead you on; he is acquainted with all my plans; he is the depositary of my authority—he is in full possession of my confidence—let him have your’s.

“NAPOLEON.”

✕ The treaty of concert and co-operation which had been agreed upon between the allied powers, had for one of its principal ends the establishment of what was called the “equilibrium of Europe, or the balance of power.” To effect this object, the high contracting powers pledged themselves to each other not to enter into any separate or private treaty of peace with France, until this grand purpose should be completely attained, and the five following conditions solemnly submitted to by the emperor Napoleon; viz. 1. The evacuation of the country of Hanover, and the north of Germany.—2. The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.—3. The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit.—4. The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces.—5. The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

These conditions very satisfactorily account for the adherence of the court of Naples to the allied powers; but its conduct ought unquestionably to have been more open and decisive, and its solicitation for a strict neutrality should have been by all means avoided. It was this double-dealing that excited the resentment of Napoleon,

Napoleon, and which now determined him to send a sufficient army to conquer the whole of the Neapolitan territory. In the mean time he devoted the utmost attention to regulate the important countries within his grasp. By the submission of the house of Austria, and the retreat of the emperor Alexander to Petersburg, the Germanic body found itself wholly under the controul of the emperor of the French. The Prussian monarch, agitated by the alternate passions of hope and fear, had sagaciously avoided to unsheath the sword, in the view of sharing some fragments of the spoil with the conqueror of Germany, as a reward for his duplicity and forbearance. This remuneration appeared not far distant. By exercising the heavenly benevolences of a pacificator, he procured leave of Napoleon for the English, Russian, and Swedish, troops in Hanover, who had never struck a blow, peaceably and quietly to evacuate that electorate, and to return each to his own proper home, without hindrance or molestation. The French army which was passing the Ysel, in order to advance into the bishopric of Munster, received orders to halt; and general Augereau, who was destined to co-operate in the ample recovery of the north of Germany, was directed to slacken his march, while the politic Frederic-William pushed forward his own battalions, which speedily surprised the English, and took possession of Hanover in his own name. For this connivance it is now understood, that the emperor of the French chose to be gratified by lopping off the central provinces of Anspach and Bayreuth from the Prussian territory.

That the Prussian monarch, at a certain period of the war, when under circumstances of a threatening aspect, had resolved to co-operate with the allies in active hostilities, appears obvious, from the following official communication, sent by special courier, on the 22nd of December, 1805, by baron Von Hardenberg, minister of state to the king of Prussia, to lord Harrowby; a document which it appears highly expedient

pedient to recite in this place, because it serves to explain in some degree the wavering and indecisive measures adopted by Frederic-William during the short course of this arduous conflict. The paper states as follows :

“ MY LORD,—Conformably to the answer I have already had the honour to transmit to your excellency, to the question which you addressed to me, relative to the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty in the north of Germany, I hasten to lay before you the positive assurances which I have the pleasure to be able to communicate to you.

“ Your excellency is acquainted with the present state of affairs. You will first perceive that, at the point to which matters have now come, since the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz, between Austria and France, in consequence of the return of the great Russian army, and the total uncertainty in which we are with regard to the intention of Napoleon towards Prussia, the utmost caution is absolutely necessary. The bravest army cannot always reckon upon success; and it is, undoubtedly, the interest of Prussia, and the interest of the world, to prevent any attack upon her at the present moment, when she would have to bear the whole burden of the war; and no confederacy adapted to circumstances has been formed; for, in case her armies should prove unsuccessful, the last ray of hope, to maintain the security and independence of the continent, would be extinguished.

“ The king, still animated by the same wish to establish a general peace on a permanent footing, and, if possible, to the satisfaction of all parties, must consequently have been ardently desirous that his mediation, stipulated in the convention signed on the 3rd of November, at Potsdam, should have been accepted by France. In an interview which count Von Haugwitz had with Napoleon on the 28th of November, that monarch manifested a disposition to accept of this mediation, on the two following conditions:—

“ 1. That during the negotiation no troops of his
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Britannic majesty, nor any Russians or Swedes, should advance into Holland to commence warlike operations there, after their departure from the north of Germany. 2. That a more extensive circuit should be allowed to the fortress of Hameln, in order to relieve the distress of the garrison for provisions.

“ The king could not accept these propositions under the circumstances of the moment in which they were made ; but these have totally changed, and in the present conjuncture his majesty has not only judged them admissible—upon condition that the emperor Napoleon engages, on his side, not to send any more troops into the north of Germany, as long as the negotiations shall continue, and that he shall not undertake any thing against Hanover during the same interval—but even favourable, as time will thus be gained to take more deliberate measures, and to prepare for every contingency ; either in case a war should break out, or this intermediate state of things should lead to a definitive negotiation.

“ That no time may be lost, his majesty has sent major Von Pfuhl to the French head-quarters, that this arrangement may be carried into effect. At the same time count Haugwitz has received the necessary instructions, bearing date the 19th instant, and the king has given France to understand, that he shall consider the occupation of Hanover by French troops, as an act of hostility.

“ Agreeably to what I have just stated, his majesty has authorised me to inform your lordship, that, in conformity with the assurances already given, in case the troops of his Britannic majesty and the Russians should prove unfortunate, the king engages for the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty, in Hanover, and grants them perfect liberty, in case of necessity, to retreat to the Prussian army, and to the states of the king, but with the following modifications, which circumstances render necessary :

“ 1. That they take their positions in the rear of the
Prussian

Prussian troops, and abstain, during the period of the intermediate negotiation, from every movement and step of a provoking nature towards Holland. 2. That in case the Prussian troops should be attacked by the French, his majesty may rely with perfect confidence on the support and co-operation of the troops of his Britannic majesty, as long as they shall continue in the north of Germany. His majesty has given orders for a respectable corps to advance into Westphalia, and will adopt every necessary measure for security and defence. The Russian troops under the command of general count Toltstoy, are already at the entire disposal of his majesty, as the emperor Alexander has fully authorised him to dispose of them at pleasure; and likewise of those which are under general Bennigsen, in Silesia.

“ I therefore request your excellency to write as speedily as possible to lord Cathcart, commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, and to prevail upon him to take, without delay, such steps as are necessary for these different purposes, and in particular to comply with the invitation which will be transmitted to him by the order of the king, through count Kalkreuth, to consult personally with him and count Toltstoy, on the positions which the troops of his Britannic majesty, the Russians, and Prussians, will have to take, in consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements. As the Swedish troops are in the same predicament with the troops of his Britannic majesty and the Russians, it would be extremely desirable to prevail upon his Swedish majesty to conform to this arrangement.

“ I hope that, to this end, your lordship will act in concert with prince Dolgorucki, whom his imperial majesty of all the Russias has charged with every thing relative to the destination of the Russian army. In case his Swedish majesty will resign the conduct of his troops to count Toltstoy, the king is ready to give them the same guarantee which he offers to the troops of his

Britannic majesty, during their continuance in the north of Germany.

“ 3. With regard to the provisioning of the fortress of Hameln, it is conceived that the grant of a certain district, from which the garrison might themselves procure provisions, would be attended with great inconveniences, both in respect to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and on account of the collisions which might thence ensue between the troops. It, therefore, appears preferable, to furnish necessaries from the Hanoverian territory, through an intermediate person, to whom general Barbou must send a statement of what he wants for daily consumption, and on whose requisition the Hanoverian ministry will take care that it be delivered at the places appointed for that purpose. But general Barbou must, on his side, engage to remain quiet within the town of Hameln.

“ Conformable to these ideas, the king has sent M. Von Krusemark, lieutenant-colonel of the *garde du corps*, and adjutant to field-marshal Von Mollendorf, to Hanover. I have given him, for my part, a letter to the ministers of his Britannic majesty, at Hanover, and another for general Barbou, that the necessary arrangements for providing, instantaneously, for the subsistence of the garrison of Hameln, may be made and put into execution without delay.

“ I have now nothing left, my lord, but to refer to the verbal communication I had the honour to make to you, and to entreat you to take in general such steps as you shall think it expedient for carrying into execution the whole arrangement which I have had the honour to submit to you. I request you to have the goodness to inform the commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, that it is only in case he should think proper to accede to this arrangement, and to adopt such measures as shall depend upon him for carrying it into execution, his Prussian majesty can possibly engage to guarantee the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty. In case of an attack
on

on the part of the French, it will, however, be necessary, that the conduct of the whole should centre in one point, and it appears natural that the oldest in rank should then assume the chief command. It would consequently devolve on general count Kalkreuth, both for the above reason, and likewise because he, being in the vicinity of the enemy, would be best able to judge what measure to adopt. I repeat to your excellency the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, my lord, your excellency's, &c.

“HARDENBERG.”

The French garrison in Hameln was completely invested by the English and Russian troops; and this town was in great distress for want of provisions. A spirited sally had been made by the troops of the garrison, and a warm action ensued, in which the English were victorious, and took about two hundred prisoners from the French. The above state paper was calculated to provide sufficient necessaries for the garrison of Hameln, at the same time that it secured the north of Germany from participating in the horrors of war.

The elector of Wirtemberg, who had married the amiable princess royal of England, was long-averse to enter into any measures of reciprocity with France. Unlike the court of Naples, he openly and nobly resisted all the advantageous offers that were made to him by Napoleon; and, when he found he could no longer resist his power, he candidly avowed to the deputies of his states in a public speech, the reasons which forced him into an alliance with France:

“I sought (said he) to obtain an armed, or a simple neutrality for my dominions; but neither the emperor of the French, nor the emperor of Russia, would comply with that desire. Both were equally solicitous to attach me to their cause; and even a powerful German court, (Prussia,) in which I was justified in placing the greatest hope, came to no determination. All my endeavours were ineffectual. The French
armies

armies inundated my dominions; my very residences were not spared; the one was partly taken by storm, and the other was threatened with it. I remained firm; I despised the danger which menaced my person, my dignity, and those who are united to me by the most sacred ties of blood, my wife, my children, in a word, all that is dear to my heart. I had pledged myself not to abandon my subjects—I remained. The French emperor came in person to me; I intreated him to grant me a neutrality. '*He that is not with me is against me,*' was his answer.

"At this moment the fate of Wirtemberg was in my hands. Had I made opposition, my dominions would have been involved in ruin. My electoral house was exposed to the danger of incurring the melancholy fate of so many other sovereign families, who are reduced to the necessity of living upon the charity of other courts, and who receive, by way of alms, the sum assigned for their maintenance. My country would have been treated by the victorious French army as a conquered province; it would have been compelled to furnish a contribution of eight millions, two thousand horses, and as many men as were required for conveying the artillery, and for other purposes.

"The terms offered to me were, that Wirtemberg should join to the French army a force of ten thousand men, including one thousand cavalry. I answered, that this exceeded the limits of my ability; that the resources for the maintenance of my troops were insufficient, without discharging a considerable portion of them in the course of the year. 'If you cannot maintain them, your country can,' said Napoleon. 'My states will not consent,' replied I. 'Against them I will support you,' rejoined the French emperor. I had no choice left; I submitted to inevitable necessity, and thus saved my country and my people from ruin."

The house of Bavaria was driven into the arms of France by the oppressive treatment of the emperor of Austria.

Austria. Its treaty was openly avowed as soon as the war commenced. By this measure it secured its dominions, on the same principle as did the elector of Wirtemberg. Both these electors were rewarded by Napoleon at the peace of Presburgh, by considerable acquisitions to their dominions, and with the title of "kings." Further to enhance the acquisitions of the elector of Bavaria, the emperor Napoleon chose to unite himself with that family, by marrying his adopted son prince Eugene Beauharnois, with the princess royal of Bavaria. This prince is the son of the empress Josephine by her first husband; the nuptials were celebrated in the presence of Napoleon on his return from Vienna, when it was announced that this prince was designed to sway the sceptre of Italy.

The next object of Napoleon was to secure and organize the Venetian states. For this purpose he dispatched an army under general Miollis to take possession of the city of Venice, and all its dependencies; upon which occasion he issued the following address:

"**VENETIANS,**—You now constitute a part of the kingdom of Italy. The sureties of your happiness are inseparable from the fate of Napoleon the Great, and the intrepid and worthy character of his imperial highness, Eugene Napoleon Beauharnois of France, viceroy of Italy, in whose name I address you. Concord, and those virtues by which you are distinguished in history, must be the foundation of your happiness, which is now irrevocably united with that of the brave Italians."

General Miollis convoked the principal merchants of this city, and invited them to communicate their ideas upon the means of restoring to their commerce its former splendour, and for re-establishing the bank upon a solid foundation. A fleet of men of war was ordered to be constructed in the naval arsenal; and a supply of timber and seamen to be procured from Dalmatia.

England, chagrined at the total failure of her extensive plans on the continent, was determined to make another

another grand effort to destroy the flotilla in the harbour of Boulogne. Several fire-ships, filled with combustibles were prepared to be sent in amidst the flotilla. These vessels were so loaded with strata of powder and shot, and heavily charged with alternate layers of each, that the explosion would of course be extremely forcible and dreadfully tremendous. The immense chain across the bar was intended to be broken by the explosion of one of these machines, when a passage would be opened into the harbour, and the whole of the gun-boats blown to atoms. A pyrotechnic invention of rockets and arrows was likewise to be made use of, as a collateral and auxiliary instrument of destruction, in the event of a partial failure. These engines were so constructed as to stick in the hull, and catch in the rigging, of the vessels they should be directed against, for the purpose of communicating their flames. It was computed that upwards of a thousand of them could be thrown the distance of a mile and a half, in a point-blank direction, within the short space of a single minute. But this attempt, like the former, proved wholly abortive; and the year 1805 was closed, without any further act of hostility occurring on the coasts of either of the rival powers.

CHAPTER XV.

THAT we may preserve that continuity of narrative so essential to historical detail, we have but partially touched upon the transactions of the rest of Europe, and have confined ourselves solely to the cause, progress, and termination of that extraordinary campaign, which established the predominancy of France upon the continent, and which, it was not to be doubted, would be still further secured to her in the then pending negociations opened at Presburgh. The battle of Austerlitz, or as it has been more familiarly denominated, "the battle of the three emperors," did,

did, in its event, confound all speculation, and the "how much," or "how little," which will content the conqueror, remained to be developed in the early months of the following year.

It is indeed a most alarming retrospect, to contemplate the aggrandizement of the French nation, within a few short years. The periods of its former greatest exaltation fade in the comparison. The dominion of Charlemagne carried within it the seeds of its own dissolution; and a superior character to that of Louis XIV. set limits to the ambition and empire of the latter. But no talents, power, or combination, in opposition to Bonaparte, seemed calculated to check his progress; but, on the contrary, served in their effect to swell his career with fresh victories, and add to his strength by increasing conquests.

It would be now tedious and unimportant to pretend to enquire into the causes of this vast accretion of power, which, with very little impediment, was progressive, under every form of government, which France had assumed since her great revolution. That eventful scene passed rapidly before our eyes, and left no time for reflection or repose. The successes of Bonaparte identified their glory and renown with his own, who, by wisdom in council, greatness of enterprize, and promptness in action, seemed to put it almost out of the course of things, that he should ever meet with a reverse of fortune. Thus circumstanced, can we wonder, that armies of different nations followed him wherever he chose to lead them, secure that honours and spoils and glory awaited them:—that successive levies, to an incalculable amount, and capable of illimitable extension, pushed on the veterans to the field:—that dependent sovereigns crouched before him, courted his alliance, and served in his ranks:—that terror and dismay should lead his van;—and, finally, that he should meet with a feeble resistance, and an easy prey, in every quarter on which he poured his strength.

Nor need we wonder, if, while the successes which

we have recorded in the preceding pages dazzled and confounded the powers opposed to him, and that the adulation and praise bestowed upon Bonaparte by France was excessive, and knew no bounds. In the addresses which the various constituted bodies of the French government presented to the emperor, upon the event of the battle of Austerlitz, he is hailed as the greatest conqueror the world ever knew; and fresh assurances were given to him of the devotion of his people, and of their willingness to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to his wishes.—Nor were these proffers unmixed with splendid and flattering statements of the interior condition of France. The progress of her marine, the encouragement of agriculture, and of manufactures, the prosperous condition of her remaining colonies, the increase of her commerce, the attention paid by government to the fine arts, and the instruction and education of the people; the state of the public buildings, highways, and canals, are all blazoned forth in the most captivating colours, while the condition of the public revenue is said to be most flourishing: with what truth, and upon what foundation, is not easy to determine.

That upon the whole the national credit was raised upon the assumption of the imperial crown by Bonaparte, can hardly be doubted; but that it was so, to such an extent as would warrant the splendid effusions of M. Champagny, the reporter of the state of France at the close of the year 1805, certainly may, and must, when we consider that the destruction of her marine had placed commerce out of her reach; and that, besides, the absolute necessity of trade to the existence in any flourishing degree, of manufactures and even agriculture; the enormous levies on foot, and the successive conscriptions, called and calling forth, must cause both to continue, in what they were for some time, namely, a very languishing state. It is true, that some fine roads, grand public buildings, inland navigations, and extensive manufactories were projected, and even in some instances been perfected, but

but our information, upon the interior of France, leads us to believe, that neither the commerce, the arts, the manufactories, nor the agriculture, were what M. Champagny professed them to be; but, on the contrary, were at a very low ebb.

There existed an imposing degree of external grandeur at the court and about the person of the French emperor. Too politic, not to know the value of pomp and magnificence, he surrounded himself with all the glare of empire. To the followers of his fortunes, and his favourites, he was profuse in his rewards, which consisted of hereditary honours and emoluments. He thus not only gratified them, but consolidated his own power, by interposing that necessary order to the existence of monarchy, a nobility, between him and the people. In this class, and in this situation, wealth is to be found; but in the provinces, the country gentleman, the merchant, the agriculturist, the manufacturer, all felt the privation of commerce, as effecting their vital interests; and in their heavy imposts, contributions of military, and the absence of every indulgence approaching to luxury, these classes paid the full price of their personal sacrifices, for the honour of being denizens of the great nation, and the subjects of the emperor Napoleon, always victorious! if specimens of taste and elegance and ingenuity were found in certain manufactories, they were solely calculated for the purchase of the government or the great officers of state, by whom they were supported, but their circulation extended no further. The more useful fabrics, however, could not support those who were embarked in them. Few seminaries for religious education, were to be found in the country; classical attainment was neglected or despised, and all education, save that which was likely to conduce to the improvement of the art of war, was discountenanced by the government. In short, the ruler of this vast country being a military man, and his people, partly from choice, and partly from necessity, were daily becoming so. The nature of such a system, governing an

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immense

immense population, naturally leads to perpetual inroads upon the peace and security of other nations, and apprehensions were entertained that the civilized world was again about to be grasped by the iron hand of feudal tyranny.

Should it be asked what supplies enabled Napoleon, under the deficiencies which have been described, to defray the expences of his vast civil and military establishments, it must be recollected, that in so widely spread a dominion as France, trade must to a certain degree exist, and the sources of taxation be many; and that we have described his imposts as heavy and oppressive; hence the court may flourish, but the country suffer. We have already glanced at that fruitful source of revenue, which was found abundantly productive, called "the exterior receipt," that is, the revenue drawn from other countries at the will and pleasure of France, to fill her own exhausted treasury. As in the shape of subsidy, loan, or tribute, Spain, Portugal, the Hanse Towns, &c. were all obliged to contribute their quota to the wants of France; so, in like manner, Italy, Switzerland, and the north of Germany, were compelled to maintain her armies in their respective countries, and at their own expence. Such was the state of France at the close of the year 1805; but since the whole of Europe may be considered as more or less partaking in the views of the principal contending powers, it may be necessary to say a few words on the state of the different nations.

We revert, with a peculiar degree of pain, to the condition of that power upon the continent, whose natural rivalry with France, as a territory, and whose relations, with respect to the family of the Bourbons, had constantly and actively, although with a success always dubious, but recently decidedly favourable to its opponent, kept it in the field for so many years in the arduous contests in which France had been engaged since the year 1790. We mean Austria, whose gallantry and fidelity to the common cause of Europe cost her so dear. At the commencement of the year 1805,

1805, notwithstanding her waste of blood and treasure, her being despoiled of the Netherlands, and of her dominions in Lombardy, still she presented a formidable barrier to the further encroachments of France. The mildest government in Europe, her ranks were recruited with more celerity than those of any other nation. In any combined plan of future operations, the purse of England was open to her, and her acquisition of Venice and its territory, in a great measure, compensated her for her territorial loss in other parts of Europe. The actual dissolution of the Germanic body, by the machinations of Bonaparte, had, in the course of the last year, induced Francis to assume the hereditary dignity of emperor; and he seemed, at the commencement of the present, to be in the fairest way to uphold all that remained, if not quite retrieve, the political consequence of his illustrious house.

The event of the last short but eventful campaign, terminating in the plains of Moravia, too plainly evinced that his councils and his measures had been alike unwise and precipitate. Whether he were goaded on to action by the advice of the courts of London and St. Petersburg, or whether his resolves originated in his own cabinet, we cannot pretend to decide; but certain it is, that his whole line of conduct was that the best calculated to ensure the triumph of his adversary, and ruin the cause of the allied powers. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the details of the short war, begun and ended in less than three months, which we have so minutely described in the foregoing chapter: a war equally marked by the most rapid and splendid successes on the part of France, on that of Austria and the coalition, by total discomfiture and disgrace. In this short period the emperor Francis saw himself despoiled of by far the greater part of his hereditary states, and forced to accept the conditions of peace imposed upon him by his opponent, and dictated on the frontiers of Hungary, his last remaining possession.

But if it even be supposed that the allies of Francis had,

had, by their promises and entreaties, so far prevailed upon him as to commence operations, at an inauspicious moment, we cannot find the same excuse for his conduct towards Bavaria, at once imperious, indecisive, and impolitic. Often the rival, and always the enemy of Austria, this state had been taken under the peculiar protection of France, who had, in the affair of the indemnities, and upon every other occasion, so acted, as to attach it intimately to the French interests, and aggrandize it in Germany as much as possible, at the expence of Austria. Thus circumstanced, it was therefore the obvious policy of the Austrians either to respect, and thus perhaps secure, the neutrality of the elector of Bavaria, or if that point were unattainable, then to proceed to such decided measures as would effectually hinder his giving actual assistance to France. In either case, violent measures in the first instance would be resorted to unwisely. At the moment, when hostilities were in train to commence, the elder son of the elector of Bavaria was about the person of Bonaparte, a visitor at his court, or, in other words, a hostage for the future conduct of his father.

It had been the original plan of the campaign, on the part of Austria, to wait the junction of the Russians upon the river Lech, a position upon which, however, could not be taken, without traversing really the whole of Bavaria. A most imperious communication was at this moment made, through prince Schwartzzenburgh, to the count of Munich, requiring the elector immediately to join his army to that of the emperor of Austria. To this unqualified demand, it was also required, in addition, that in the event of such a junction, the Bavarian army should not be allowed to act separately; but must be incorporated with the Austrian, and even menaces were added with an unsparing hand, should this intimation remain uncomplied with. The elector, thus pressed, endeavoured, in the first instance, to negotiate for his neutrality, which he most earnestly entreated to be allowed

lowed to keep; but finding it absolutely necessary to give a categorical answer to the Austrian minister, he at length promised the junction of his forces, subject to the conditions of a treaty to be signed upon the 8th of September, by his minister plenipotentiary and prince Schwartzburgh. The latter, however, not being empowered to enter into any negotiation, some farther delay was induced. Of this impediment the elector availed himself, and having made the necessary dispositions, withdrew himself, on the very night of the day on which the treaty was to have been signed, from Munich to Wartzburg, and caused the whole of his troops, at one and the same moment, to evacuate their different garrisons and contonments, and march, with the utmost expedition, for the Upper Palatinate. When this manœuvre was made known, the Austrians occupied Munich without opposition, and advanced in the Upper Palatinate in every direction, which movement pressed the Bavarian troops to retire within the Franconian states of the elector.

Fresh negotiations now commenced; count Buol, the Austrian minister, repaired to Wartzburg with an offer, on the part of the emperor, to assent to the neutrality, provided the elector disbanded his army; the latter, however, profiting of the delay, and of the retreat of his troops in perfect safety, refused these conditions, and at length it was agreed to, by the emperor's minister, that the elector's Suabian and Franconian troops should be retained by him, and that Munich, with the castle of Nymphenburgh, and the district around it, should be evacuated by the Austrians, and should in future be held sacred to the use of the elector and his court. Before, however, this *projet* was formally ratified, the approach of the French army entirely liberated the elector from all apprehension. The Austrians evacuated his country as rapidly as they had over-run it, and his whole army, unbroken, and in a perfect state of discipline and numbers, joined the legions of Bonaparte, as they advanced, to the amount, at least, of twenty-five thousand men, and which

which were of the greatest advantage to him during the remainder of the campaign. It is greatly to be regretted that, during the period of the occupation of Bavaria by the Austrians, it was treated as a conquered country; military requisitions were put in act, modes of payment imposed upon the inhabitants for their commodities, entirely inadequate to their value, and the whole rancour of the Austrian enmity to the Bavarians let loose to its utmost extent. The part which the forces of the elector took in the war, and their exploits, we have already mentioned.

The local situation of the newly-formed electorate of Wirtemberg was such, as to subject it to every impression the French emperor might choose to stamp upon it. To see this state, therefore, deserting the Germanic body, and adhering to France, in the campaign of the present year, is neither surprizing nor unexpected. It was the principle of Bonaparte to dispart the greater divisions of the continent, and exalt the lower.

From Prussia, however, something might have been hoped, and much indeed attained, by the common cause, had her policy, within the course of 1805, been other than narrow, unwise, and, we may add, deceitful. Since her early separation from the first confederacy against republican France, she had maintained a cautious, selfish, but strict neutrality. During the wars which had ensued, she was not averse from contemplating, with pleasure, the straits to which her rival, Austria, was reduced; and the promise which such an event as the lowering of the power held forth, of her gaining the predominancy in the Germanic body, was too great a temptation to her, not to persist in the same line of conduct. It may also be supposed that the customary intrigue of the French nation availed itself of the well-known profligacy of the court of Berlin, to maintain a party there, ever ready to forward its views and interests. But to whatever causes the conduct of Prussia was owing, it is equally certain that it was calculated to produce

produce the utmost benefit to the objects of Bonaparte, while, at the same time, profiting of the disturbed state of the neighbouring powers, her own commerce and revenue were improving rapidly, her armies numerous and well appointed, and industry and prosperity were to be found diffused in every direction throughout her dominions. Such was the smiling aspect of the affairs of Prussia at the commencement of the year.

There can be no doubt but the powers allied against France, and determined upon taking the field, considered with much anxiety the probable conduct of Prussia in the approaching campaign, and that every effort which could be made, by diplomatic industry and skill, was employed to determine her to take a part in the new coalition, or at least to secure a continuance of her neutrality. The ministers of Austria, Russia, and England, at the court of Berlin, were not slow to point out the danger to what remained independent in Europe, from the restless spirit of encroachment, by which the ruler of the French nation was constantly actuated, or to amplify the probabilities there existed of entire success, should Prussia join her arms to those of the new confederacy. In vain, however, was every art of persuasion to move the cold and selfish councils of the court of Berlin, to take any part, save that of putting the troops upon a war establishment, filling the magazines, and providing the different corps with a camp equipage: thus maintaining a neutrality indeed, but an armed and a suspicious one; ready to act on either side, as interest and opportunity should suggest. When hostilities were inevitable, and the Austrian and Russian forces had begun to move, the emperor Alexander made an effort, in person, to prevail upon the king to adopt a more generous and noble, perhaps a wiser part, but although the former was received at Berlin with every demonstration of personal respect and esteem, and with a splendour and consideration worthy of his exalted rank and character, the imperial guest was, however,

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equally unsuccessful with the ministers of the allied powers, and he was obliged rapidly to return, baffled and disappointed, to place himself at the head of his armies, then advancing in aid of Austria.

But in the course of the campaign, an event occurred which, had it produced those consequences which Europe had a right to expect from it, would have materially altered the face of things, and most probably have determined the war to a far different issue than that we have witnessed. We have already alluded to the direct violation of the Prussian neutrality by a French corps, which marched through the Prussian territory of Anspach from Wurtzburgh to the Danube. This step, the possibility of which was quite out of the calculation of the Austrian commander-in-chief, who conceiving that the force in question was destined for Bohemia, took his measures accordingly. Nor indeed was it to be supposed that, at such a juncture, Bonaparte would run the risk of provoking the king of Prussia to hostilities, by an insult so pointed and glaring, as the infraction of one of the first laws of neutrality. *This portion of country, however, which had devolved to the Prussian crown, by the act of the last margrave, was interposed between Wurtzburgh and the Danube, whither it was of the utmost consequence, to the success of his plans, that the corps, assembled at the former place, should proceed the shortest way, and in the least possible time.* Napoleon, with that decision which marks his character, without the smallest hesitation, ordered the march of his army, which, after some slight shew of opposition from the Prussian major Howen, at the head of five hundred men, passed through the territory of Anspach, without farther molestation.

The surprize and indignation of all ranks of people throughout the Prussian dominions, at this bold and unprecedented step, was extreme, and vengeance for the insult was demanded from every quarter. The hopes of the allies were revived, and fresh solicitations were

were poured in upon the king, to declare himself a party in the war, and thus avenge himself for so great an injury. The British government lost no time in dispatching lord Harrowby to the court of Berlin, on a special mission, to negotiate a treaty, and offer subsidies in case of co-operation. And even the government of Prussia itself seem roused by this flagrant breach of public law, to some sense of its dignity and its wrongs. Immediate preparations were made for hostilities, the garrisons of Potsdam and Berlin were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take the field, and the regular troops were ordered to the frontiers. But all this shew and heat of preparation evaporated in empty boasting. Before any decision was taken, the capture of Ulm, and the total discomfiture of general Mack's army, disposed the Prussian councils to pass over the affront received, and count Haugwitz, the well known favourer of the French party, upon every occasion, was dispatched to treat with Napoleon at the head-quarters of the latter. An accommodation speedily took place, and thus was lost an opportunity, never to be retrieved, for Prussia to sustain her own national honour, and possibly have rescued Europe from the grasp of France, and from all the train of evils consequent on the battle of Austerlitz.

The preponderating influence which Prussia had maintained for many years in the north of Germany, continued in the present instance to influence the conduct of the electors of Saxony and Hesse, and the duke of Brunswick; those princes remaining inactive, and taking no part in the war. Hanover had continued, to the opening of the campaign, in the occupation of a French corps of about thirty thousand men, commanded by marshal Bernadotte. It had been part of the original plan of the campaign to have made a formidable diversion in this quarter of Europe, and a body of English, Russians, and Swedes, were to have effected the liberation of his majesty, the king of England's, German dominions from the French yoke,

which had so long and so severely pressed upon them, and then have acted as occasion and opportunity suggested. This operation, which was perfectly feasible, would certainly have been attended with the happiest consequences, had it not been protracted to a moment, when it became entirely useless, and even contemptible, in the eyes of all Europe. Had the confederates assembled to the amount of sixty thousand men, commanded by the king of Sweden, in Hanover at an early stage of the war, Bernadotte might have found ample employment for his forces in that quarter, instead of marching for the Danube, and very materially contributing to the successes of the French over general Mack. But notwithstanding the opening of the campaign and its period were entirely optional in the allied powers, it was not till near the middle of November, when Vienna was actually in the hands of the French, and the fate of the war decided in that quarter, that the troops destined to act in Hanover were assembled, and then scarcely in sufficient force to besiege Hameln, where Bernadotte had left a strong garrison. The battle of Austerlitz was decisive upon the further progress of this small army, and its dispersion, and provision for a retreat to its respective countries was all that remained to be effected by its leaders. In this precarious situation, and entirely at the mercy of the conqueror, was it left at the close of the year:

During the whole of the disastrous period of which we have treated so much in detail, the conduct of the youthful emperor of Russia was such as fully to justify the estimation in which his character was held by all mankind, and which not even the reverses of fortune which he encountered, could deprive him of. At the head of the most extensive dominions in the world, his empire was hourly encreasing in consequence and importance. Attention to commerce, and its regulations, had extended the trade of Russia to an incalculable degree, while the encouragement held out to the settlers in the new possessions on the Euxine, had en-
creased

creased their population considerably. The recent requisitions, in the Ionian seas, had also greatly added to her political influence, checking the progress of the French in that quarter, and possessing the means of annoying Turkey, to an extent which, it is probable, must prove fatal to the latter, in the event of a future contest between those powers. Her armies, frequently opposed to the French, had shewn themselves truly formidable, and her marine force was on a most respectable footing. In some engagements which took place near the borders of the Caspian Sea, between the Russians and Persians, the former were uniformly victorious, and were rapidly advancing to the gates of Tawris. These disputes, which originated as well in a misunderstanding between these nations respecting commercial regulations, as in disputed territory, were however amicably terminated, and, at the beginning of the year, the emperor Alexander, totally disembarrassed from other wars, was well calculated to take the lead in the confederacy between those powers of Europe, who deemed it necessary to interfere with France, and put a stop to her daily encroachments upon the liberties of Europe and the rights of her sovereigns.

We have already detailed the different grounds of discontent which existed in the mind of the emperor Alexander, originating in the conduct of Bonaparte, and the efforts which he made by his ministers at the court of the Thuilleries to obtain from him some satisfactory assurance of a line of conduct which would ensure repose to Europe, and free it from apprehensions of future encroachments on the part of France: but as the intervention of the Russian emperor, in the cause of the degraded lesser states of Europe, originated in the purest and most disinterested councils, so his subsequent conduct during the war, which the conduct of Bonaparte rendered inevitable, was distinguished by every quality that could attach upon him the character of the father of his people, and the friend of mankind. Having superintended the arrangements and

and preparations necessary for sending three great armies into the field, destined to act in aid of Austria, and which were to enter Germany successively; he, at a moment when the French having violated the Prussian territory, his presence might have been of the greatest consequence, suddenly appeared at Berlin, which city he reached on the 26th of October. Here he gained upon the people by his affable and engaging manners, and seemed for a moment to have infused some portion of his spirit into the Prussian councils. But the ruin of the Austrian army at Ulm, and the retreat of the first Russian army from the Inn, changed the aspect of affairs, and compelled the emperor to return, with equal rapidity, and place himself at the head of his troops. On the fatal day of the battle of "the three emperors" on the plains of Moravia, he evinced the greatest personal courage and magnanimity; and when the fortune of the day turned to the side of the French, the efforts of Alexander were most conspicuous. It is said that he thrice, at the head of his guards, charged the enemy, and by his gallantry not only secured the retreat of the remainder of the allied army, which would otherwise have been cut to pieces, but actually saved the greater part of the Russian artillery, which he rescued and carried off with him, after it had been taken possession of by the victorious French. Nor do we find that on this occasion his nobleness of mind, or greatness of conduct, forsook him when the fatal issue of that day decided the result of the war. He made no propositions for peace, or offers of submission, to the conqueror, but retreated, with his armies still unbroken, towards Russia, preserving too formidable a front for pursuit or molestation.

Nor must the praise due to the king of Sweden, for his steady attachment to the cause of Europe, his determined resistance to the encroachments of Bonaparte, and his personal magnanimity be denied him. Unawed by the increasing power of the French emperor, he had uniformly, by every means in his power, resisted the

the spirit of dictation and lust of universal dominion, which pervaded the conduct of Napoleon upon every occasion. But his efforts were ill seconded by his power; and it was only in concert with the other European states that he could hope to oppose effectually the gigantic strength of the common adversary. Accordingly we find him, early in the year 1805, negotiating with Great Britain a treaty of subsidy, the principal conditions of which were, that a dépôt of Hanoverian troops should be formed in Swedish Pomerania; that England should immediately supply the sum of sixty thousand pounds for the purpose of improving the defences of Stralsund, and that, in case hostilities should commence against France in the course of the year, that the Swedish troops should be taken into the pay, at a fixed rate, of Great Britain.

The wakeful jealousy of Napoleon early saw through these proposed measures, and he consequently applied to the court of Berlin, as the protector of the tranquillity of the north of Europe, to interfere in them, at least so far as to prevent the occupation of Pomerania by the Hanoverians. The influence of France at the court of Berlin was such as to induce the transmission of a strong note from thence to the king of Sweden, expressive of the determination of the Prussian monarch "not to suffer Swedish Pomerania to become either the scene of preparation, or the actual theatre of war," and that, should the king of Sweden actually commence hostilities against France, he (the king of Prussia) must be compelled, although reluctantly, "to take the most decisive measures with respect to that province, in order to guard against the disturbance of the system of ensuring the tranquillity of the north, which he had adopted and pursued for such a length of time." To this remonstrance the king of Sweden gave an immediate reply, couched in terms of strong and deep indignation, at the line of conduct pursued by the king of Prussia, and avowing his determination to proceed in that which he had laid

laid down for himself, without further reference to the will or dictation of any other power whatever.

We have already stated the baleful consequences of the inactivity of the allied powers to the issue of the campaign, as not having, at an early period, assembled a strong force in the north of Europe; and that it was not till the middle of November that the British, Swedish, and Russian troops took the field in Hanover. This force the king of Sweden was destined to command, but the fatal battle of Austerlitz producing the negotiations at Presburgh, all further measures were suspended, and, at the close of the year, the troops of the allies in the North of Germany were placed in an extremely critical situation.

During the same period, while the greater part of Europe was convulsed in war, Denmark saw her best interest in preserving a strict and guarded neutrality. Happy in a mild government and an industrious population, she profited by the distressed condition of the neighbouring states, and every day saw her commerce more flourishing, her dominions more prosperous at home, and her government more respected abroad.

Holland, completely subjected to France, and enforced by her into a war with Great Britain, those resources which her commercial industry had formerly supplied in abundance, as well to the wants of the state, as to the individual wealth of the citizen, were now cut off, and universal penury and dejection prevailed throughout all the parts of the Belgian republic. As it yet retained a shew of the popular form of government, an opportunity occasionally presented itself for the promulgation of public opinion. The expences of the war, and the maintenance of the French troops had, in the course of the last year, necessitated the imposition of very heavy imposts, which were exacted with undeviating harshness, from all ranks of the people. When these measures were debated in the committee of the legislative body, and selected for the purpose, they gave rise to much animated and warm dis-

discussion, in which the wretched state of the country was often feelingly and in the most pointed manner adverted to. Two of the members of this body, the most discontented with the present order of things, afterwards published their opinions to the world. In this popular appeal they deprecated the making any additional sacrifices, to the vast many they had before made, until it were proved to the nation, that these sacrifices could save it from absolute annihilation and erasure from the list of European powers. They enumerated all they had already done, and painted the wretchedness of their ill-fated country in the most glowing colours, adducing that fact as the best proof of the inefficacy of further sacrifices, and concluding by earnestly entreating their fellow citizens to contemplate the dreadful situation in which they were placed, and conjuring them to unite in some effectual means for its relief.

It may be easily supposed that such a publication as that to which we have adverted, gave serious umbrage to the executive government, or, in other words, to the French faction in Holland. It betrayed too much freedom of sentiment, elicited too many bold truths, and led to too many dangerous inferences, not to give serious alarm to her task-master. We find, therefore, that it was formally complained of by the executive government, in their address to the legislative body, although it does not appear that any steps were taken against Messieurs de Lange Wyngaarden and Van Hasselt, the offending members. From this period it became evident that the republican form of government was in the wane, and that Holland, following the example of her Italian sister, would speedily supplicate a monarch at the hands of Bonaparte; which in fact was afterwards the case.

In the south of Europe, the influence and power of France, at this period may be said to have reached their utmost height. We have already observed, that Spain was obliged to forego her neutrality, and engage in the war against England as a principal. In

the course of the year great activity was shewn by the former power in the equipment of her marine, and she was, at one moment, enabled to join the French fleets with numerous and well-appointed squadrons of vessels of war. Their fate we have already mentioned; and the close of the year, however, left Spain in a still more unfortunate condition than at its commencement. Her commerce totally at a stand,—her ships of the line destroyed or carried into an enemy's port,—and her revenues arbitrarily drawn from her to supply the wants of Bonaparte—while, interiorly, the greatest dissatisfaction prevailed, and the utmost disgust was excited at the increased power and authority of the Prince of Peace, to whom the entire government of the country was delegated by the feeble monarch who filled the throne.

The principal nobles, who felt their degradation in the rise of this minion, were of course discontented, and fled from the court, whilst he, to support his ill-gotten power, openly intrigued with the French emperor, who, it was said, though without foundation, meditated a partition of the Spanish territories in favour of his obedient creature.

It perhaps better suited the views of Bonaparte to allow Portugal to maintain her neutrality, than to compel her to renounce it, else, doubtless, a French force would have been sent through Spain, to have attacked and over-run her. But probably he deemed it, upon the whole, more advantageous to France to allow her to become the medium, through her neutrality, of the safe transmission of the treasures of Spanish America to Europe, of which so great a proportion had already found its way into France, and recruited his empty coffers. He was not insensible to the apprehension, that should France sieze upon Portugal, Brazil, the real source of Portuguese wealth and importance, would be taken into the protection of Great Britain, and thus serve to swell the dominion and consequence of his most dreaded and most formidable rival, instead of striking a mortal blow at her commerce.

merce, which, at first sight, might be apprehended from the measure. But Napoleon, if he suspended the blow, was yet unwilling to content himself with the barren meed of praise-worthy moderation, but compelled Portugal, from time to time, to purchase her security by large pecuniary contributions to his wants. Upon the whole, the condition of Portugal, however precarious at the period we are treating of, was yet enviable, when compared with that of many other of the European states.

By the annexation of Genoa to the French dominions, and the assumption of the crown of Italy, Napoleon may be considered as the absolute sovereign of that fine country, with the exception of the Neapolitan dominions; for the sovereignty of the pope, in the present circumstances, must be considered merely nominal, and the defeat of the allied forces in Moravia left little doubt of Venice and its states being lost to Austria.

When the emperor Napoleon became fully aware of the storm which impended over his head, from the fresh coalition formed against him, in order to meet its rage with greater advantages to himself, he concluded a treaty of neutrality with the king of Naples, in the month of September, by which he was enabled to draw his forces, that were stationed in that country, and join them to his armies in the north of Italy, destined to act under marshal Massena against the archduke Charles; a measure to him of the utmost importance, and which subsequently insured him the superiority he acquired in that quarter*. At this period the strength of

* That the reader may be in possession of the contents of this treaty of neutrality, entered into between the emperor of France and the king of Naples, (which shews the abject state to which the king of Naples was reduced,) we shall subjoin a copy of it. This famous treaty was made at Paris the 21st of September, and ratified at Portici, the 8th of October, 1805.

“ His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies and his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, wishing to prevent, by the relations of amity which unite them, their states from being

of the Russian and English force in the Mediterranean could not be less than fifteen thousand men, with many good officers, well appointed, and entirely fit

committed by the events of a war, whose evils it is their wish to diminish, by restricting, as much as in them lies, the theatre of present hostilities, have named for their plenipotentiaries—his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, his excellency the marquis de Gallo, his ambassador at Paris, both to the emperor of the French and the king of Italy, and his majesty the emperor, his excellency C. M. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have consented *sub spe rati* to what follows:—Article I. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies promises to remain neutral during the course of the present war between France on the one part, and England, Austria, and Russia, and all the belligerent powers on the other part. He engages to repulse, by force, and by the employment of his means, every attempt made upon the rights and duties of neutrality.—II. In consequence of that engagement, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies will not permit any body of troops belonging to any belligerent power to land or penetrate upon any part of his territory, and engages to observe both by sea and land, and in the police of his ports, the principles and laws of the strictest neutrality.—III. Moreover, his majesty engages not to confide the command of his armies and places to any Russian officer, Austrian, or other belonging to other belligerent powers. The French emigrants are included in the same exclusion.—IV. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies engages not to permit any squadron belonging to the belligerent powers to enter his ports.—V. His majesty the emperor of the French, confiding in the engagements and promises herein expressed, consents to order the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by his troops. This evacuation shall be entirely completed within a month after the ratifications shall have been exchanged; at the same time the military places and posts shall be delivered up to the officers of his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies in the state in which they were found; and it is agreed, that, in the month occupied by these operations, the French army shall be maintained and treated as it had been previously.—His majesty the emperor of the French further engages to recognize the neutrality of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as well by land as by sea, during the existence of the present war. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged as speedily as possible.

(Signed)

“ THE MARQUIS DE GALLO.

“ CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

“ Ratified at Portici, the 8th of October, 1805.

“ FERDINAND.

“ TOMMASO FERRAS,”

for

for action. This strength thrown into the scale of Austria in Italy, might have materially altered the fate of the campaign; and indeed it appears to us, that the obvious policy would have been, to have sailed with it up the Adriatic, and landed the allied troops in the Venetian territories, whence they could have formed a junction with prince Charles, and have enabled him to succour general Mack, without such a diminution of his own force, as would give the advantage of superiority of numbers to general Massena. It was, however, decided otherwise, and about the middle of November the united English and Russian army was landed in the kingdom of Naples, where, there being no enemy to oppose them, they lay inactive the remainder of the campaign, without being in the slightest degree favourable to the common cause, and exposing, in all probability, one of the oldest and most faithful of the allies of these respective powers, the king of Naples, to the subsequent loss of his continental dominions.

It is true, that, upon the arrival of this force, that monarch published a manifesto, in which he stated his fidelity to the principles of neutrality agreed upon between his government and that of France, and his utter inability to resist the occupation of his country by the allied army; but the French minister at the court of Naples gave not the slightest credit to these assertions, but quitted that city in a state of the highest resentment at the conduct of the king, whom he did not scruple to charge with having acted with equal duplicity and treachery, and whom he threatened with the whole weight of his master's vengeance at a favourable opportunity. As there was the strongest reason to suppose, that the season so boldly threatened by the French minister would unfortunately present itself but too soon, there could be little cause to doubt of the performance of a promise made under such circumstances. It was reasonable to expect, that the misfortunes of the house of Austria would be visited on the king of the Two Sicilies, and that in a short

short period, most probably, the crown of Naples would be wrested from the head of its possessor, and would be incorporated with Napoleon's newly formed kingdom of Italy, or that it would encircle the brows of a favourite or a brother. Happy indeed would it be, said the politicians of the period we are descanting upon, if the occupation of Sicily, by the British forces in the Mediterranean Sea, might hinder that fair portion of the Neapolitan dominion from sharing the same fate, and becoming equally the prey of the rapacious enslaver of the various European nations*.

When we turn our eyes towards Turkey, we behold, in a state of decay and delapidation, one of the proudest fabrics ever raised by the ambition of man. This vast empire, which had so often, and, comparatively speaking, so recently threatened Europe with the intolerable yoke of her oppression, and whose conquests, when in youthful vigour, united Christendom found it difficult to limit, at length reached the last stage of decrepitude and weakness. It is, per-

* It may be, however, observed, that the king of Naples was evidently in fear of the power of the French emperor, for, on the arrival of the Russian and English forces he issued the following royal decree at Naples:

"The arrival of an Anglo-Russian squadron in this road having given occasion to a report that the legation and the French consulate had removed the arms of their sovereign, &c. to the great displeasure of his Sicilian majesty; and, as it is presumed that the persons concerned in the commerce of Italy, Liguria, Batavia, &c. may be alarmed for the safety of their property in his majesty's estates, his majesty has authorized me to communicate to the exchange, in his royal name, that whatever may be the consequence of this event, the property of the said nations, the allies of France, shall remain under the protection of the government; and that his majesty will also permit them to continue their commerce in every respect, just the same as if the legation and consulate continued in the exercise of their functions. To prevent any misunderstanding, this guarantee is not understood as extending beyond the continents of his majesty's kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

(Signed)

"LOUIS DE MEDICI."

"Done at the Palace,

"Nov. 10, 1805."

haps,

haps, the nature of a government, purely military, to flourish only when the sword is drawn; and that the last hour of its conquests is the first of its decay. So long as its subjects were led into the field by their warlike sovereigns, to the plunder and possession of the finest provinces of the earth, so long did their enthusiasm lead them on to the greatest achievements, and their valour and success were commensurate; but when some checks which were given to their further progress in Europe, had disposed a new race of less heroic princes to incline towards peace with their neighbours, and to rest content with the enormous dominion their predecessors had acquired, from that moment their consequence among the states of Europe declined. Their internal polity, unfavourable to the arts of peace, commerce, and manufactures, led to barbarous exaction and the oppression of their subjects; their want of exertion and employment has been equally conducive to indiscipline and the absence of every military virtue in their soldiery, while the most wretched intrigue constantly swayed the councils of the Sublime Porte.

Thus circumstanced, it cannot be matter of wonder that, in the course of the present year, 1805, the distant dominions, acknowledging a fealty and paying a tribute to the Porte, should not only have thrown off their allegiance, but have actually asserted their independence by their appearance in arms. Egypt in Africa, Syria in Asia, Cyprus in the Mediterranean, and Servia with the adjacent provinces on the continent of Europe, were all at one and the same period in a state of actual revolt; accommodations of the most disgraceful nature, and ruinous to the government, for the present, allayed the greater part of those ferments, of the extent of which we may judge when even Adrianople, the second city of the Turkish empire in Europe, was threatened, at its gates, by the Servian insurgents.

It may well be supposed that under such circumstances the impossibility of Turkey acting as an independent

pendent power, was well appreciated by her most formidable rival and her most dreaded enemy. Russia, in such a conjuncture, was not likely to forego her advantages; accordingly, we find that, in the course of the year 1805, the latter power pressed upon the counsels of the Porte with all her might, and so far prevailed as to compel the divan to disavow, or not acknowledge, the newly assumed titles of Bonaparte. The diplomatic efforts of M. Brune, the French minister at Constantinople, were completely ineffectual to produce an opposite effect, and he quitted that capital in consequence, highly disgusted, and expressing the resentment of the French emperor in the strongest terms.

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